This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

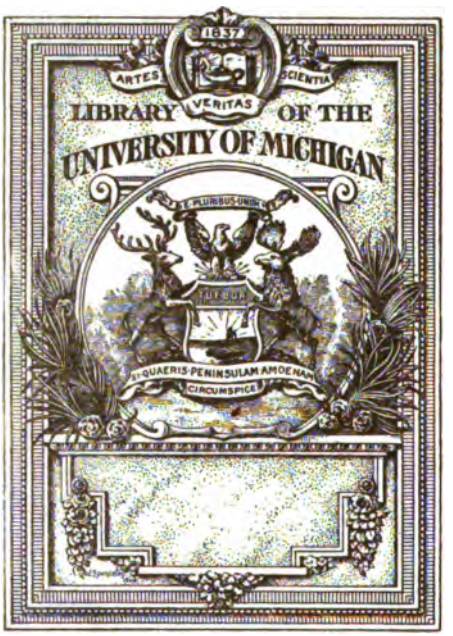
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


1837
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
TUEBOR
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

THE

74226

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

5-7

VOLUME LXXIX.—FIFTH SERIES, VOLUME XIII.

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., EDITOR.

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS.
CINCINNATI: CURTS & JENNINGS.
1897.

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME.

JANUARY–FEBRUARY.

PAGE

SANDFORD HUNT, D.D. 9
A. B. SANFORD, D.D., Assistant Editor Methodist Review, New York city.

WHAT WE OWE THE NON-CHRISTIAN FAITHS 27
Professor W. F. OLDHAM, Ph.D., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

THE APPRENTICESHIP OF PREACHING 37
W. L. WATKINSON, D.D., LL.D., London, England.

JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN—POET AND REFORMER 47
Rev. H. B. MUNSON, M.A., Amityville, L. I.

SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND 51
CHARLES ZUEBLIN, Ph.D., Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.

THE MIRACLES OF THE BIBLE 65
Rev. JOHN STEVENS, M.A., Shanghai, China.

LATIN PAGAN SIDE-LIGHTS ON JUDAISM 71
Professor EDWIN POST, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.

THE SAVIOUR'S TOMB 95
Rev. W. R. TURNER, Binghamton, N. Y.

OUR BIBLE AND OUR FAITH 100
Professor J. R. VAN PELT, Ph.D., University of Denver, University Park, Colo.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 111
The Woman's College in Baltimore, 112; Dangers for the French Republic, 114; "Occupation, Statesman; Religion, None," 117.

THE ARENA 126
"Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" 126; Dr. Wheeler's "Socialism and the New Testament," 127; "The Mormon Problem," 129; Reply to Dr. Lewis, 130; Evolution and Genesis, 131.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 132
Reflections on a Great Pastorate, 132; Exegesis of Heb. i, 6, 134; Unconscious Codes for Ministers, 136.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 137
Composition of the Pentateuch, 137.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 141
Higher Education as a Mission Agency, 141; Roman Catholic Missions, 142; Paul the Typical Foreign Missionary, 144.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 145

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 151

BOOK NOTICES 155
The Gospel for an Age of Doubt, 155; The World for Christ, 156; Outlines of Social Theology, 157; The Cure of Souls, 159; Moral Evolution, 159; The Condition of Women in the United States, 161; Aspects of Fiction, and Other Ventures in Criticism, 162; Modern Greek Mastery, 164; The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets, 164; Mere Literature, and Other Essays, 165; History, Prophecy, and the Monuments, 165; Constitutional History of the United States, 167; The Letters of Victor Hugo, 168; History of the German Struggle for Liberty, 169; Chapters from a Life, 170; Alone in China, and Other Stories, 171; Literary Landmarks of Jerusalem, 171; MISCELLANEOUS, 171.

MARCH–APRIL.

PAGE

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN ITS RELATION TO THEOLOGY. 177
Professor G. R. CROOKS, D.D., LL.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

A NON-RESIDENT SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY..... 195
Bishop J. H. VINCENT, D.D., LL.D., Topeka, Kan.

PREACHING THE GOSPEL FOR A WITNESS..... 209
Rev. DANIEL STEELE, D.D., Milton, Mass.

ANTE-AGAMEMNONA..... 221
Professor A. B. HYDE, D.D., University of Denver, University Park, Colo.

THE GROWTH OF JESUS—PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND SPIRITUAL..... 229
Rev. M. J. CRAMER, D.D., LL.D., East Orange, N. J.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SAN JACINTO..... 246
Rev. B. F. RAWLINS, D.D., Rising Sun, Ind.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S INCONSISTENCY..... 256
Rev. ASBURY LOWREY, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE TRIAL OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST... 262
Rev. W. N. MCELROY, D.D., Springfield, Ill.

THE RECOVERED APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES FOR THE CHRISTIANS. 277
Rev. H. M. HARMAN, D.D., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 287
Arbitration—Christ Judging Among the Nations, 288; The Foundations of Life, 293.

THE ARENA..... 296
"Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 296; "Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" 298; A New Theory of the Atonement, 301.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 303
The Use of the Revised Version, 303; The Minister's Preparatory Studies, 305.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 307
The Language of the Hittites, 307; Early Babylonia, 309.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 311
Christianity in West Africa, 311; The Tract Agency and Missions, 312; Missionary Officers in Council, 313.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 315

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 321

BOOK NOTICES..... 325
Gladstone's The Works of Bishop Butler, and Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler, 325; Donald's The Expansion of Religion, 326; Salmond's The Christian Doctrine of Immortality, 328; Packard's Missions and the Pentecostal Church, 329; Lecky's Democracy and Liberty, 330; Commons's Proportional Representation, 332; Edwards's Addresses, 334; Hawels's Travel and Talk, 336; Jewett's The Country of the Pointed Firs, 337; Burroughs's Whitman, 338; Atkinson's The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America, 339; Fiske's The American Revolution, 342; MISCELLANEOUS, 343.

MAY–JUNE.

PAGE

THE IDEAL CREED OF IAN MACLAREN..... 345
J. J. REED, S.T.D., Kingston, N. Y.

THE MEANING OF PRAYER..... 356
Professor JOHN BIGHAM, Ph.D., De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind.

DID THE GAELIC CHURCH REVIVE PRESBYTERIAL ORDINATION? 365
Rev. C. C. STARBUCK, Andover, Mass.

THE HUMAN BODY IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY..... 389
Bishop E. R. HENDRIX, D.D., LL.D., Kansas City, Mo.

WHY PREACHERS SHOULD STUDY BROWNING..... 402
JAMES MUDGE, D.D., Lowell, Mass.

THE PERMANENT AND PROGRESSIVE IN HOMILETICS..... 415
Professor R. T. STEVENSON, Ph.D., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

THE ATMOSPHERE AND THE PERSONNEL OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY..... 429
Professor C. F. SITTERLY, Ph.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

HELEN HUNT JACKSON..... 444
Rev. A. W. ARMSTRONG, M.A., Garden Grove, Ia.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 451
The Supremacy of Social Questions, 453; The Law of Parsimony, 455.

THE ARENA..... 464
"Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" 464; The Humanity of Jesus, 466; The Deadly Parallel, 467; Dr. Crooks as Seen by His Students Ten Years Ago, 468; Theories of the Divine Government, 469; "Our Bible and Our Faith," 470.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 471
New Methods of Ministerial Training, 471; The Intellectual Vigor of Old Men, 472; Unsound Criticism on Matt. xii, 40, 41, 474.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 476
The Babylonian Flood Legend, 476; The Time of the Exodus, 479.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 480
Protestantism in Madagascar, 480; The Famine in India as a Missionary Opportunity, 481; The Statement of Christian Doctrine in Mission Countries, 482; Japanese in Transition, 483; The Plague at Bombay, 483.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 484

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 490

BOOK NOTICES..... 494
Malleson's Ruskin's Letters to the Clergy, on the Lord's Prayer and the Church, 494; Smith's Guesses at the Riddle of Existence, 497; Gordon's Immortality and the New Theodicy, 500; Lanier's The English Novel, 500; Evil and Evolution, 503; Cooke's The Historic Episcopate, 504; Mayes's Lucius Q. C. Lamar, 507; Williams's Christian Life in Germany, 508; Martin's Bible Lands Illustrated, 509; MISCELLANEOUS, 511.

JULY-AUGUST.

PAGE

NOTES OF AN ENGLISH RAMBLE 513
FRANK MASON NORTH, D.D., New York city.

SHOULD METHODISTS "SING LOW!" 531
Rev. JOHN LEE, M.A., Chicago, Ill.

THE PRIMARY IMPRESSION OF PREACHING 545
Professor T. W. HUNT, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT 554
Rev. J. H. WILLEY, Ph.D., Akron, O.

GEORGE ELIOT—A SKETCH 563
Rev. J. B. KENYON, Lit.D., Syracuse, N. Y.

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ENGLAND BETWEEN PURITAN AND METHODIST 577
W. C. MADISON, Ph.D., D.D., University Park, Colo.

THE VENDETTA—HOW LAW EVOLVES FROM THE PATRIARCHAL CELL 583
Professor I. F. RUSSELL, LL.D., D.C.L., New York University, New York city.

CHRIST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY 595
J. I. BURLL, D.D., Ionia, Mich.

THE PLANTING OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ITALY 604
S. M. VERNON, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF SPIRIT 617
Rev. G. M. HAMMELL, Cincinnati, O.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 620
Scientific Testimony to Christian Faith, 622; Why Men Differ in Reasoning, 624.

THE ARENA 628
"Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 628; Frederick W. Robertson and His Place in English History, 631; Romans ii, 6-11, 633.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 636
Scientific Speculation and Biblical Interpretation, 636; Unity in Christendom, 637; The Minister's Summering, 639.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 641
Alphabetic Writing, 641.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 645
Silent Forces at Work in India, 645; Reform in the Chinese Empire, 646; The Deaconess in Missionary Work, 648.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 649

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 655

BOOK NOTICES 659
Bascom's Evolution and Religion, 659; Terry's The New Apologetic, 662; Mead's Modern Methods in Church Work, 665; Higginson's Book and Heart, 666; Carman's Behind the Arras, 669; The House of Dreams, 671; Lowell's Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, 673; Tsountas and Manatt's The Mycenæan Age, 675; Cramer's Ulysses S. Grant, 677; MISCELLANEOUS, 679.

SEPTEMBER–OCTOBER.

PAGE

WHICH WAY? 681
Bishop D. A. GOODSELL, D.D., LL.D., Chattanooga, Tenn.

RELATION OF EXTRA-CANONICAL JEWISH LITERATURE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT 697
Professor F. H. WALLACE, M.A., D.D., Victoria University, Toronto, Ont.

THE APOSTLES IN ART 712
R. A. SCHELL, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

AN APOLOGY FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO 723
Professor J. W. E. BOWEN, Ph.D., D.D., Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga.

IMPRESSIONIST PREACHING 743
Rev. W. L. WATKINSON, D.D., LL.D., President of the British Wesleyan Conference, London, England.

IS ANOTHER MUTINY IMPENDING IN INDIA? 754
Professor W. F. OLDHAM, Ph.D., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

TYPICAL ERAS OF SKEPTICISM 763
Professor A. C. ARMSTRONG, Jr., Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

A GERMAN SAPPHIRE 781
Rev. ADOLF HOFFMAN, El Paso, Tex.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 786
The Civil Service Reaction, 786; A Study of Beginning and Growth in Religion, 789; Evangelical Doctrine and Recent University Research, 792.

THE ARENA 796
Our Attitude toward Japan, Retrospective and Prospective, 796; Novels and Sermons, 799; The Present Outlook for Missions in China, 800; "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 802; The Atrocities of the Cuban War Associated with the Mosaic Law, 803; On Reform and Conversion, 806.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 804
The Ministry of Public Prayer, 804; Some Advantages of Small Pastoral Charges, 806.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 809
The Education of Moses, 809.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 813
The World Movement of Christian Students, 813; The New Development in China, 814.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 817

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 825

BOOK NOTICES 829
Jevons's An Introduction to the History of Religion, 829; Kimball's Beyond the Horizon, 831; Carroll's The Celestial Summons, 833; Bowne's Theory of Thought and Knowledge, 834; Zangwill's Without Prejudice, 836; The Complete Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell, 840; McCarthy's A History of Our Own Times, 842; Trent's Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime, 845; Harris's Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia, 846; MISCELLANEOUS, 847.

NOVEMBER–DECEMBER.

PAGE

JAMES A. McCAULEY, D.D., LL.D..... 849
Rev. T. SNOWDEN THOMAS, M.A., Tobyhanna, Pa.

THE LAW OF SACRIFICE OBEYED BY JESUS CHRIST IN HIS DEATH UPON THE CROSS..... 861
Rev. J. H. BETHARDS, Toledo, O.

SATURDARIANISM: A BRIEF REVIEW..... 867
Rev. S. W. GAMBLE, Lebo, Kan.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE JEWISH PASSION IN LITERATURE..... 884
Miss ELLEN A. VINTON, Washington, D. C.

OUR DISJOINTED EPISCOPACY..... 899
J. H. POTTS, D.D., Editor *Michigan Christian Advocate*, Detroit, Mich.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT..... 906
Rev. W. S. H. HERMANS, Palmyra, N. Y.

A LETTER FROM GEORGE WHITEFIELD TO COUNT ZINZENDORF..... 913
Professor J. T. HATFIELD, Ph.D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

THE ANCIENT AND THE MODERN FEELING FOR NATURE..... 920
Professor L. O. KUHNS, Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

IS THE MILLENNIUM AN EVOLUTION?..... 925
B. F. RAWLINS, D.D., Rising Sun, Ind.

A VITAL THEOLOGY AND ITS COGNATES..... 937
Rev. C. W. JACOBS, Greenfield, Ill.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 943
The Normal Age for Conversion, 943; The Whitman Crase in England, 962.

THE ARENA..... 965
"The Function of Doubt"—A Critique, 965; The Moral Foundations of Social Order, 969; "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 972; "Alphabetic Writing," 973.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 974
Regular Ministerial Work, 974; The Struggle of an Awakened Soul—Rom. vii, 7–25, 976.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 980
Logia Iesou, 980.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 984
Outside Testimony to Missions, 984; Slavery in Africa, 985; Religious Disintegration in Persia, 987; Forward Movement in Africa, 988.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 989

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 995

BOOK NOTICES..... 999
Bartlett's Veracity of the Hexateuch, 999; Smith's Four Psalms, 1001; Johnston's The Creed and the Prayer, 1003; Hurlbut and Doherty's Illustrative Notes, 1004; Brinton's Religions of Primitive Peoples, 1004; Quayle's The Poet's Poet, and Other Essays, 1007; Mathews's Social Teaching of Jesus, 1009; Bigelow's White Man's Africa, 1011; Autobiography of Charles Force Deems, 1013; Adams's Law of Civilization and Decay, 1014; MISCELLANEOUS, 1015.

INDEX..... 1017

S. Hunt

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1897.

ART. I.—SANDFORD HUNT, D.D.

"FAITHFUL to the end" was the motto on the coat of arms of an English emigrant to America about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Coming from the rugged hills of southern Devonshire, this sturdy pilgrim set up his home in the colony of New Jersey, at a place differently called Hopewell and Hopedale. He was by name John Hunt. His wife was an aunt of the first Bishop Moore; his employment was likely agriculture; his descendants are scattered, after two centuries, through many of the States of the republic. The legacy he left his children is unknown. Yet the motto his escutcheon bore has been a monitory influence in the lives of six generations of industrious citizens; is still a call to fidelity on the part of those who bear his ancient surname; and has had its latest illustration in the faithfulness of the departed workman who, after almost a half century of toil for Methodism, is now recalled in these brief biographic words.

It was to this Devonshire emigrant—who looked in desire across the wide Atlantic, thought lightly of the dangers of the untraveled deep, and coveted the larger liberty of the New World—that Sandford Hunt could trace his kinship. His stocky frame, brown eye, and ruddy cheek suggested an Anglo-Saxon origin; and to the fancy it would for a moment seem that some English yeoman, reincarnated and resourceful, were alive again in him. So surely does heredity work its imperious will in men and link them to the distant past.

I. The youth of Sandford Hunt was spent in modest circumstances. In later years a letter to a long-time friend contained this recollection: "I call to mind also that you and I were born in the same region, and with but little outside encouragement in early life to give hope for special success." His father, Noah Hunt, was born October 29, 1790, and wedded Sally Wilgus in 1812. About the beginning of the present century some of the family migrated to the "lake country," as the section about Seneca and Cayuga Lakes was then called; and in 1816, before steam had displaced the pillion, Jonathan Hunt, the grandfather, moved still further west to the vicinity of Buffalo. Hither also came Noah Hunt, with wife and three children, in March, 1819, making the toilsome two weeks' journey "partly with wagons and the balance of the way in sleighs." The town to which they came was Eden Valley—melodious and winsome name—less than a score of miles from Buffalo; and here, "in a frame house still standing," Sandford Hunt was born April 1, 1825.

He was, like many more, a farmer's boy. "Great towns," says another, "do not necessarily produce great men;" and, adds the same author, "nearly all the great men of England, as well as of London, have been country-born and country-bred." Nor did the subject of this sketch forget the wholesome discipline of his youth. In his twenty-fifth anniversary sermon he recalled that he was "born and reared on a farm, upon which, for two thirds of each year during boyhood, the time must needs be spent in manual labor." And so, until near manhood, the busy lad listened to the robin's call, smelled the sweet clover, drove the cattle from the pasture—and thus lived close to the great heart of nature, the mother of us all.

The atmosphere of this farmer's home was intellectual. It is possible to discern the more or less vigorous mentality which marked the family line. The maternal grandmother, for some years surviving her husband, had been a near neighbor to Jonathan Hunt in New Jersey, spoke of him as "Squire Hunt," and "always added to his name words of highest respect." She was herself of "natural abilities much above the average, well schooled for the times, a great reader of the Bible, of English literature, and of Methodist Church books and periodicals;" and with "skill and judgment she ofttimes expressed

her criticism of what she read." Sandford Hunt's father, "while yet a boy in his teens, was also a scholar in a noted academy," and in 1828 removed to a farm at Eden Center, that his children might enjoy the advantages of the village society and schools.

This farmer's house was also a religious fireside. In the home of the maternal grandmother, during her girlhood, Bishop Asbury had been heard "with gladness and profit." Jonathan Hunt, the grandfather, born in 1765, was afterward with his wife "among the first converts to Christ through the agency of Methodism, very soon after the organization of the Church in the United States;" and faithfully did they strive to "give a start" to their little society in New Jersey. The father, Noah Hunt, at first professed the Baptist faith, but afterward united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, enjoyed the high esteem of his community, and died with the Redeemer's name upon his lips. The mother, Sally Hunt, was for more than seventy years a faithful member of the Church, and at the ripe age of eighty-seven went to the presence of the King.

In this home childhood was a sacred trust. A surviving brother of Sandford Hunt—much loved by him, and under whose roof at Lookout Mountain he spent the last days of life—turns the book of memory and shows this bright-tinted picture of their boyhood circle:

> Both father and mother believed the influence of precept and example in a Christian home of more value than all other agencies combined. They devoted nearly all their care and income to the welfare of their children, regarded each as an individual in taste and abilities, and encouraged feelings of confidence and self-respect. Scripture lessons for the Sunday school were committed to memory, and books from the Sunday school and public libraries were read in preference to newspapers.

Under such home surroundings, where the thinking was at least high, the fancies of the growing boys easily turned toward a college course. Writes the brother again:

> By help of village schools and academy in the county each of us was supposed to be ready for college—that is, so supposed by everybody except father and mother. Through much trouble and sacrifice they procured the services of an excellent scholar, G. R. Huntington, member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who had been for three years professor of mathematics in the university at Burlington, Vt. He proved to be a first-class teacher in the Latin, Greek, and French languages. He was a

decidedly great scholar, and his three years' training at our father's house gave us three boys more insight into English and foreign languages and mathematics than all other schooling that fell to our lot.

With this training Sandford Hunt at twenty entered the junior class of Allegheny College. For the times the curriculum he studied was advanced. Among his classmates were Alexander Martin, S. H. Nesbit, and W. A. Davidson. Being thrown upon his own resources, he bravely met the burden of self-support, and graduated with the Latin salutatory in 1847. Of that victorious struggle we find him afterward saying:

I can hardly imagine what would have been my fate had friends with a mistaken pride placed in my hands an exhaustless purse. Necessity drove to the most economical use of time and money; and the application and discipline which that condition enforced have ever since been found among the most valuable resources of life. As it was, I was enabled to begin my lifework financially even with the world.

And so, in overflowing health and with the bow of promise arching his morning sky, Sandford Hunt at twenty-two passed from the university to the service of the Church.

II. His entrance upon the ministry marked a new era in his history. From the bleating of the sheep and the lowing of the oxen he heard a call to other work. He possessed endowments that might have won him prominent success in mercantile life or at the bar. Yet he was not inclined to walk in these paths of service. Having begun the Christian life at fifteen, he knew the voice that called him to the cure of souls. For him the road led straight into the priesthood of the faith, and God's good angels guided his feet along the inviting path. Says his kinsman already quoted:

Brother Sandford chose the ministry without the help of his parents, and against the entreaties and advice of all the family. We urged the warning of poverty and lack of bread. Father had selected the law office in Buffalo for his training in that profession. But I do not think brother ever stated he had any wish to practice law. In a crisis so serious our loving parents would not venture so far as threats or commands, but would hold to the limits of quiet counsel. It was a case of severe trial, lasting many months.

However much of zeal and activity may have been used in the opposite direction, by ministers and presiding elders who frequented our homestead, I have no idea this influence would amount to as much as the thought that father and mother were both praying for him every day. Brother Sandford was an honest boy; he had firm confidence in his own

judgment; and I have no doubt he was convinced it was his duty to preach, and that he could do more good that way than any other.

At the Genesee Conference, held in Geneva, N. Y., August 25, 1847, this young man, who chose to disappoint his friends that he might satisfy his conscience and his God, was received on trial. Bishop Morris, the presiding officer, two years later ordained him to the diaconate; his elder's ordination was received from Bishop Janes in 1851. One of his Conference classmates was the late Augustus C. George. His first appointment was as junior preacher at Franklinville, on the Rushford District, with residence at Machias, a circuit returning at that Conference two hundred and eighty-six members.

Before joining Conference our young itinerant had found time to tell his love story to Miss Margaret May, a daughter of the Rev. Hiram May, of the Genesee Conference—an old-time itinerant whose melodious voice crowded his long ministry with revivals and sung multitudes into the kingdom of God's grace. Under the following romantic circumstances the wedding journey and the first year's itinerancy were passed:

Our wedding trip did not take us across the ocean, or down the St. Lawrence among the beauties of the Thousand Islands, or into the heat of eastern and southern cities, but along the valleys and over the hills directly to the little village of Machias, in Cattaraugus County, which had been designated by the appointing power of our Church as our first field of labor. Ten dollars of borrowed money furnished ample means for the trip. . . . At this time the wild hills of Cattaraugus had never been startled by the thundering and screaming of the locomotive. The nearest market was this, our own city [Buffalo]. With a salary of $289, less than $25 of which was cash, all our wants were fully met, and a year of success enjoyed.

Church building fell to the preacher's lot in his second appointment, at Ellicottville. In his own words, long afterward uttered, we may read the story of his achievement:

At the Conference of 1848, held in this city [Buffalo], I was sent to Ellicottville, then the county seat of Cattaraugus County. Our church held its services in an old court house, which was the common resort for all sorts of gatherings at every season of the year. Mud and filth sometimes covered the floor quite as completely as our modern carpets, though the covering was not quite as agreeable. Unsophisticated as I was, I could not see why two or three other denominations should enjoy comfortable churches and we be forced into such repulsive quarters, especially

as our congregation equaled theirs. At that time, as in many other places then, there were denominational jealousies which made it necessary for us to rely on our own resources entirely in such an undertaking. Those resources were extremely limited, forty dollars being the highest figure any member of the church could pay. Under the stimulus of various emotions, prominent among which, I fear, was a feeling of indignation at the attitude of others toward us, I said, "We will have a church." Having quietly secured a subscription of a few hundred dollars, the recording steward, who chanced to be a carpenter, commenced with me the task. Day after day we climbed the mountains and felled and squared the timber. A hardy constitution was now of practical use. When this work was completed I found a man, with some difficulty, who would risk his team for the perilous task to both driver and horses of drawing the timber down the mountain sides. I did not then realize, as I have since, how unclerical must have been my appearance, a few days afterwards, as I stood erect on the loads of timber, driving four horses that seemed to be proud to have a share in such work, and thus revealed to the villagers for the first time our earnest purpose to build a church. . . . I think I may claim, without immodesty, that a man who gains a reputation for church building in this way earns all it is worth.

The appearance and traits of Sandford Hunt at this time call for a place in this hurried story. Says one who was a resident on the Royalton Circuit in 1851, and who has since become a member of the Genesee Conference:

I remember him as he stood in the pulpit, on the first Sunday after Conference, as though it were yesterday. To my boyish eyes he was the ideal of perfect physical manhood. His rosy cheeks and auburn hair, his clear, speaking eyes and symmetrical form, impressed me. On his clean-shaven face there was no shadow of the cares and responsibilities that later years brought, and time had not begun to chisel its furrows upon a brow that was then as smooth as a mirror. As he rose to speak a smile spread over his features which suggested the play of the rising sun over a field of ripening grain. In the two years of his stay on the charge he manifested those traits of character that won for him in after years the confidence of the Church as expressed in its elevation of him to the high position which he so admirably filled. His business instinct, his conscientious devotion to his work, his integrity of character were conspicuous even then.

During his earlier ministry he steadily grew—and he took time to grow. With Maclaren of Manchester he could say, "I thank God that I was stuck down in a quiet, little, obscure place to begin my ministry." After ten years he found himself a city preacher and the pastor of Grace Church, Buffalo, then the leading appointment in the Conference. At that time the Nazarite movement was exciting the Church in western

New York, and was threatening her stability. It is hardly necessary to say that our young pastor was arrayed on the side of the established regulations of the Church. His first winter at Grace Church was the great revival winter of the century. Refreshing showers fell on his people. "Over one hundred," he afterward wrote, "professed conversion," and "ninety were taken into the church on probation. Many of these proved prominent and useful members in after years." At the close of the two years—the limit of the pastoral term—"one hundred and thirty-four additions had been made to the church membership." It was here also that the pastor formed a lifelong friendship with such conspicuous laymen as Francis H. Root, who preceded him by a little to the heavenly world, and Henry H. Otis, who survives to mourn his absence from the earth.

In 1864 he was appointed to the eldership of the Niagara District. It was at this period, when the Southland was misty with the smoke of cannon, that he found time to serve as the Secretary of the United States Christian Commission for western New York and to twice visit the army. He was ever after an enthusiastic patriot. The old soldier was his especial friend. One of his stirring lectures, both humorous and tearful, was on his Christian Commission work; and one of his annual pleasures was a visit with the U. S. Grant Post, of Brooklyn, to the grave of the great chieftain at Riverside Park. Of his Christian Commission service the Rev. Joseph H. Knowles, D.D., after thirty-two years speaks as follows:

It was my privilege to be associated with Dr. Hunt in the Christian Commission Service of the Army of the Potomac during the spring of 1864. For a number of weeks our labors were limited to the hospitals in, or near, Washington, D. C., where hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers were daily brought from the battles in Virginia. These were the terrible days when Fredericksburg, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and other places taxed to the utmost the generous help of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions. As he bent over sick and dying soldiers, to minister to them spiritual and bodily succor, no voice could have been more sympathetic, no hand more helpful, no prayer for God's blessing more fervent. Tender supplications were offered for the wounded and dying; and earnest exhortations from his lips to trust in Jesus always accompanied his kind efforts to bestow temporal relief.

Subsequently, when permission was given to go to "the front," to administer relief, no one could have performed patriotic and Christian service with greater efficiency. One Sunday evening in Fredericksburg, after

a day spent in the rudely constructed hospital, we reviewed together our sad and trying work. He said, "I have publicly addressed thirty different groups of sick and wounded soldiers to-day, besides giving bodily relief to a very large number." Dr. Hunt always performed these kind offices in a hopeful spirit. In dictating hasty messages to distant friends for sick and dying soldiers, or in presenting the cooling draught to parched lips, or in invoking spiritual grace from heaven, there was always a singular spirit of self-sacrifice manifest that won all hearts. His tireless zeal was a real object lesson for us all; and, from the beginning of that unhappy civil struggle to its very close, few men seemed to comprehend as fully the moral significance of the conflict.

To the far-seeing statesmanship of Bishop Simpson, who held the Genesee Conference in 1870, the "uptown" movement in Buffalo justified the establishment of a new charge. It received the name of "Central Church," and Sandford Hunt was intrusted with its undeveloped interests. It had, as yet, "no trustee, steward, class leader, or member." Its first prayer meeting was radiant with Pentecostal light. "Lips were unsealed that were unused to praying in public. The forty persons who were there accepted the revelation of God's presence on that memorable evening in proof of his seal of approbation on the new work as clearly as the prophet of Carmel, when, in answer to his prayer, fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice." Like the children in the desert, God led them wondrously. The new movement was "fully justified by the dedication of the chapel in about one year, with a membership of one hundred and fifty, and the dedication of the body of the church in five years thereafter with a membership of three hundred." And so the Delaware Avenue Church became a torchbearer of the faith to light men's way to heaven.

Numerous activities were, during these years, occupying Dr. Hunt's attention. In the midst of his official employment he found time to compile his two well-known volumes on the laws of religious corporations. Once he visited Albany, for his Conference, to accomplish certain legislation. And conspicuously was he a member of the commission to locate educational institutions within his Conference boundaries. Numerous honors were also being conferred on him. From 1868 to 1874 he was Conference secretary. In 1871 he received the doctorate of divinity from his *alma mater*. Having been a reserve delegate to the Buffalo General Conference of 1860, in 1868 he was

sent to the General Conference at Chicago; in 1872 he was again a reserve delegate; in 1876 he was chosen at the head of his delegation, and was elected a member of the Book Committee. But best of all he was a contented and devoted pastor. Says his friend, Mr. Otis:

> All his sermons were full of Gospel truth, and he always impressed his hearers as one who believed what he preached. I am sure he never preached without saying something to feed the hungry soul of the Christian and awaken in the heart of the unsaved a desire to live a better life. As a pastor he stood in the front rank. . . . His presence in the home invariably brought joy and gladness. No sooner had he entered a house than it was like the opening of the shutters to let in the morning sun. . . . He had a great, sympathetic heart concealed in his robust form. . . . No one in distress ever went to him and was sent away without help. . . . His prayer meetings were always a means of grace, and it was his delight when they were full of spiritual life and power. . . . He believed in revival services, and held them with great success. . . . The Sabbath school was a place where he delighted to be. . . . In fact, he was an all-round pastor, faithful to all the interests of the Church.

But the last milestones in his Conference service were now near. In the presiding eldership he rounded out his active work among his brethren. From the autumn of 1872 until 1879 he served the Niagara, and then the Buffalo, District. He cared tenderly for his preachers; he cared safely for his churches. This included a particular supervision of their financial interests. At Buffalo it was thought possible to cancel the indebtedness on the churches; and in trusted association with Mr. Root, supplemented by the generosity of this princely layman, Dr. Hunt saw every Methodist property of the city relieved from its mortgage burden. And thus, in the quiet service of his Conference, he was near another destiny and knew it not.

III. An unexpected door now opened into the official service of the Church. On February 20, 1879, Dr. Reuben Nelson, senior Book Agent at New York, fell in the midst of his work, much beloved and sore lamented. The few days that intervened before the special meeting of the Book Committee were filled with inquiries as to the man best fitted for the vacancy. For three years Dr. Hunt, in his service on the Book Committee, had shown such a mastery of its intricate business as to invite attention toward himself; and on March 3, 1879, he was

elected as the associate of John M. Phillips, and became the junior agent. Thus did the grandson of the old saint who had been a "great reader" of "Methodist Church books and periodicals" enter upon the publication of literature for a later Methodism. The horoscope playfully cast for him long before, in a friendly circle, that he was destined for the agency at New York, now had its fulfillment. The man was ready for the hour. Quietly he made his readjustments at Buffalo, and slipped away to his new work, with the prayers and good wishes of the Conference that had so lately given Thomas Carlton for twenty years to the same responsible service. The debt upon the Book Concern of a half million dollars at once engaged his attention. His dislike of indebtedness was so exceeding great that it was his lifelong custom to have no outstanding obligations. Even the articles of food consumed in his home were as a rule paid for when bought at the retailer's. This abhorrence of debt he now carried into his official life. The liquidation of the Book Concern obligations had the equally earnest cooperation of the senior agent. On June 1, 1879, but three months after Dr. Hunt's election, notice was served by the agents upon their bondholders of a proposed reduction in the rate of interest. During the year, as reported to the General Conference of 1880, bonds to the amount of ninety-five thousand dollars were canceled. And so the process was continued until the last dollar of indebtedness was met.

Too recent has been the erection of the new building at 150 Fifth Avenue to necessitate a lengthy statement of Dr. Hunt's relation to that result. One statement is that the first public proposal for the consolidation of the New York printing interests under one roof came from him. As a member of the building committee he was deeply engrossed in the project from its inception. A site having been bought in October, 1887, and the corner stone being laid by Bishop Bowman during the General Conference of 1888, the completion of the building found in Dr. Hunt an ardent participator. All honor is due the eminent company associated on the building committee. But it does not detract from their well-earned praise to say that, among them all, Dr. Hunt was a leading spirit. In his family circle it is remembered that his breakfast hour was changed to seven o'clock, and that it was his daily custom, before going to the

Concern at 805 Broadway, to visit the new building and note its progress. He literally watched its growth from foundation to capstone, and by his knowledge of affairs led one of the contractors later to say that another employer with equal grasp of building details he had never met. In the midst of distracting cares he found time to publish in the *Methodist Review* for October, 1889, a paper on the "Centennial of the Book Concern," setting forth the successive steps leading to the consummation so near at hand—a paper which was later issued in pamphlet form for general distribution at the centennial celebration of December 8, 1889. The dedication of the new building, contemporaneous with the formal centennial of the Book Concern, in February, 1890, was a glad day to him. Among the speakers at the crowded Metropolitan Opera House Dr. Hunt was included, delivering an address on "The Book Concern." Anticipating the second centennial of the Concern, his faith took wing, and he concluded with the prophetic words: "The records, instead of coming from New York and Cincinnati alone, will come from China, Japan, India, Europe, and Africa, in each of which will have arisen establishments far surpassing our own, which shall send forth their streams of light and knowledge for the elevation and salvation of our race."

In February, 1889, Dr. Hunt's associate in the book agency fell at his side. The death of Mr. Phillips, while a great blow to the Church at large, was felt by few outside his saddened family as by Dr. Hunt. Besides the inheritance of new responsibilities, the loss of this comrade smote his deepest heart. For nearly ten years they had resided in the same section of Brooklyn, had almost daily made the journey together over the East River, and, while dissimilar in their tastes, were linked in unusual intimacy. Over his fallen companion the comprehensive eulogy of Dr. Hunt, at the General Conference of 1892, was but a scant expression of the regard he had felt for his colleague. Even to the last he recalled their associations, and at Charleston, but a few days before his death, spoke of the "uniform Christian fellowship and kindness which ever existed between them."

To Dr. Homer Eaton, the new agent, elected in 1889, Dr. Hunt gave a generous welcome. The late dividends of many hundred thousand dollars to the Conferences, to which the

Eastern house has contributed, are a sufficient testimony to the steady advance of the publishing interests during this last copartnership. In his memoir of Dr. Hunt, read at the last General Conference, Dr. Eaton was led to speak of him as "a wise counselor and a true friend." Thus in concord with all his business associates, and with love to all men, Dr. Hunt drew near the goal and saw the city in view.

With the death of Mr. Phillips, in 1889, had come the senior agency and uncoveted burdens as treasurer of the Missionary Society. To this position Dr. Hunt brought the same conservative and conscientious management that had distinguished him in other work. During seven years eight and one half million dollars passed through his hands. His familiarity with all legal forms, his acquaintance with the statutes of many States, and his memory of the details of individual legacies made him an invaluable officer. In 1891 he made the trip to Mexico, in the interests of the society. At the annual meeting of 1894, in Brooklyn, and of 1895, in Denver, he stood like adamant contending for decreased appropriations that the indebtedness might be met. It was of his speech before the latter committee that Bishop Newman afterward said:

> I have heard many remarkable financial speeches, both in the Church and in the United States Senate, but for clearness of statement, arrangement of facts, compactness of argument, familiarity with the banking business of the world, intelligent knowledge of the personal views of American bankers, and an accurate information as to the financial condition of the Church and the needs of our mission stations at home and abroad, I have never heard that speech excelled. It lives in my memory today as something never to be forgotten.

His sense of responsibility for the missionary treasury he had before expressed, in a personal letter, as follows: "I feel an intense interest in the reputation of the treasury of the Missionary Society, and I understand it to be my special duty to guard unlawful drafts upon it. I certainly do not desire to act under the impulse of a misguided zeal, but I was born with an inveterate hatred of debts, and my experience in public affairs has not diminished that enmity." This anxiety for the overburdened treasury led him to spend the closing days of January, 1896, before he went away to die, in sending out appeals for contributions, in furtherance of a special plan he had formed

for lessening the debt. The project was also on his tongue during his last visit to the Southern Conferences, and on that last day's ride from Chattanooga to Cincinnati, in company with Bishop Joyce and Drs. Hammond and Matthew. So did he seem to mind the maxim on his ancestral coat of arms and continue "faithful to the end."

IV. The mention of some traits of character conspicuous in Dr. Hunt will add completeness to this barren outline of his official work. He was endowed with many of the qualities we are accustomed to note in great men. His modesty was sincere and constant. Says his elder brother, already quoted: "If he ever had any ambition for office he must have acquired it in his after life. It is no family ailment." On a few occasions, when the General Conferences were near, the present writer in confidential moments spoke of his probable reelection, receiving in reply the answer that he was but the servant of the Church and was ready to stop when the Church bade him step aside. At the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Delaware Avenue Church, the autumn before his death, he thus spoke of himself as the first pastor, "Improvement was inevitable, as you had the poorest first;" and when urged by the proof reader of his discourse, before its delivery, to soften this expression, he still held to his original phrase. Yet he confidently leaned upon himself, and was fertile in expedients.

He was most industrious. Perhaps from the early farm discipline he was, all his official life, an early riser. While crossing the Atlantic, in 1890, he writes of an anticipated burial on the morrow, "Perhaps they will get the start of me." But the following morning he records in his personal memorandum, "At four I turned out to make sure of being in time for the burial at sea." This habit of early rising brought him even ahead of time to his engagements. It also gave him opportunity, out of office hours, to prepare sermons and lectures, to edit his volume of two hundred and fifty-six pages on Methodism in Buffalo—a volume largely owing its origin to the request of Mr. Root—and to do an amount of other work which was surprising.

He was a friend of education, giving the cause both time and money. As a trustee of Genesee Wesleyan Seminary for years, and once its treasurer, his presence at the meetings of the board was seldom hindered by other duties. In 1879 he

delivered an address before the "Council," held in Syracuse, on the "Relation of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Syracuse University," ending with the promise for the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary: "We will meet you on common ground and carry this institution upon our shoulders, if need be, across this Jordan into its Canaan of safety. Two hundred thousand singing, praying men and women, and a host of patrons in the Empire State, will respond to the demand for aid."

He was truly brave. His brethren in the Genesee Conference will not soon forget how he consented, in 1895, to be counted with a handful of eighteen, in a vote on a great constitutional question, with the election of General Conference delegates impending on the morrow—displaying, says the bishop who presided, "the most splendid courage in speech and vote." But his bravery was only another name for his conscientiousness. He hated shams. Says Bishop Newman again of him: "Hunt had no double. He was never a masquerader. He was never more than himself, nor less than himself, nor other than himself, but was always Sandford Hunt."

This, with all else, made him an increasing force in the General and Annual Conferences. Through all its changes of boundary, and once a change of name, he had remained in the Genesee Conference and particularly loved the brotherhood of that body. From his entrance upon the agency, in 1879, his brethren continuously elected him a delegate to the upper body, and twice at the head of his delegation. Despite his seeming hazard of his interests in the constitutional vote of 1895, he was chosen by just a three quarters' vote, and first in the delegation, to represent his Conference at Cleveland. That gathering he was not destined to attend, yet he went to his grave prizing this new wreath of laurel his brethren had placed upon his brow. His influence in the General Conference needs no review. Four successive times did the body reelect him to his work in New York. His unusual judicial qualities made him a leading figure in its discussions. He grasped the kernel of a debate; he spoke tersely and luminously; he carried an authority that was not easily questioned—and thus he sat a wise man among the sages of the Church.

He grew until his death. His mind was alert to the last, and his spirit young. Chosen a director in a prominent New York

bank, and the associate of men of large monetary interests, he was a growing master in finance. His addresses at the Annual Conferences, as the end drew near, broadened like some river that widens to the sea. During the last year these addresses were particularly masterful and persuasive. Of this says Bishop Newman: "To my mind Durbin was a model in this regard. If he related an anecdote, it was to illustrate his point. If he quoted history, it was to confirm his position. Next to Durbin I place Hunt. He seemed to know just what an Annual Conference demanded of the Book Agent, how to present the facts in the most satisfactory manner, and what book of recent publication was of highest interest to the preacher."

He was helpful to others. Service was his rule of life. His quiet charities were many. His aid to ministerial brethren kept him all too busily employed on the Sabbath, after the week's hard work; and in many churches about New York his vigorous, persuasive sermons are vividly recalled, as he preached the great doctrines of the faith. His succor to those in trouble ended only with his life. He was a friend to the black man, and one of the most sympathetic letters that has reached his saddened family, since his death, has been from a prominent member of that race. Of his inferiors in office he was kindly thoughtful, so that one who had come close to his tender heart in Book Concern work says: "A truer man, a kinder employer, and a firmer friend it has never been my pleasure to meet. It is not common for men to say that they love each other, but I can honestly say that I loved Dr. Hunt, and that I have lost one of the dearest friends on earth." And thus many more have spoken. His circle of personal friends was wide; his benefactions he gave them to the end.

He loved Methodism, past and present, and without reservation preached the faith of Wesley's people. Desire for the approval of Methodism led him of late to say, in speaking of his great responsibilities: "I propose to do this work to the best of my ability, so that I may die after a while in the full approval and benedictions of the Church with which I have been identified." And his trust took hold mightily on the invisible. None who heard will soon forget how this voiced itself in his love-feast testimony at Charleston, a week before his death. In his business cares he stayed his heart on revealed truth. "I am glad,"

he wrote at his desk, not very long before his departure, "that our old Bible contains the following passage: 'For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" And in this faith he was caught away.

V. The memory of his last days to his home circle is like the recollection of a mellow sunset, when the drear night has fallen. Aside from advancing age, he was in an altogether normal state of health until the summer of 1894. In that heated term the emergencies of the missionary treasury particularly kept him from a needed vacation. During the extreme heat he stood almost a lone sentinel at his post, negotiating loans at the New York banks and otherwise keeping his untiring vigil. The few days of respite he was permitted to spend at Martha's Vineyard, when he found it possible to go away, were not days of full rest, since there we find him preaching for the auxiliary of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. His family then saw the first serious indications of overwork. Watching rigorously over his health, through the ensuing winter, it was not till the spring of 1895 that he found himself in the grasp of his final disease. On his return from some of the spring Conferences he complained of pain about the heart, and at length learned that his overtaxed system had been assailed by angina pectoris. From his physician he heard, by his own request, the description of the progress of that dread disease, and went out with a martyr's serenity on his face to meet his fate. Through the succeeding months his demeanor, to those of his inner circle who knew his ailment, was so remarkable as to cause frequent comment. Quietly he moved in and out, neglecting nothing, patient to an unusual degree, given sometimes, as was his wont in health, to gentle mirth, and evidently getting ready for his migration. Yet he had little to say of himself, even to his family, and there is nothing to indicate that he expected to go away so soon. His southern trip, in January, 1896, he had at first abandoned, by his wife's request. But the prospect of the company of Bishop Foster and others led him to change his plans. One never-to-be-forgotten Thursday he stepped over his threshold for the last time, and, with a lover's kiss thrown back to the wife of nearly fifty years, passed from her earthly sight forever. His visit to the South Carolina and Georgia Conferences, his thrilling ap-

peal in the great Charleston revival meeting, his large freedom from pain through those last two weeks, his continued activity in the work of the Church, and his death, on February, 10, 1896, upon the eve of the annual Book Committee meeting at Cincinnati are now parts of an oft-told story.

On Sunday, February 2, he preached in the Old Bethel Church, at Charleston. His text was, "Looking unto Jesus;" and thus his last pulpit utterance was a lifting up of that Master who had called him as a country lad of fifteen into the royal service. "The sermon," writes the pastor, "was full of spiritual power, greatly enjoyed, and made a decided impression." Of a blind boy in his first pastorate he spoke in pathetic words, quoting his testimony in an experience meeting: "I am almost persuaded to say that I am glad I was born blind; for now I know that when my eyes are opened the first sight I shall behold will be my Jesus, and, O, what a glorious sight that will be!"

Another incident in Charleston was Dr. Hunt's visit to its cemetery. Of this Mr. George B. Johnson, his companion, says: "While walking over the ground the doctor's conversation was chiefly concerning the resurrection. He spoke of some recent views that he had read; and then referring to some friend whose name I have forgotten, with whom he had recent conversations regarding the doctrine of the resurrection, after a slight pause said in an impressive manner that the dear brother —calling his name—had passed over the river and knew perfectly the things in which he had been so greatly interested, saying there could be no doubt of the identification of our friends, whatever else there might be." So was he preparing, though he knew it not, for the homeward flight.

The next stage of Dr. Hunt's journey ended at his brother's home on Lookout Mountain. From Thursday till the succeeding Monday morning he tarried about that inviting hearth. Here he found time to write letters to his home, which reached their destination after his death, and came like a message from the spirit world. One was to an invalid daughter. Its sacredness we may invade only to quote his words of final tenderness: "I cannot expect an answer to this, but I hope to find you doing splendidly on Saturday night or Sunday morning, when I hope to reach home." It was on Thursday—two days

sooner than he thought—that he came to the home roof again. But he came quietly, and with no greeting on his mute lips for those whose lives he had made so rich and bright. Before he knew it he had heard "the bells in the city" ring with welcome. Henceforth the Church will remember him with its other sons who have gone in a moment from their work—Monroe and Liebhart by railroad accident, and Kingsley by heart seizure in far Beyroot.

In Dr. Hunt's last letter was an appreciative description of the majestic scenery from his brother's home. On one of the famous mountains of the earth he stood, where once the blare of trumpets and the shriek of battle had been heard, and it was but a step from thence to the unruffled calm of the upper life. Though he knew it not, he stood on the foothills of the celestial world. Narrow was the intervening valley. One tender parting with his brother; a few hours of fellowship with his traveling companions on the cars; one agonizing thrust of pain about the heart, at the door of the Cincinnati hotel—and the lowlands had been passed, and he had stepped from Lookout Mountain to stand in immortal vigor upon the heights of the blessed country.

After pathetic services held by the Book Committee in Cincinnati, and formal obsequies in Brooklyn, Dr. Hunt went back to tarry for a short hour in the Delaware Avenue Church, where his words as pastor linger yet in the memories of men, and then he laid himself down in the city of his early labors to rest until "the great rising day." His monument in Forest Lawn, that beautiful city of the dead, is a simple shaft—standing foursquare, as he stood to all the winds of life; unadorned by any graven ornament, like the unostentatious personality it commemorates; and of enduring granite, as is the lasting name he leaves to men.

A. P. Sanford.

Art. II.—WHAT WE OWE THE NON-CHRISTIAN FAITHS.

That a great change is coming over the attitude of popular Christianity—by which is meant the Christian religion as held by the bulk of its professors—toward the non-Christian religions is very obvious to the most superficial reader of the signs of our times. A few decades ago and nearly all allusions to the other religions were disrespectful, if not positively harsh. The various phases and forms of the polytheistic faiths were popularly branded as "vile superstitions" and "degraded heathenism," while the leader of the latest born of the world's great religions was rarely alluded to except as "the arch impostor," "the false prophet," or "the dark and bloody-minded Arab." All systems outside of Christianity were looked upon with suspicion, or, indeed, positive aversion, and the idea that they were worthy our study and had in them any grains of truth for our enrichment was scouted as little short of impious. It is true this does not characterize the attitude of a few oriental students and that larger body of catholic-spirited scholars who, by training and temperament, were unwilling to deny the presence of large possible good in territories they had not personally explored. But this was the prevailing tone in the pulpits and magazine literature of orthodox Christendom.

Yet it had not always been so. In the earliest centuries, when Christianity, emerging from the provincialism of Syria, stood face to face with the Græco-Roman philosophy, her earliest apologists were eager to first ascertain and lay down how far the deep questionings of the Greek mind had already reached many of the sublime truths that are contained in the Christian religion. Jesus as presented by these, the fathers, in conflict with the schools of their day was not so much the antagonist and opposer of heathen teachings as the one in whom was the fulfillment, the complement, of their highest and noblest thinking. These apologists, themselves from the schools, and thoroughly read many of them in the Greek poets and philosophers, could not but perceive that the pagan world had reached ideas of the being and character of God that were not unworthy the Christian Bible; and,

so far from refusing to see these facts, the early defenders urged that Christianity was worthy the widest acceptance because "whatsoever [true] things were said among all men are the property of us Christians," and contended that the mistruths of philosophy were its defects, its shortcomings from that whole and perfect truth which is in Christ Jesus, in whom the *pleroma*, the fullness, the "complement of all unfilled truth," dwells. Indeed, so freely do these early Christians concede the excellences they found in the thought of their day, and so freely did they clothe the teachings of Christianity in the garb of the Greek philosophy, that they are accused by Dr. Hatch in that very remarkable book, the *Hibbert Lectures* for 1888, of having helped to largely paganize Christianity, not only giving it a permanent vocabulary, but putting into that vocabulary a content to which the simple Syrian founders of Christianity and their immediate followers were strangers. Whether this be the case or not is not now the question. What is sought to be established, though briefly and perhaps inadequately, is that the early Christian writers were more than ready to discover whatever truth the non-Christian systems around them held, and from the ground that was common to all to offer the riches that were with the Christians so as to develop the sterile and deficient wastes of paganism.

Gradually, however, as paganism died out Christianity became the only religion of Europe. Paramount in this territory, she did not within her borders longer come immediately in contact with any other system of religious thinking than her own. Within herself arose conflicts and heresies and logomachies, but these were concerning varying aspects of her own peculiar doctrines. Meanwhile, the cultivated paganisms held their own in distant Asia. Intercourse between the lands was infrequent; such as was had was carried on by sailors and caravan drivers, men ordinarily of neither philosophic equipment nor religious zeal. It may be objected that such was not the case with Mohammedanism. The Moslem at least was very much in evidence, a thriving Moslem court being intrenched in Europe and the whole south and southeast of the continent being invested by Moslem arms. This is true. But the Moslem in Europe practically maintained an armed camp—a camp brilliant with letters and tuneful with song, but after all a camp the keenness of whose

sword was more deeply felt than the incisiveness of its theology or the weight of its philosophy. The court of Cordova affected the Christian thought around it about as much as the court of Constantinople affects the Christians of the Turkish empire, and in turn was about as pervious to Christianity as the Turk is to-day. The reason was much the same. The antagonisms of race and war forbade that interplay of religious thought, that temper which seeks to know what the other side stands for, without which mere physical contiguity counts for nothing.

During these centuries, it is true, the Christian Church never wholly lost its desire to communicate the teachings of Jesus to the extra-European world. There has never been so dark a night in the Church—darkness begotten by theological strife, ecclesiastical out-reaching, and spiritual sloth, begotten of worldly luxury and thirst for worldly honors—but that it has been lightened by a few flaming souls who could not be holden and who, intensely, eagerly, irrepressibly longing to extend the Master's kingdom, carried the light into the deeper darkness of the pagan lands. But these were few and, in the main, were swallowed up in the darkness into which, with heroic soul, they plunged. Whatever was accomplished in the way of mutual interaction between paganism and Christianity these men accomplished, and perhaps in their loneliness and their solitude they received more impression than they made. It is possible that the Romanism of to-day received much of its elaborate ritual and scant-meaning ceremony from Buddhism, through the contact between the eager missionaries of both these faiths who met in the wild wastes of Central Asia, where their mutual zeal had brought them. The Church at large in Europe knew nothing of the systems of Asia. Nor did it care to know. It was engaged with other and less worthy projects than the conquest of alien religions. Asia sat dreamily oblivious of Europe. Engrossed with her own dreamy abstractions, that there might be other peoples and other religious systems was to her no matter for faintest concern. From time to time unbelievers sought to belittle Christian teachings by affecting to find parallel revelations and even purer truths among the sayings of Buddha and the older records of the Brahmans and Persians. But these were, as often as not, fabrications or guesses. Infidelity, when it is born

of malice, has never hesitated to use any weapon without too close scrutiny of its legitimacy. Witness the eagerness with which Voltaire used the *Ezour Vedam* to triumphantly demonstrate that Hinduism contained the choicest teaching of Christianity. He did not care to know, nor was there anybody in Europe just then eager to tell him, that the unscrupulous Jesuit, Robert de Nobilibus, practicing the morals of his order that "the end justifies the means," had endeavored to impose upon the Brahmans of India by forging a deed containing the pedigree of the Jesuit missionaries as Brahmans from Rome, and had followed that successful imposture by concocting the *Ezour Vedam*, in which are set forth many of the Christian doctrines. That the Brahmans should have been misled by these fabrications on the one hand, and that a century afterward Voltaire should have smitten a trembling Christian Church with a supposed find of Christian doctrinal truth in a Hindu matrix, only shows how ignorant Europe and Asia were each ofthe other.

The conditions to-day are entirely altered. Our vast conquests in the realm of the material forces have practically banished distance and made isolation impossible. Remotest peoples are now our neighbors, and farthest islands and continents are never out of our sight. We go to the ends of the earth with ease and safety; and if we prefer to remain at home the ends of the earth come to us, and we cannot look out of our windows but strange faces and stranger costumes and customs are thrust upon our attention. In the realm of thought and letters we are even more closely brought together; and more unavoidably are we international, cosmopolitan. The whole air around us is but a speaking tube. The heavens are a whispering gallery. No voice is raised anywhere but the whole world of thought bends to hear. Philosophical Chauvinism, religious isolation, whether born of conceit or sloth, are absolutely impossible. "*Humani nihil alienum*," each of us says, not because of any marked afflatus of philanthropic humaneness or philosophic hospitality, but because otherwise we would ourselves be dropped out of the "human" category. The very circumstances of our day force us to know what our brother men have been thinking, and are thinking, of the great problems that give life its deep solemnity and its high dignity. The

scholars of Christendom command the languages of the civilized world. The buried treasures of Asia and Egypt—buried many of them even from their own degenerate custodians—have been exhumed. With unwearying industry, with splendid ability, the intricacies of weird writings and the difficulties of all languages have been overcome. The literatures of the world, in all its periods and in all their diversities, are open before us, secured at greatest cost. Philologists, savants, and missionaries have given to them years of severest study and self-denial—like Duperron, who spent seven years in poverty and banishment, returning to Paris hungry and penniless, but with his invaluable oriental manuscripts and a knowledge of the Zend, by which he was able to open to us the teachings of Zoroaster; like Robert Morrison, who, burrowing in the lower rooms of a Chinese shop, came forth broken with fever, but holding in his hand a clew to the almost diabolical language which shuts one third of the human race out from contact with the rest of us; like scores of others who spared neither means nor health nor time to make ours the thoughts of other lands, as well as take to them our richer treasures. And so to-day in the English tongue one may read the sacred books of the East. The devout litanies of Egypt; the spiritual Gathas of Persia; the impassioned hymns of Vedic India; the uneven, but often wildly poetical, bursts of the Arab enthusiast; the cold, orderly morality of Confucius; the metaphysical mists of Lao-tsze, are all before us; and note and gloss and comment abound, so that any plain, wayfaring man not quite a fool may become fairly conversant with the religious ideals and hopes and fears of the race. Nor is it being left optional with us whether we shall familiarize ourselves with the chief points in these religions. Their representatives are among us. On our lecture platforms, and even in our pulpits, are heard Mozoomdar and Vivekananda, and Gandhi and Dharmapala—though these names should not be coupled in anything except in this general list of recent speakers, for the first and last are of a vastly different type from the others. Scarcely a reputable magazine but holds important contributions from non-Christian pens. It has become necessary, and more and more imperative will the necessity grow upon us, for every intelligent Christian to know the salient points of the faiths whose defense is thrust upon him.

The plain duty of the Christian preacher, at least, is surely very evident. No longer can all extra-Christian faiths be dismissed with a wave of the hand as "born of the devil," nor be characterized as "debased superstitions," or the "base brood of barbarism." This, wherever it obtains, only exposes the pulpit, and justly, to the contempt, or equally deadly compassion, of even the half-read. The situation calls urgently for different treatment. The necessity is upon us for close, sympathetic, but clear-eyed study of the religions of the world:

1. Because there is no system of religious belief that has obtained wide credence among men that does not have in it a deposit of truth. This it is that, in spite of enfolding and enervating error, has kept the system alive. It is a deliberate slander against the human mind to suppose that the masses of men hold beliefs tenaciously because seduced by the error that is in them. Error and mistruth are plentifully mixed with the religions of men; but it is the Godlike in these religions, it is the echo of the divine voice still heard in them, which gives them empire over millions of men, and causes that empire to be prolonged through the centuries. No devout student who believes that God is the source of all spiritual illumination can afford to ignore whatever of light and leading the Holy Spirit may have imparted to these far-off children of the all-Father. It is not that the Christianity of any age is, so to speak, localized, circumscribed by the limitations of the day. The whole body of truth may be there, but it does not all appear. The accents are not all in just proportion, and the tendency of underaccented truths is to disappear from notice. Many times these are the very features of truth which some deficient extra-Christian faith makes central and most insistent; and the Christian may find profit in noticing how valuable the fruitage in other lands of truths contained indeed in Christianity but underestimated, if not completely slurred over, by the *zeitgeist* of Christendom.

To briefly illustrate, who can doubt the value of studying in the light of Mohammedanism the value of the "sovereignty of God." How invigorating it is to the plain, simple Christian to turn from the labored and fatuous efforts of our day to "justify the ways of God to men"—efforts which seem to put man on the bench and God at the bar—and hear the

Moslem say with passionate energy and insistent devotion, "Allah-il-Allah," "God is God," without any shadow of question that he owes implicit obedience to him whom he thus acknowledges and curtly proclaims! Is not the sovereignty of God in human affairs clearly taught by Christianity? But does our day not tend to slur over the teaching, and, in our exaggerated emphasis put upon human freedom or the law of causation, according to the school of thought we may follow, do we not tend to dethrone the King? Similarly, it might be shown what Hinduism has to teach of an immanent God breaking in upon us through every avenue of life, in whom "we live, and move, and have our being." And China would teach us the value of manners in making morals, or at least in strengthening them by working in from a correct exterior.

That was a noble saying of a distinguished professor when, in answer to an invitation to the World's Parliament of Religions, he replied: "Is it probable that men who can devote studious years to the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle will care nothing about the doctrines of Buddha and the maxims of Confucius? I am a Christian; therefore there is nothing human or divine in any literature of the world that I can afford to ignore." What will give the professor's words still more point is to remember that all that Plato and Aristotle can give us we have already largely assimilated. New illuminations of neglected truth—not new truth, for Christianity holds all truth—are ours now to receive from the new literatures being opened to us. Apart altogether from any literary beauties, any æsthetic contributions they can afford, there is in each of them some ethical and spiritual content for our enrichment.

2. And not only for enrichment, but for defense, is this study necessary. If the Christian world has underestimated the religious value of the non-Christian faiths, there has always been in Christendom a party, consisting partly of hostiles and partly of overtender sentimentalists, who have ascribed undue values to the extent and depths of truth to be found outside the Bible. Before the scriptures of the other faiths were within our reach, they uttered dark parables and freely made imaginary discoveries of profound spiritual truths and perplexing parallels. Now that any man may turn to the English translations, they still avail themselves of the fact that amid the mass

of non-Christian literature are to be found a great many pearls of wisdom and beauty. Nothing is said of the mountains of chaff, and often of filth, in which the treasures are imbedded. But, exhumed and polished, and their contents often put into words which with their writers meant widely other things, we are constantly invited to throw aside the Christian system for some eclectic patchwork in which the teachings of Zoroaster and Buddha and Jesus shall all have place. Recognition is indeed given to Jesus. He is one of the teachers. But by no means is he the only or even the greatest one.

But, besides the covert attack upon Christianity made by the liberalists of Christendom from behind the sacred books of the East, we are on the eve of assault from another direction, and that is from the defenders of the non-Christian faiths themselves. For fifty years and more these faiths have been hotly invested in their own lands. Their leaders long supposed that Christendom was a unit in the assault. They spent their whole strength in devising means to parry the attacks of Christianity and at least to persuade the rank and file of their fellow-religionists that there were grounds for defense. They have been driven to bring forward the purest teachings of their several scriptures, and to apologize and attempt to explain away the grosser and more revolting features of their national religions. But, recently, they have found a considerable public in England and America eager to believe that vast treasures of truth are in the Orient. A few of these leaders have already appeared among us. They have been applauded to the echo by the secular press and by coteries of dilettant religionists and fashionable ladies athirst for new sensations. Their lecture tours have been pecuniarily profitable to an extent almost dazzling to men from the poor East. And, above all, they have returned with all the eclat of having, supposedly, attacked Christianity in her own home. To tens of millions of their fellow-religionists the word has gone out that from henceforth it is not to be a matter of defense against the attacks of Christianity, but that the attempt will be to divert attention from the weakness of the old beleaguered walls by sorties into the enemy's country. That these sorties will result in a return with considerable private pelf—the reward of gratifying American curiosity by flowing oriental robes and an equally flowing

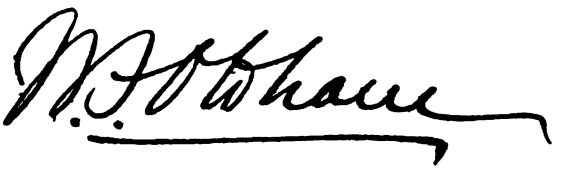
readiness of oriental speech conveyed in faultless English—will not detract from the eagerness of the coming campaigners.

How is all this to be met? That any enduring harm will be done Christianity, or that even any formidable barrier will be opposed to the Christian propaganda by these "delightfully romantic" young orators, is not to be feared; but, for the present, the effect of this double movement upon the Church at large will be to abate missionary enthusiasm, and to that degree cool the ardor for Jesus and the passion for the extension of his kingdom which is the very mainspring of a virile, aggressive Church. The most effective cure will be for the Christian leaders at least to familiarize themselves with the actual teachings of Buddha and the others. When from the lips of these teachers themselves it is learned how immeasurably they fall below Jesus, even in the points where they are at their best, it will be an easy thing, when their words are understood in the sense in which alone they used them, to show the Church at large that there are abysmal differences between the partial truths and vast errors of any non-Christian faith and the gracious words of Him who spake as man never spake. Something of poetry may be lost in the process, and much of glamour will be; but if, on the one hand, many lose the enrichment that comes from the Orient, others who have been misled into believing that the mines of Golconda still produce kohinoors will be awakened from their illusions. It is true we will scarcely feel the strange thrill of delight that many experienced when it was reported that, at the Parliament of Religions, the varied religionists united in saying, "Our Father which art in heaven;" for we will know that the words were without meaning to a Buddhist to whom a father God is unknown; that they were almost ludicrous on the lips of a Hindu; and that even a Mohammedan can with great difficulty conceive of God as anything other than a stern and majestic governor. But, on the other hand, we will not be cheated out of the intense desire that all the children should be weaned from their voluntary orphanhood and be brought into conscious sonship with the great loving father God.

If, then, a study of the non-Christian faiths be thrust upon the Christian leaders of America, what shall be said of the absolute folly of sending out missionaries to the homes of these

faiths in utter ignorance of what they go to supplant? Here at least no words need be multiplied. And yet this is what, in the main, the Church has done. Of the entire missionary force in the foreign fields scarce a third has received any training in the systems they are in daily conflict with. How many years of painful experience they spend before they are able to say, "So fight I, not as one that beateth the air," they will themselves bear witness. Read the complaints of their non-Christian opposers, and amid much which is merely captious will be found an underswell of pathetic complaint that the missionary is not sympathetic because he is unknowing. This is vastly truer of the young missionary than the old. A careful sympathetic study of the religious systems that are made by, and in turn make, the mental and religious soil where the Christian grain is to be sown would greatly help the husbandmen to secure adequate fruitage. Christianity has succeeded, does gloriously succeed; but her native power, the might of her effects in spite of the limitations of her agents, is not to be supposed to be anything like what it would be if to the native power of the truth were added wisdom and skill in those whose hands carry the truth.

Every view of the question forces the conclusion that the missionary outfit should certainly include a knowledge of, at least, the particular religion of the land to which he goes and the trend of mind where such a religion could be produced and continue to exist. On this point let the brilliant Buddhist, Dharmapala, be heard: "I warn you that if you want to establish Christianity in the East it can only be done on the principles of Christ's love and meekness. Let the missionary study all the religions; let them be a type of meekness and lowliness and they will find a welcome in all lands." And, again, listen to the gentle Mozoomdar: "Perhaps one day, after this Parliament has achieved its success, the Western and the Eastern man will combine to support each other's strength and each other's deficiencies."



ART. III.—THE APPRENTICESHIP OF PREACHING.*

I AM afraid you will think my address a very dull one, not in the least entertaining; but these moments are precious, and I am anxious to make the best of them. I wish you to remember throughout this address that my aim is intensely practical, and that the views expressed are the results of personal experience. I put before you conclusions reached through much painfulness. You will not be offended if I consider you as apprentices in the divine art and address you as such.

Students in your position are sometimes conscious of a considerable restlessness. They rebel against the close application, the attention to detail, the drill and the drudgery, which characterizes this stage of your life. In college "grinding" is considered pretty nearly your whole business. You are "grinding" classics, philosophy, theology, ecclesiastical history, and not rarely grinding your teeth. You are tempted to resent the long course of monotonous work, and are found much oftener than you ought to be found reading a book that is not a text-book, a book the reading of which will not be followed by an examination. Some students never heartily do their proper work, and they are unfeignedly glad when the servitude is over. Speculation, poetry, fiction, eloquence, general literature, are far more to their taste than the slow and painful acquisition of the first principles of things. In this address I wish to say to you, and to say as emphatically as it is possible for me to speak, that this impatience with elementary work is a great mistake, every bit of it a mistake. I earnestly recommend you to avoid every distracting study, to enter with all your heart into the course of technicalities, and resolutely to apply your mind to the grammar of the various sections of knowledge with which the preacher is concerned. Whatever time and force are taken from "grinding" entails an ultimate loss; nothing in life will pay you better than the drudgery of to-day, if it only be thoroughly carried through.

1. It is only by economizing these student days that you acquire the large foundation knowledge which is essential to

* The substance of this paper was given as an address to theological students, and, contrary to the custom of this *Review*, the direct address form is here retained.—EDITOR.

the preacher. Preaching is, to a large extent, a matter of knowledge. We often speak of the difficulty of preaching; but a full mind and a full heart make everything easy, preaching included. A local brother in one of our circuits sometimes brought his sermon to a very early and unexpected end by remarking, "Dear brethren, there are many deep, rich, delightful, and sublime things to be said on this text—only they don't occur to me." That brother got to the bottom of the thing as well as to the end of it. The defect of our sermons is that the appropriate thoughts, the affecting sentiments, the realizing illustrations do not occur to us. This is all. If they only would, what sermons we should preach! what different sermons we should preach! The text we select is right enough. We have a sense of its splendid significance, and we are conscious that if some preachers had it they would bring noble thoughts out of it, illustrate it with apposite allusions, and enforce it with convincing arguments; but, unhappily, these thoughts do not occur to us, and so we stand fumbling about vacantly, while the congregation, finding there is nothing for their soul, with a swift instinct of economy take a little repose for their body. Now, you ought to take all possible pains that these appropriate, beautiful, and profound things shall occur to you. In the clearness, variety, and amplitude of your knowledge you will find a treasury upon which you can happily draw, and you will be able to set forth the truths of revelation with unfailing freshness and power. Strive to make that treasury as large as possible, and your ministry cannot lack interest and efficacy. Without this knowledge you will often find yourselves in a sorry plight. A Yorkshireman, preaching on the subject of Nicodemus coming to our Lord by night, and making very little out of his subject, abruptly and pathetically finished with the remark, "Nicodemus, thou camest in the dark, and in the dark thou must go." With an ill-instructed scribe many subjects come and go as Nicodemus did.

Not only does a large knowledge supply material for sermons, but, what is almost equally important, we know better what to leave out. "The artist," says Schiller, "may be known rather by what he omits." "In literature, too," says Pater, "the true artist may be best recognized by his tact of omission." And we are sure that the pulpit artist is skilled in the science

of omission. He who has looked the most widely over the field of knowledge best knows the due proportion of things, and can regulate his teaching accordingly. And what a preacher leaves out is not lost; it gives perfectness and authority to what he advances. Hearers have a mysterious discernment for reserve knowledge and power; they listen so deferentially to what is said because of what is not said. In these college days you ought to acquire a sense of what is best left out of popular teaching, and that gift your hearers are sure to appreciate.

Fullness of knowledge saves a minister from the temptation of resorting to bizarre methods to attract a congregation. No matter how clever a man may be, he cannot long hide from himself or from others the fact of his intellectual superficiality and limitation; and I believe that many a preacher who resorts to eccentric and sensational stratagems does so from the consciousness of the meagerness and frailty of his theological and philosophical resources. No truly great actor becomes a Blondin walking a tight rope to draw a crowd; no really great singer blacks his face and joins the minstrels to secure popularity; no great artist renounces academical law to astonish the world by daubing nightmares. Men of a much inferior order condescend to theatricals; gifted men have no need. And it is the same with respect to the Christian pulpit. Henry Ward Beecher did not resort to flags and dulcimers; Bishop Simpson succeeded without dressing himself in oriental costume; Joseph Parker gets on without a magic lantern; R. W. Dale used no stage property, posture, or passion; and Maclaren discovers no anxiety to straddle the latest sensation. But the preacher who is conscious of deficiency in the deeper qualifications of his vocation seeks to awaken and maintain public interest by eccentricities and extravagancies in the subjects he chooses or in the manner in which he treats them. Our congregations desire above all things clear, deep, scriptural truth, and any ministry of real teaching power is sure of perennial popularity. The interest of the multitude in Christian doctrine is not speculative and arbitrary; it is personal, practical, passionate. The people recognize in our doctrine the things by which they live, and he who can state evangelical truth with lucidity and feeling will find his ministry influential when the mere rhetorician and sensationalist have passed away.

In this college, in these privileged days, your tutors show you over the vast field of theological and related knowledge. You are made acquainted with the contents of the Old and New Testament; you become familiar with that Christian theology which is systematized and reasoned revelation; you trace the development of Christian doctrine; you survey the devious windings of ecclesiastical history; you estimate the merits and sanctions of differing ecclesiastical polities; you master the principles of moral science; you are initiated into the mysteries, the yearnings, the sorrows, the needs, the glories, and the hopes of human nature; you learn something of the relation of evangelical truth to science and philosophy; you discover the attitude that the Church of Christ should maintain to current literature, to social problems, and to the questions of the hour. In one sense the theologian is a specialist; yet his science has manifold and wide relations. Now, it will not always be easy for you to perceive the bearing of some of your studies upon that splendid oratory which you feel to be the need of the age, and which you hope shortly to illustrate. But remember that the men who train you lived before you and see reasons for dry studies which it is impossible for you to see; and be confident that in due season you will find out the utility and preciousness of the things they take so much trouble to teach. The time you spend here is not adequate for full instruction on all the topics attempted in the curriculum; but, after all, the grand thing taught in these colleges is how to pigeonhole universal knowledge, and in days to come, if you do not know exactly the thing wanted, you will know where to go to find it.

2. You can never reach the perfection of your powers as preachers, you can never do your best and most effective work as preachers, except through the drill and drudgery of to-day. To show exactly what I mean by this statement let me give you a quotation from the biography of Doré, the French artist. Doré, as you know, was a splendid genius, draughtsman, sculptor, painter; but the fatal error of his life was that he determined to become an artist without submitting to the ordinary discipline of learning, the result being that, despite a few sensational works, he is accounted by all competent critics a failure. They acknowledge his merit as a draughtsman, but they deny him the character of painter or sculptor. His sym-

pathetic biographer says of him on this special matter: "Doré did not believe in the apprenticeship of art; he pooh-poohed the idea of models. And because he did not believe in the apprenticeship of art he failed, despite his extraordinary artistic aptitudes." His biographer then adds these judicious reflections, to which I beg your most earnest attention: "Paris said that Doré showed in those first works the want that no amount of manual practice can give, namely, the lack of technique." This word, which applies itself to all arts, to all professions, I had almost said to all careers, typifies wherein all painters must learn the alphabet of their future greatness. An artist without technique is a house without foundation, a name written in sand. M. Lacroix was not so very old a man when he begged Doré to study from models, in short, to learn his art as others had learned theirs; but, even then, Lacroix fully appreciated that no profession can be a legitimate success which has not been learned through legitimate means. If the contrary is to be the case, farewell forever to apprenticeship of every kind, and to those long, exhausting hours of preparatory toil which harass youth. If all the world may paint without ever having studied painting as an art, then not only were Raphael and Da Vinci fools, but so is everyone else who believes as they did, and puts that belief to such severe and endless tests. It is true that this is an age of progress; but no one has ever known or heard of a human being claiming to be a great artist who has not toiled step by step up every one of those rugged steeps which lead to the final goal of art. No natural talent will carry forward a man of genius by leaps and bounds over the gulf that gapes between the first step of to will to the last of to be able. On looking at Doré's paintings connoisseurs said at once, "He has it all in him, but he lacks school." Now, gentlemen, all this is as true for us preachers as it is for artists. No amount of dexterity will atone for our 'lack of technique;' that is, for our lack of accurate thought and knowledge. As famous artists learned in painfulness "the alphabet of their future greatness," so we, in severe industry, must learn the alphabet of our future efficiency. If our profession "is to be a legitimate success it must be learned through legitimate means." If we are ever to be esteemed as worthy preachers "we must toil step by step up every one of those

rugged steeps which lead to the final goal" of preaching. Not by leaps and bounds shall we attain it. All truly great preachers attained knowledge and expression through infinite drudgery, as Raphael and Da Vinci did, and if we are to prove masters in our vocation we must submit to the tediousness of apprenticeship as did the mighty before us. You, as theological students, must make the best of the dry grammatical teaching of to-day, of these "long, exhausting hours of preparatory toil which harass youth," or some day discerning listeners, marking your hesitating logic, your inexact knowledge, your defective expression, your crude eloquence, will say of you what the connoisseurs said of Doré, "It is all in him, but he lacks school." Before men can use color to advantage they must learn to draw carefully; and if you are to become effective expositors and reasoners you must have the necessary humility and patience to master the alphabet of your calling in these college years.

Much nonsense is talked about "self-made men." A self-made man may in many respects be an admirable man, but everybody knows that he is a badly made man. It is, and must be, of incalculable value to be trained by those who know. William Hunt, in his *Talks about Art*, says truly: "Getting along without instruction! Nobody ever did well without learning from those who had had opportunity to know what was good and great. Michael Angelo, Titian, Raphael, were they self-taught?" The student who elects to direct his own studies, generally reminds one of the enthusiastic party who "rose every morning at four o'clock to misinform himself." The energy, the aspiration, the sacrifices of the self-taught are often painfully misdirected and abortive.

Gentlemen, some of you to-day look with envy and desire upon the popular preacher, and you are right in so doing. The preacher whose popularity is legitimate is a power for good; but more and more must men study deeply, widely, patiently, if they are to become in any worthy sense distinguished preachers. Angelo studied anatomy long and minutely before he felt himself equal to great cartoons; it is easy to see that John Ruskin mastered most carefully the elements and technicalities of architecture and painting before he wrote his masterpieces; and Victor Hugo took infinite pains

to understand localities, dialects, details, before he proceeded to the composition of his gorgeous romances. Great masters invariably acquaint themselves with the facts and laws, the truths and principles, which underlie their vocation, before they shine in color, or charm in music, or persuade in eloquence. The Hon. John Collier, recently lecturing at the Royal Institution, said, touching art, that it might be laid down as a general rule in painting, and one which he could recommend to impressionists, that the only way to arrive at excellence in painting was to do a great deal of preliminary work in a very precise and careful style. That is an advice I may commend to you as preachers. The only way to arrive at excellence in preaching is to do a great deal of preliminary work in a very precise and careful style. It is wonderful to listen to a superb oration, like one by Wendell Phillips, dashed off at an hour's notice; wonderful to read of Turner simply mixing his colors in broken teacups, and then painting his marvelous pictures, while other exhibitors in the Academy were varnishing theirs; wonderful to listen to a great preacher like Spurgeon holding an audience of five thousand people spellbound, for an hour, by a discourse that had been entirely prepared on the same afternoon. But these extraordinary men would be the first to acknowledge that a world of patient toil preceded these oratorical and artistic triumphs. The magnificent speech, poem, or picture was the sum total of endless readings, experiments, musings, failures, and fatigues. In one of our circuits a wealthy but uneducated gentleman was prevailed upon to take the chair at a missionary meeting. He began his speech, but it soon became sadly confused, and the speaker abruptly resumed his seat. At the conclusion of the meeting, however, the baffled orator remarked, "Dear friends, you would observe that my opening speech was not as full and clear as was desirable; but during the course of the meeting I have written down my speech, and I will now read it to you impromptu." Gentlemen, most grand impromptu work is first written down; only you must write it down before the meeting. Prepare now for your discourses; write them down in patient study, and when, in future years, you face exacting congregations you can triumphantly read those discourses impromptu. The twentieth century preacher will

require something more than fluency and smartness; he will need every possible resource of knowledge and culture.

In urging upon you patient and exact work during these student days let me remind you of two things:

1. The age in which we live calls with increasing emphasis for trained power in its teachers. And in affirming this we do not forget the real and immense value of untrained workers in the cause of humanity and civilization. Ruskin says:

"It is impossible to calculate the enormous loss of power in modern days, owing to the imperative requirement that art shall be methodical and learned; for, as long as the constitution of this world remains unaltered, there will be more intellect in it than there can be education; there will be many men capable of just sensation and vivid invention who never will have time to cultivate or polish their natural powers. And all unpolished power is, in the present state of society, lost.

Ruskin is no doubt right in contending that we lose much because we refuse to look at anything that is not expressed in a legal and scientific way; we should certainly be all the richer, artistically, if we granted the village mason and the peasant a larger liberty to express the rough power that is in them. We need also in a special sense to give due space and encouragement to the rough workers in the Church. Men with little culture are capable of great things for God and the race, and the Church must be prepared to give such workers the largest opportunity and sympathy. Methodism is peculiarly bound to remember this. History shows our immense debt to rough power, and we would commit a fatal mistake to-day if, in any spirit of pedantry or fastidiousness, we were to eliminate from our ministry all undisciplined native power.

Still, I am sure of this, that the Church will increasingly be compelled to insist upon a disciplined minister. We have everything to gain by realizing to the utmost the intellectual force that is in us. This is true in England, and it is true in America. In an article written by an American, in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1894, entitled "Intellectual Progress in the United States," this paragraph occurs:

In theology, the absence of an established Church, the resulting freedom, and the rivalry between all sects have made it necessary to give special attention to the training of the clergy. Larger average demands are no doubt made in the matter of preaching than in any existing society. The traditions of the earlier Puritan divines, when the minister

was the practical dictator of the community, and the absence of liturgy and form in the service, have given even an unnatural prominence to the sermon. In spite of the complaint heard continually, with us as everywhere else, of indifference to religious teaching, I do not believe that there has ever been a time when a more universal or intelligent interest was manifested in the deepest questions relating to man's destiny.

Some specialists predict that, owing to the operation of various causes, precious stones are destined to suffer great depreciation, but I feel sure that one famous gem will suffer immense depreciation—the diamond in the rough. The spread of education in all directions renders this inevitable. There was always something unsatisfactory about the diamond in the rough, the roughness being positive enough while the size and water of the gem were generally left largely to the public imagination. This type of teacher is destined to a narrower, ever-narrower, popularity. Not that real power will be less appreciated. No; polish may sometimes be mistaken for power, pedantry for learning, yet the world has an instinct for genuine power, and the man of deep nature, of insight, of reasoning faculty, of imagination, of spiritual sensibility, of large utterance, will be recognized in the future more swiftly than he has been in the past, although he may emerge in obscurest circumstances. But the world will insist that the diamond shall be cut and polished, so that it may sparkle for all that it is worth. I say to my young brother, do not rest on the fact, although I am assured it is a fact, that you are a genius. Genius must know the friction of the wheel, if in this generation it is to fetch its full value. You are here grinding, drearily grinding, and you are tempted to shirk the process. But what are you grinding? Theology, philosophy, languages? You, yourselves, are being ground. You are losing the incrustations of ignorance, vanity, prejudice, and uncouthness which neutralize your intrinsic power and efficacy; and so you are being qualified for the highest, fullest service to which you are constitutionally equal. No grinding will convert a pebble into a jewel; but every turn of the wheel delivers from some grievous limitation of indiscipline, and enables you more fully to exert and enjoy your essential strength. A spurious, manufactured diamond crumbles on the wheel; it looks plausible enough, but it cannot bear grinding; and there is something seriously amiss with the genius that will not endure discipline.

2. The last thing I have to say is this: If you do not now acquire this elementary knowledge and discipline it will be very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to attain later. The life of a Methodist preacher is a busy one, and it is not likely you will find opportunity in the future to do anything that you now leave undone. Lacordaire, the famous preacher of Notre Dame, in his letters to young students, is never weary of enlarging upon the value of sustained theological study in the earlier years of life. Writing to one of these, he says:

> Do all you can to lay in a store for the rest of your life. I have always, in my own case, regretted that I had not had at least ten years of strong theological reading before my entrance into the active world. The overwhelming life we now lead gives us no time to repair any original weakness in the foundation of our mental building, it so enchains us by its pressing daily exigencies and claims that it is much if we can find time to keep up with the newspaper or to read some more than usually interesting book. Take advantage, then, of the happy interval which is just at this time placed between you and the world of active life. Drink, drink deeply at the well of spiritual science. Its waters may now seem cold and bitter to you, but a day will come when you will find in them all that is sweetest and most salutary.

This, gentlemen, was the advice of an old orator; and you may be sure that if, in the comparatively leisure days in which he lived, the value of early studies was so keenly felt, this value has been immensely enhanced by the crowded life of public men in the ending of the nineteenth century.

In conclusion, let me say: Do not be fretful about any of the subjects enjoined you; do not fritter away your time in making sermons. The one grand thing you learn here is, how to learn. The virtue of your training is qualitative, not quantitative. Preaching is a matter of knowledge, large knowledge, exact knowledge, and here you learn what knowledge is necessary to the preacher, where to acquire it, how to acquire it. Sermons are made fast enough when you want them, and they will be all the better for every bit of honest work put into these college days.

W. L. Watkinson

ART. IV.—JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN: POET AND REFORMER.

THE career of John Henry Newman contained in an unusual degree the unexpected and surprising. The political and theological notions of his early life were a source of pain, keen and unanticipated by his mother. His collegiate course was one the authorities of the university never expected. His leadership of the Tractarian movement surprised his contemporaries. To those who knew him intimately he was repeatedly appearing in new and unexpected positions. An explanation of these unexpected developments lies in the fact that nature placed alongside of many of his characteristics a companion which was an inveterate enemy; so that, if Mr. Newman possessed a masterful will, he was also accompanied by a hesitating distrust of his own willfulness; if in his introspective moments—and he had many such—he could regard himself with an awe approaching terror, he was none the less possessed of a strong egotism; if he was attracted and won by beauty in any of its myriad manifestations, there was a consciousness that it was only a snare and a delusion; if he was led, as he frequently was, to ignore the force and value of fact and reason, he was accompanied by a sense of their great usefulness in determining vital questions and the absolute necessity of being controlled by them; if he worked only at the highest and worthiest tasks, it was with a feeling deep and profound that nothing human can be anything but low and vile. Given then such a man, with the task of leading a great religious movement resting upon him, and is it so surprising that his life should be a source of wonderment and that many of his positions appear enigmatical?

Perhaps, of all the phases of his multiform career less is known of his poetry than of the others. We think of Newman the preacher, standing in St. Mary's, uttering sentences not alone beautiful for their pure polished form and faultless grace, but heavy with thought; we knew him as a reformer, groping his way at first, balancing and weighing alternatives, circling round like a carrier bird until sure of his direction and then going undeviatingly toward what for him was home and peace; but of Newman the poet little is known.

The muses, however, were not sleeping when he was born, and at an early age he took up the lyre they left and struck some chords worthy of a poet's name. Naturally of a pensive disposition, he lived in early youth in London in a world of his own, and this was a "world of shadows." "I thought," he says, "life might be a dream or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow-angels, by a playful device, concealing themselves from me and deceiving me with a semblance of a material world." The lakes of Westmoreland, with their mountains and forests, educated a child of similar tendencies and gave the world a Wordsworth; but in palace, park, or pavement of the metropolis there was nothing which could do the work of the "lake region." So while the introspective poetry of Wordsworth lives in the beautiful foliage of nature, our poet, equally introspective and a lover of nature, is forced to seek his figures in the objects of the town and say:

> I cannot walk the city's crowded streets,
> But the wide porch invites to still retreats,
> Where passion's thirst is calmed and care's unthankful gloom.

Professor Shairp says that Cardinal Newman was a prose poet, and compares him with Carlyle. It is a comparison of dissimilars, for two men could scarcely be more unlike. In the one the diamonds are all uncut, while the other presents no face to the world which does not reflect the refinement and polish of mental and social culture. One is a wild ancestral Teuton, the other the product of a world culture. Carlyle's style is a mountain torrent rushing with impetuous strength and loaded with débris, Newman's a limpid spring of pure language. Of his prose poetry his *Parochial Sermons* contain the best examples, filled as they are with "all the fervor of a prophet and the severe beauty of a poet." The statement, so often made, that there is a grace and a power in the forming of sentences which the ancients possessed and which we have not, to be refuted needs only to be measured by many sentences from these sermons; for while Newman's armory was not forged in the same fire as that of the "invincible knights of old," the deepest impulses of his heart were poured forth in language that for "mellow cadence and perfect rhythm" is not surpassed in the compass of English literature.

With scarcely an exception Mr. Newman's biographers have made but little use of his poetry in tracing the progress of his thought from Protestantism to Romanism, but it is there as clearly as in his other writings. It is as an illustration of this, as well as for its own saddened beauty, that a peculiar interest attaches to the poem best known by its opening lines, "Lead, kindly light," but which appeared under the title, "The Pillar of the Cloud." One must not forget that the author while writing this poem must have been painfully reminded of the earlier lights—his own evangelical feelings, the teachings of Whately, and the influence of the Oriel school—which had led him on only, as he thought, to delude him. All of them were the deceivers which private judgment had raised along his way to trouble him. But, from henceforth, wheresoever the Lord might lead him he would follow. It might be "o'er moor and fen," but nothing should obstruct his progress. Although the idyllic peace of childhood had departed from him, and the "angel faces" that had once been an inspiration had forsaken him, still, if led, he would follow.

Mr. Newman remained throughout life essentially the same deep yet delicate interpreter of the passion that burned in his breast. The old religious fires might be quenched and new ones ignited, lifelong friends might become estranged from him and a new environment bring new friends; but, through the fiercest of mental and spiritual conflicts the arrows never touched his bird of song, and Newman the cardinal was as much a poet as Newman the fellow of Oriel.

To understand Newman as a reformer, we must see a man who possessed a chaste and cultured taste imbedded in a nature essentially celibate; a poetic temper covering a wonderfully strong imagination, which frequently does duty for reason; a mind that is often satisfied with a self-created unity; a ready facility in bestowing upon any who oppose him his hatred; an instinctive desire to do right and a consequent abhorrence of sin, with a querulousness as to what really is sin. And now we must see such a man placed in a State Church and ministering to a people who are not congenial to him. As he feels his parishioners drifting away from him and his personal power diminishing, for support he throws himself back on the system behind him and in accordance with which he works.

Thus led he turns to the records of the early Church, to find, if possible, the ground of the system. Enraptured by the picture which he sees of the early faith, he lives almost constantly in that holy atmosphere and becomes estranged from present conditions until, having evolved as his *dictum* that "faith and reason are incompatible in matters of religion," he finds refuge in records and authorities. Reading clearly in his own heart the uprightness of his own endeavor, most naturally he blames the system in which he has worked and attempts to better it, until at last, stung by the failure of his plan of reform, he throws aside private judgment with a feeling that it must, like a serpent, be shunned, and moves steadily and unwaveringly onward to the ultimate struggle which will procure him peace by the enslavement of reason.

While as a poet he is quiet, reserved, contemplative, as a reformer he is active, quick to grasp the most efficient weapon to use in carrying on his reform, and persistent in following up his own chosen mode of attack. A man who inspired men to follow him, his great fault—and it is a fatal one—was that he marched too far in advance of his forces—so far in advance that retreat to them became impossible to him, and he was forced to bury himself among those he had long regarded as his bitterest foes. Unto such a man we may most gladly give reverence and respect for his struggles and sacrifices, but we can never accord to him the position of guide for ourselves toward the highest truth.

H. B. Munson

Art. V.—SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND.

Every genuine Christian recognizes the fact that the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is the complement and interpreter of the other law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart." Notwithstanding this, so many professed Christians are striving to observe the second law, while ignoring the first, that the newer efforts to give recognition to the human side of this dual law are characterized as social Christianity.* These laws are eternal, but the methods of carrying them out must change as social conditions change.

The greatest industrial change in the Christian era has taken place almost in our own time. The discovery of America, the colonization of the world, the creation of a world market led to the industrial revolution, the substitution of steam and machinery for the old hand labor, the concentration of wealth into great productive establishments and of men, women, and children into gigantic cities. The development of this century, since that great revolution, is so well known that many of its consequences are as yet hardly realized. We are so blinded by our material progress that we fail to see our newer social, ethical, and religious problems.

The first accompaniment of these industrial changes was the desire for commercial and political liberty. Industrially this desire was embodied in the *laissez faire* policy. Economic laws were to be allowed to take their course. The inevitable results must be the greatest benefits to society and the greatest development of individuality. This philosophy was partly a product of the freer commercial relations in the world market and partly a reaction from the antiquated and inoperative mediæval restrictions which existed in the English statutes down to this century. It was the expression of a great truth, but it was grossly exaggerated. Commercial liberty was gained by a few, but the many lost both economic and social independence. The early abuses of the English factory system are coming to be

* Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D., is reported to have said recently in criticising London labor demonstrations, "When man loved God he would soon learn to love his brethren," a doctrine which perhaps everyone has heard preached at one time or another. It is one of those pious expressions which are used to conceal one's own ignorance or negligence of social duties. There is no uncertainty about its direct contradiction of the biblical teaching. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

quite well known in our own country, partly by the abundance of the literature on the subject,* and partly by the similarity of our contemporary industrial development.

In the face of these industrial abuses the clergy remained placidly indifferent. The natural and partially justifiable conservatism of the Church had to be shaken, as in the case of slavery and other abuses, by the utterances of lay prophets. The methods of the Churches in all times have been modified by economic and social changes. In England the movements of social Christianity have been in direct response to the external economic and social development. The origin and progress of these movements can best be understood by contrasting the methods of the Churches before and after the great attack on individualism, which led to most of the humanitarian movements of the last half century. This attack on individualism in turn can be best appreciated in the personality of its chief representative, Thomas Carlyle.†

The industrial and social forces toward the middle of this century, in England, were unquestionably converging toward a reaction against the philosophy and practice of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost. Carlyle was only one mouthpiece of an inevitable popular agitation, but he was the chief, the most unique, and the most influential. John Stuart Mill said, "In Carlyle was found the strife between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." He sympathized with the individualism which produced powerful leaders. He revolted against, and attacked, the system which gave to these leaders unlimited power over their fellows. He attacked *laissez faire;* he defended the organization of labor in the broadest sense. He pleaded for the restriction of the liberty of the few to become rich; he demanded for the many liberty to live and love. From his study of German philosophy he learned something of the laws of development. He had at least a rudimentary conception of the growth of society and of its interdependent units, the individual and the family. Crudely conceiving that society is an organism, he proclaimed the

* See Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution;* Adams, *An Interpretation of the Social Movements of our Time;* and especially for the entire subject, Schulze-Gaevernitz, *Zum socialem Frieden*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1890.

† Schulze-Gaevernitz, *Zum socialem Frieden*, vol. 1; Clarke, "Carlyle and Ruskin, and their Influence on English Thought," *New England Magazine*, December, 1893.

necessity of living for it rather than for privileged individuals. He foresaw the disintegrating influence of unemployment, and pleaded for the consideration of the laborer and the dignity of labor. This is one of his characterizations of *laissez faire:*

The master of horses, when the summer labor is done, has to feed his horses through the winter. If he said to his horses: "Quadrupeds, I have no longer work for you, but work exists abundantly over the world. Are you ignorant, or must I read you political economy lectures, that the steam engine always in the long run creates additional work? Railways are forming in one quarter of this earth, canals in another. Much cartage is wanted; somewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, doubt it not, ye will find cartage; go and seek cartage, and good go with you." They, with protrusive upper lip, snort dubious, signifying that Europe, Asia, Africa, and America lie somewhat out of their beat; that what cartage may be wanted there is not too well known to them. They can find no cartage. They gallop distractedly along the highways, all fenced in to the right and to the left; finally, under pains of hunger, they take to leaping fences, eating foreign property, and—we know the rest. Ah! it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh humanity is forced to at *laissez faire* applied to poor peasants in a world like our Europe of the year 1839.

One more quotation from Carlyle will suffice to illustrate his vigorous teachings and suggest what must have been their influence on the slowly awakening British conscience:

I admire a nation which fancies it will die if we do not undersell all other nations to the end of the world. Brothers, we will cease to undersell them; we will be content to equal-sell them; to be happy selling equally with them. I do not see the use of underselling them. Cotton cloth is already twopence a yard or lower, and yet bared backs were never more numerous among us. Let inventive men cease to spend their existence incessantly contriving how cotton can be made cheaper, and try to invent a little how cotton at its present cheapness could be somewhat justlier divided among us. Let inventive men consider whether the secret of this universe, and of man's life here, does, after all, as we rashly fancy it, consist in making money. There is one God, just, supreme, almighty; but is Mammon the name of him? With a hell which means "failing to make money" I do not think there is any heaven possible that would suit one well; nor so much as an earth that can be habitable long. In brief, all this Mammon gospel of supply and demand, competition, *laissez faire*, and devil take the hindmost, begins to be one of the shabbiest gospels ever preached, or altogether the shabbiest. But it is my very firm conviction that the hell of England will cease to be that of "not making money;" that we shall get a nobler hell and a nobler heaven. I anticipate light in the human chaos. Our deity no longer being Mammon, each man will then say to himself, "Why such

deadly haste to make money? I shall not go to hell even if I do not make money. There is another hell, I am told!" Competition at railway speed, in all branches of commerce and work, will then abate. Bubble periods, with their panics and commercial crises, will again become infrequent. Steady, modest industry will take the place of gambling speculation. By degrees we shall have a society with something of heroism in it, something of Heaven's blessing on it. We shall again have, instead of Mammon, feudalism with unsold cotton shirts, noble, just industrialism, and government by the wisest.

Remembering that Carlyle personifies the social consciousness of the British nation revolting against an exaggerated individualism, let us contrast the religious movements which preceded and followed this transition. The two chief latter-day religious forces using the old methods were the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century and the Oxford movement of this century. The Methodist movement, like its successor at Oxford, was a purely religious one. The little society of students, organized at the university, met together every week for spiritual communion, to read and discuss the Bible. They fasted regularly on Wednesdays and Fridays, abstained from most amusements and luxuries, visited the sick and prisoners. As in the Oxford movement, the leaders were men of religious natures who added to a natural fervency by the later and more critical experiences of their lives. It is quite superfluous here to describe in detail the birth of Methodism. It will be remembered that the desire for a freer and deeper religious life, especially to emphasize the importance of justification by faith, led Wesley to such heterodoxies as the organization of a body of lay preachers and finally to field preaching. Although Wesley remained a Churchman and theologically was largely in harmony with the Established Church, he was ecclesiastically a very poor Churchman. In his methods he was as radical for his day as the Salvation Army is for ours. But the work of the Wesleys and their associates and followers is by no means confined to the establishment of Methodism. They rejuvenated the English Church, they revived the other denominations. So conservative a scholar as Professor Lecky has said they saved England from a French Revolution.* It is hard to overestimate the spiritual consequences of this movement, yet, in

* An impartial account of the Wesleyan revival is to be found in Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii, small edition.

contrast with the late religious developments, it must be characterized as individualistic. They were concerned only with the salvation of individual souls. They gave no thought to the problem of changing the institutions and forces which were daily damning souls. They preached "brotherly love" with all sincerity, but without attempting to discover what that meant when applied to the factory system, to the philosophy of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, to the unconscious destruction of family life by the employment of women and children, which was taking place under the shadows of their chapels. They would probably have agreed with Kaiser Wilhelm, that "social" Christianity was nonsense, that a pastor should not meddle in social politics. They were zealous, faithful pioneers in a great revival of religious earnestness, but they left for the succeeding generations problems which neither zeal nor love could solve, for which consecrated thought and investigation are necessary.

The Oxford movement was primarily a revolt against English "Protestantism," secondarily a revolt against German "rationalism." It can only be understood in the light of three movements of thought which were making themselves felt in the English religious world in the third and fourth decades of this century—the utilitarian and democratic movement of Bentham and the two Mills; the Broad Church movement of Arnold and Whately; the High Church movement of Newman and Pusey. One of the historians of the Oxford movement, Ward, has happily characterized these three schools of thought:

> The indignant revolt of the French Revolution against the claims of custom was developed by the utilitarians into a political and philosophical system. By reaction against the tyranny of injustice which the old order had sanctioned, they endeavored to sweep away bodily the inherent sacredness of constituted authority. In politics they advocated the most entirely representative government, with the ultimate goal of manhood suffrage and absolute liberty of discussion. In philosophy the principle of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" was their watchword, while they waged unrelenting warfare against the authority of instinct, sentiment, and intuition.
>
> Arnold proposed the sinking of dogmatic differences and the inclusion of the Dissenters within the pale of the Church. In short, he looked to a closer and more acknowledged union between religion and the State as a remedy for existing evils. The ideal aim was absolute identity between Church and State. To approach nearer to this ideal he proposed extend-

ing State control to all the most earnest Christianity in the land, which would in return react upon and purify the State. Arnold's influence in breathing life into the decaying establishment was undoubtedly considerable. The party of the Oxford movement, on the other hand, from the first declared war against this State idea. To them the essence of the English Church was that side of her, not which was dependent on, but which was independent of, State control. That acts of Parliament should suppress or establish bishoprics, or that parliamentary committees should reform the Prayer Book, was an intolerable invasion of her rights. In short, while Arnold viewed the Church as essentially a Protestant establishment, the Oxford movement viewed her as essentially still a part of the Church catholic; and complete dependence on the State, which was to the one party her ideal perfection, was, in the eyes of the other, as abolishing the inherent sacredness and authority of apostolic institutions, her absolute destruction.

As for the Tractarian movement, it was not wholly theological. The ethical tendency was shown in increased care for the gospels. The evangelicals, it was thought, had dwelt on the saving work of Christ to the neglect of his inspiring personality and life. A second ethical manifestation of significance was the self-discipline and self-sacrifice taught and practiced by the leaders. Those who with Newman left the Church of England for the Roman Catholic Church gave up their livings and old associations for conscience' sake. Those who remained behind were taunted with insincerity. Both sections of the movement testified to their earnestness by their sacrifice. So much devotion could not be without beneficial result on the Church, and to-day the followers of Newman and Pusey are a splendid power in their respective Churches. They still have a memory of the religious inspiration of the Tractarians, but their methods have changed. They have ceased to be individualists.

Social Christianity is a product of the opposition to individualism. The chief religious activities, since the advent of these socializing doctrines in England, have been in strong contrast with those which preceded them. This is seen first in the fact that the existing movements have been modified. The original spirit of Wesleyanism is to-day embodied in the "forward movement" of Hugh Price Hughes and the social work of the Salvation Army. It is, or ought to be, safe to suppose that these need not be described for Methodist readers. It may perhaps be said that the work of General Booth is connected with the name Wesleyan because of his early religious connec-

tion, the pioneer character of the work of the Salvation Army, and the similarity in spirit and freedom of method. The Salvation Army stands to-day where the Wesleyans did a century or more ago, and is doing the work which the latter would be doing had they been true to their traditions. The advance in method beyond the work of the Wesleys lies in the well-known "social scheme" of General Booth. The city colony has already been a social as well as religious haven for thousands of souls. The farm colony has been commended by those who were at first its severest critics, and Mr. Stead, who was only one among many to see its great social value, has claimed that it is so successful as to warrant the State adopting that method for the entire multitude of the unemployed. The significance of such social activities when successfully carried on by comparatively uneducated people, even taking into consideration the immense aid furnished by their religious devotion, cannot be overlooked by sincere sociological students. One is compelled to minimize the errors and failures of the Salvation Army, in the face of some of their magnificent accomplishments and the unquestionably moderate, valuable, and almost indefinitely applicable ideal furnished by General Booth in his *In Darkest England.* Writes the founder of the Salvation Army:

> What is the standard toward which we may venture to aim with some prospect of realization in our time? It is a very humble one, but if realized it would solve the worst problems of modern society. It is the standard of the London cab horse. When, in the streets of London, a cab horse, weary or careless or stupid, trips and falls and lies stretched out in the midst of the traffic, there is no question of debating how he came to stumble before we try to get him on his legs again. The cab horse is a very real illustration of poor broken-down humanity. He usually falls down because of overwork or underfeeding. If you put him on his feet again without altering his conditions it would only be to give him another dose of agony; but, first of all, you will have to pick him up again. It may have been through overwork or underfeeding, or it may have been all his own fault, that he has broken his knees or smashed the shafts; but that does not matter; if not for his own sake, then merely in order to prevent an obstruction of the traffic, all attention is concentrated upon the question of how we are to get him on his legs again. The load is taken off, the harness is unbuckled, or, if need be, cut, and everything is done to help him up. Then he is put in the shafts again and once more restored to his regular round of work. That is the first point. The second is that every cab horse in London has three things—a shelter for the night, food for its stomach, and work allotted to it by which it can earn its corn. These

are the two points of the cab horse's charter. When he is down he is helped up, and while he lives he has food, shelter, and work. That, although a humble standard, is at present absolutely unattainable by millions—literally by millions—of our fellow-men and women in this country. Can the cab horse charter be gained for human beings? I answer, yes. The cab horse standard can be gained on the cab horse terms.

The High Church party and the Roman Catholics have also, in turn, been socialized. The latter assumed a new rôle in the attitude of Cardinal Manning toward labor. From the standpoint of spirituality Cardinal Manning might have suffered in comparison with Cardinal Newman, but Cardinal Manning was not content with resting in eternal truths. He endeavored to apply them to the needs of our complex social life. There was the spirit, not only of the law, but of the prophets and the Gospel, in the Roman Catholic ecclesiastic who could arbitrate the dockers' strike of 1889, who could so win the hearts of workingmen that in the Labor Day demonstration of 1890 a banner bearing his picture could be found beside those of Marx and other materialistic leaders. Among the many utterances and writings of Cardinal Manning the following words will serve to illustrate his attitude toward social problems:

We have been afflicted by an exaggeration of individualism, and the next century will show that human society is greater and nobler than that which is merely individual. This doctrine, which has its foundation in the laws of nature and of Christianity, is accused of socialism by the frivolous and impetuous as well as by the capitalists and the rich. But the future will call forth into the light of reason the social state of the world of labor. We shall then see on what laws the Christian society of humanity rests.

Stress has been laid upon the work of Cardinal Manning because he was the most prominent successor to the leaders of the Oxford movement; but the High Church party in the Church of England has been on the whole much more active than the Roman Catholics in social endeavor. From the days of Pusey to the present the social effort and influence of the High Churchmen have constantly grown. They are to-day not only the most active ecclesiastics in social work, but a group of young High Churchmen form the left wing of Christian socialism, and some of the most prominent Church of England clergy—among whom may be mentioned the Bishop of Durham, Canon Gore, and Canon Scott-Holland—lead a moderate

High Church socialistic movement. As an instance of practical social work may be mentioned the organization of the Church Army, to accomplish for the Church what the Salvation Army is doing for unattached Christianity. From the days of Wesley, when field preaching was a heresy, to the day of the Church Army is a great and instructive advance. To-day the social activities of the successors of the Oxford movement are as numerous as their methods are radical, when viewed in the light of individualistic Christianity.

In contrast with these older religious organizations, which were socialized by the anti-individualistic philosophy, we find the newer religious movements adopting from their inception social methods. Historically, as well as in importance, the first of these was the Christian socialism of Maurice and Kingsley. Theologically, this movement is related to that of Arnold and Whately; but it is of so much greater relative importance, when compared with the other parties of the English Church, and its energizing force was so unique that it is more exact to conceive it as originating with Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley. These were two of the most sympathetic, devout, and inconsistent men of the century. Some of their sayings, as well as most of their doings, are worth heralding throughout Christendom. Their socialism was without doubt very unscientific, and would be sneered at to-day alike by orthodox economist and socialist, but it was an expression of the heart quite as valuable as any utterances of Ricardo or Marx. Maurice says in a letter to Kingsley:

> Competition is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie! The time is come for us to declare that it is a lie by word and deed. I see no way but associating for work instead of for strikes. I do not say or think we feel that the relation of employer and employed is not a true relation. I do not determine that wages may not be a righteous mode of expressing that relation. But at present it is clear that this relation is destroyed, that the payment of wages is nothing but a deception. We may restore the whole state of things; we may bring in a new one. God will decide that. His voice has gone forth clearly bidding us to come forward to fight against the present state of things.

Kingsley says, in *Cheap Clothes and Nasty:*

> Sweet Competition! heavenly maid! Nowadays hymned alike by penny-a-liners and philosophers as the ground of all society, the only real preserver of the earth! Why not of heaven, too? Perhaps there is com-

petition among the angels, and Gabriel and Raphael have won their rank by doing the maximum of worship on the minimum of grace! We shall know some day. In the meanwhile, "These are thy works, thou parent of all good!" Man eating man, eaten by man in every variety of degree and method! Why does not some enthusiastic political economist write an epic on "The Consecration of Cannibalism?"

Those who understood these men had no occasion to be frightened by such utterances. They were merely calling men to repentance. The paternalism which marked their philosophy is as apparent as the radicalism. Maurice says to a friend:

I have often explained to you that monarchy with me is the starting point, and that I look upon socialism as historically developed out of it, not absorbing it into itself. A king given and an aristocracy given, I can see my way clearly to call upon them to do the work which God has laid upon them; to repent of their sins; to labor that the whole manhood of the country may have a voice, that every member of Christ's body may be indeed a free man.

Kingsley, writing to Mr. Hughes, says: "A true democracy, such as you and I should wish to see, is impossible without a Church and a queen, and, as I believe, without a gentry."

Their positive efforts were seen in the aids given to association. When the Christian socialists took hold of the cooperative movement it was entirely antichristian. Inspired by aristocratic but noble and Christian ideas, they tried to help the workingmen, and in their effort brought down opprobrium and misunderstanding on their heads. The relation of these men to the cause of the People's Charter is fairly well known, or may be read in *Alton Locke* and Kingsley's letters, indispensable handbooks to every student of social Christianity. The unsuccessful agitation of the Chartists, the great needs of the people, which their campaign of a decade had brought to light, won the sympathy and hearty cooperation of the men who thereby were led to call themselves Christian socialists. It was not then necessary, as it is to-day, to distinguish between Christian socialism and social Christianity. As can be seen from the quotations of Maurice and Kingsley, their socialism was a passionate but vague humanitarianism.

Their movement has to-day two distinct and active successors which admirably illustrate the difference between these two terms. On the one hand, all the Christian socialists to-day in England have their historical connection with these early leaders,

although the contemporary Christian socialists accept the full program of collectivism, of which Maurice and Kingsley had not even heard. They demand the nationalization of the land and the collective ownership and control of capital. On the other hand, the social Christian aspect of the movement is typified by such a parish as that of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, presided over by Canon Barnett, who is at the same time warden of Toynbee Hall. Canon Barnett's social philosophy is tersely expressed in his own words, "Vain will be the higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the life of brother men." The work of such a church as St. Jude's has been admirably described in the book of Canon and Mrs. Barnett, *Practicable Socialism*. It is, however, not invidious to say that the work of Barnett as a Broad Churchman is overshadowed by his importance as the founder of university settlements.

In the absence of a better term we may call the next phase of social Christianity the Social Settlement Movement. This new force had its inspiration mainly in the teaching and lives of three men, John Ruskin,* Thomas Hill Green, and Arnold Toynbee. Carlyle has been called the Isaiah of the nineteenth century. It would have been more appropriate to call Carlyle the Jeremiah, and Ruskin the Isaiah, of the nineteenth century. Their mission seems to have been chiefly to awaken sluggish minds to divine truth. Hear Ruskin's testimony to Carlyle:

> Read your Carlyle with all your heart, and with the best brain you can give, and you will learn from him, first, the eternity of good law and the need of obedience to it; then, concerning your own immediate business, you will learn further this, that the beginning of all good law and nearly the end of it is in these two ordinances, that every man shall do good work for his bread; then, secondly, that every man shall have good bread for his work.

Ruskin finds, as Carlyle did, the bane of the laborer's life in the cash relation between employer and employee. He says:

> It is verily this degradation of the operative into a machine which, more than any other evil of the times, is leading the mass of the nations everywhere into vain, incoherent, destructive struggling for a freedom of which they cannot explain the nature, even to themselves. It is not that men are ill-fed, but that they have no pleasure in the work by which they make their bread, and therefore look to wealth as the only means of pleas-

* Clarke, "Carlyle and Ruskin, and their Influence on English Thought," *New England Magazine*, December, 1898; Collingwood, *Life of Ruskin*, vol. ii; Ruskin, *Unto This Last*; *The Crown of Wild Olive*; *Munera Pulveris*.

ure. It is not that men are pained by the scorn of the upper classes, but they cannot endure their own; for they feel that the kind of labor to which they are condemned is verily a degrading one, and makes them less than men. Never had the upper classes so much sympathy for the lower, or charity for them, as they have at this day; yet never were they so hated by them. To feel their souls withering within them, unthanked; to find their whole being sunk into an unrecognized abyss; to be counted off into a heap of mechanism, numbered with its wheels and weighed with its hammer strokes—this Nature bade not, this God blesses not, this humanity for no long time is able to endure.

Ruskin's chief social teaching is that political economy is wrong in laying the greatest stress on the production and distribution of goods. The greatest problem of political economy is the consumption of goods. The greatest question for a people is not how much labor can be employed, but how much life is made possible. It is uneconomic to produce anything which does not lead to life. As he says:

There is no wealth but life—life, including all its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings; and that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personally and by means of his possessions, over the lives of others.

The man who shares with Ruskin the honor of having profoundly influenced the social and political philosophy of most of the progressive young Englishmen is Thomas Hill Green. These two men have won over most of the young university men from the individualistic school of Herbert Spencer—a phenomenon which promises to be repeated in America. Many Americans will at least recognize Green in the person of the professor in *Robert Elsmere*. Important as is the philosophy of Green, of chief interest to us here is his personality.* Rarely have two men such an influence over students as Ruskin and Green exercised at Oxford. Each has his following now among the younger leaders of English thought. Among those who came under the influence of both these inspiring spirits was Arnold Toynbee.† He was a young man of great ability and profound sympathies, whose thirty-one brief years were filled

* See the *Works* of T. H. Green, vol. iii, for an excellent biography.

† Montague, *Arnold Toynbee* (Johns Hopkins Studies); Mrs. Ward's *Marcella* (in which "Edward Hallan" represents Toynbee). Some of Toynbee's views may be found in his addresses, bound with *The Industrial Revolution* (Humboldt Library).

with usefulness. He put into practice teachings such as those of Ruskin and Green, and his influence was of that happy kind which tended to create a bond between social classes. He was not the first to take up residence in East London, which he did during several vacations, but his earnestness and success with workingmen have been the chief inspiration for others.

His untimely death led his friend, Samuel A. Barnett, to address Oxford students with a view to organizing a settlement of university men in the east end of London. The example of Toynbee and the words of Mr. Barnett proved powerful enough to induce a group of young men to take up their residence in Whitechapel. In this way Toynbee Hall, the first university settlement, was organized. The growth of the movement has been one of the most encouraging social developments of our time, not only in England, but to an even greater extent in the United States. It is not hoped for the settlements that they shall be able to regenerate a city or a community. Their supporters do not wish to supplant any existing socializing factors, least of all the Church. The residents at a university or social settlement go into a neighborhood, first to live as neighbors, where there probably is lack of intellectual, social, ethical stimulus; secondly, they wish to supplement every useful form of social endeavor. The settlement is a type of the humanitarian, but scientific reform, spirit which has as its basis the two principles on which the settlement rests—a knowledge of, and a sympathy with, humanity. The knowledge comes from direct personal contact, not from books; the sympathy is therefore intelligent, not sentimental.

The significance of the settlement movement is not, however, summed up in its scientific or sociological importance.* It is serving to give expression to the social activities of several religious bodies. Not only have the Methodists, the Roman Catholics, the High and Broad Churchmen adopted the settlement method as one means of socializing their Christianity, but the followers of rationalists like Matthew Arnold and Thomas Hill Green have made use of the same expedient. University Hall, London, established by Mrs. Humphry Ward to teach the doctrines of the higher criticism, is at present primarily

* *Hull House Maps and Papers*, by residents of Hull House; Woods, *English Social Movements*.

engaged in settlement work. Non-Christians, such as Dr. Stanton Coit, and other ethical workers, have indorsed the settlement idea by the establishment of settlements and neighborhood guilds.* The significance of this for our purpose is chiefly in the convergence of these different forces toward this common institution. The advocates of ethical culture support a movement which embodied the genuine Christian spirit. The representatives of organized Christianity, from extreme orthodoxy to rationalism, find in the same institution the best adaptation of Christian ethics to the condition of our times.

The chief characteristic of social Christianity is its appreciation of the truth, "None of us liveth to himself." This Christian principle, which has the indorsement of science, is not necessarily socialistic, but is certainly anti-individualistic. As, in the physical world, the intimacy of our relations with our fellows is illustrated in the course of a cholera epidemic from Asia, through Russia, to America; as, in the commercial world, a failure in Australia affects English banks and then American finances; as, in the industrial world, the greed of shopkeepers and shoppers expressed in low wages breeds prostitution, so in the social and moral world the relations and responsibilities are ever becoming more intimate over a larger area. Under the factory system organization and association are inevitable in the moral as well as industrial world.

Many phases of social Christianity must of necessity be omitted in this article, the purpose merely being to show how certain great religious movements have adapted themselves to the needs of the present social system, and how in this adaptation they have been led to adopt similar or the same methods, all embodying the principle of association. In one of its phases, that of Christian socialism, it has not feared to face the problem of a complete reorganization of society. The least that an earnest Christian in these days can do is to familiarize himself with the organizations and ideals of social Christianity.

* Coit, *Neighborhood Guilds.*

Charles Zueblin

Art. VI.—THE MIRACLES OF THE BIBLE.

In entering upon any discussion of the subject of the miracles of the Bible it is necessary to state clearly two important facts. First, we must admit, with the fullest candor, that the miraculous element is prominent in both Testaments, and that it is inseparable from them; that it is not in them as something which is ornamental and detachable, but as an integral and vital part of the record; so that if it were eliminated the unique spiritual value of the Bible as a revelation of God would be largely destroyed, and of many an event which is now charged with the deepest and highest significance we should have to say, as it has been shown, "At that time it happened—that nothing happened!" *

Secondly, we must observe that although we cannot touch the miracles of the Bible without affecting, and seriously, its whole character, yet, viewed in their relation to the history which the Bible sets forth, miracles are by no means a common feature of it. There are long centuries covered by the Bible narrative during which there is no hint of a miracle having been done. Take the Book of Genesis, for example.† It embraces a period of certainly not less than two thousand years, and yet there is no allusion to such a thing as a miracle wrought through human agency; and the occasion when God is spoken of as acting out of the ordinary course came but seldom. Speaking broadly, it may be said that miracles are almost entirely limited to certain great epochs. After the time of the patriarchs we find them specially connected with the deliverance of Israel from their long and hard bondage in Egypt; with the prophetic mission of Elijah and his successor, Elisha, which took place at the period of the most marked apostasy of the chosen people; with the birth and ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ; and finally, with the work of the apostles in spreading abroad the knowledge of the Gospel. Looked at in the perspective of the long ages which the several books of the Bible cover, miracles were comparatively few and comparatively rare. They were extraordinary phenomena, brought about by special divine agency for certain great moral ends.‡ Let us keep these two

* Ebrard. † Dr. Munro Gibson, in *Ages Before Moses.*
‡ Warrington: *Can We Believe in Miracles?*

facts in mind, that miracles are an essential part of the Bible, and that we find them—almost exclusively, indeed—grouped around momentous periods in that history.

Coming to the miracles of the Bible themselves, it is possible to consider them in various lights. If we treat of them here as a believer in their reality and truth it is not because we have not acquainted ourselves with the arguments urged against them. And further, if we speak as an expositor rather than as an apologist it is because it is impossible to think of the Bible as "a culprit, to be cleared from the charge of imposture and mendicancy," * and not because of any want of sympathy with men who may, unhappily, have suffered an eclipse or loss of faith. I propose, then, to ask you to glance with me at miracles:

1. From the standpoint of Christian theism. It has been well said that "unless there be belief in a God able and willing to make and attest a revelation" † it is useless to argue about miracles; the argument is "below the horizon." John Stuart Mill was undoubtedly right, as he was certainly frank, when he acknowledged that miracles belong to the supposition of theism, that belief in them is perfectly rational on the part of a believer in God, and that the whole question is one of evidence and not of *a priori* theory. Approach miracles through belief in God, his power, his wisdom, and, above all, his righteousness and goodness, and not only are they not incredible, but in some circumstances they are most fitting and appropriate. Now, it is remarkable, to say the least of it, that in no place in the Bible are miracles brought forward or said to have been performed to prove the existence of God. They were means to attest a divine messenger, to authenticate or emphasize a divine message, but never, so far as we can remember, to argue or evidence that God is. And the reason is plain. They are inadequate to this end. If men fail to see God in the ordinary manifestations of his power and greatness, how can they see him in events which, however marvelous, are local and passing? As the credentials of a prophet sent from God, as a divine seal to a message put forth in the name of God, miracles often have been of immense service; but as indications of God's being and working they fall far below the unspeakably great and grand system of things amidst which we are placed and to which we belong.

* Birks, *The Bible and Modern Thought.* † Cairns, *Christianity and Miracles.*

But it is strenuously urged that "the progress of intelligence, and especially of science, makes belief in miracles increasingly difficult." Well, suppose we grant that just for a moment. Is it not true that the growth of intelligence, and especially of historical knowledge, makes it increasingly difficult to account for some of the plainest and most unquestionable facts of history apart from the acceptance of the truth and reality of the Bible miracles? To refer, for illustration, to the greatest of all miracles, the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. If it is rejected as a legend or a myth, or regarded as other than a fact, how can the great moral and religious revolution, which certainly took place in the first ages of our era, and which was brought about by humble, and for the most part unlearned, witnesses to his resurrection, be explained? How can the Christian Church and the Christian consciousness be explained? But it is needless to press the question. We will go back to the supposed difficulty. Why is it said that the growth of scientific knowledge renders belief in miracles increasingly difficult? The answer is that science demonstrates the continuous and unbroken order of nature, the universal reign of law. And what is meant by the phrase, "the continuous and unbroken order of nature, the universal reign of law?" Nothing more can be intended than this: that, given certain properties of matter and certain forces acting in a particular way, and certain phenomena will result, and that as often as the factors and conditions are the same; or, to state it differently, "that the way in which phenomena are brought about is uniform; that every phenomenon is the direct and necessary result of the properties of matter and the laws of forces concerned in its production."* It would be difficult, we think, to disprove the possibility of miracles on this ground. Beyond all dispute, there may be properties in matter, and conditions under which natural laws operate, which are quite unknown at present, and which would be sufficient to account for many apparent miracles. But, what is more important here, we know quite well that in a great variety of ways mind can and does modify phenomena. "Looking at the world generally, and especially at those parts of it we call civilized, is it too much to say that a large proportion of the phenomena which we see are the products in part of mind? that is, are such

* Warrington, *Can We Believe in Miracles?*

as, but for mind, nature alone would not have brought about? . . . But if so, then all that is required to make miracles—in this respect—credible is the assumption that they too are phenomena in which divine wisdom and power have been concerned with a similar directive modifying influence." * This is, in brief, the account which the Bible gives of miracles; they are the works of God's finger, performed for great moral ends and lying apart from his ordinary operations in nature.

There is an element of mystery in miracles which we cannot fathom. How they were wrought it is impossible for us to conjecture. But we must not forget that there are mysteries quite as great and deep inherent in the facts which science observes—facts which cannot be explained on atheistic grounds. Such a fact is the existence of life; such a fact is motion in the material universe, and especially the magnificent and orderly and continuous motion of the countless worlds; and such a fact, we venture also to say, is man.

2. Miracles, then, are not incredible if we admit the existence of God. With the story of man in the past, and with the facts of the life of to-day before us, I think we shall agree that "man is not only an animal with a physical organism, not only a mind with laws of mental development and activity, but a religious being with tendencies toward the spiritual, the eternal, the infinite, the divine." Almost everywhere throughout the world are temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and fetichisms; and these in their several ways, as truly as the Christian Church itself, bear witness that man feels himself to belong to the spiritual as well as to the material world. The universal prevalence of the religious instinct was one of the facts which helped to bring the author of *Thoughts on Religion*, that brilliant scholar and profound thinker, Professor Romanes, back from drear and chill agnosticism, into which he had lapsed, to faith and hope toward God. He noted that no instinct in any living thing is without its meaning and use, and found it impossible to believe that the highest and noblest of all instincts is the one exception. It is to man, in whose nature there are points of possible contact with the spiritual world, and with God himself, that miracles make their appeal. They were necessitated by blindness and insensibility to the moral government of God—a

* Warrington, *Can We Believe in Miracles?*

blindness and insensibility caused by human sin. They are impressed with a purpose which "commends itself to reason as worthy of supreme wisdom and goodness." They are not only marvels, not only mighty works, they are *signs*. They are signal reminders of God's presence in his world and of God's moral government over his creatures, while sometimes they declare and attest the divine redeeming and saving activity. As it has been finely said, "Each miracle is the visible type, the pledge, of a spiritual miracle greater and more salutary than material blessing." By healing physical disease Christ made known his power to heal the hurt of the soul. By feeding the hungry multitude with bread miraculously multiplied he proclaimed himself the Bread of Life, whereof if a man eat he shall live forever. By his resurrection from the dead and his glorious ascension he brought life and immortality to light and begat in them that believe a new and living hope.

But, admitting that miracles appeal to what is called the religious or spiritual instinct in man, may it not be that they are rather the inventions or dreams of man, the impress which his imagination has put upon natural events, rather than actual occurrences which must be attributed to God's working? No doubt man has often read the marvelous and the supernatural into events which were certainly not miraculous. We have no doubt that some of the narratives in the Bible itself, which have been thought to describe miracle, are rather to be understood as poetical or allegorical descriptions of incidents which do not require the assumption of miracle to explain them. But, granting this, it must yet be affirmed that the miracles of the Bible are not such as man could invent. We have legendary miracles in great number, and they are stamped with a totally different character from those of the Bible. We have only to put them side by side to see the wide distinction between them, and also how inconceivable it is that they can be other than legendary, and the Bible miracles other than what they claim to be. Take the miracles of the apocryphal gospels, which date from the second century of our era. Intelligible as inventions of superstition, we have only to read them together with the miracles of the gospels to be convinced they are apocryphal. How insipid, not to say absurd, they are! They speak of the boy Jesus changing his playmates into kids, of his animating

clay figures of beasts and birds, and of other such trivialities. Renan, whose attitude toward the miracles of the Bible is certainly not the kindliest, has said—and his testimony here is valuable: "The marvelous narratives of the gospels are the plainest common sense when compared with those of the Jewish Apocrypha and of the apocryphal gospels, or with those of the Hindu-European mythologies." We accept that testimony, and add to it our own conviction that when the miracles of the Bible are considered as wrought by God in the physical world for high moral ends they authenticate themselves.

3. It but remains to glance at miracles from the standpoint of the testimony given to them. We have already quoted words which show that even rejecters of the miraculous admit that the reality of the Bible miracles turns upon testimony. And we have seen, too, that many of the plainest historical facts are inexplicable apart from the acceptance of miracle. This part of the statement might be greatly extended by reference to the history, both ancient and modern, of the Jews, to the unique character of Jesus Christ, and to the story of the apostles. But we pass over this to correct an impression which widely prevails that modern scientific men as a body, or at any rate all the leaders among them, discredit the Bible miracles. It is not so. Dr. Gladstone, himself a scientist of no mean repute, has given a long list of names to show that the great number of authorities on the subject of physical and biological science are also believers in the truth of Christianity.

But the testimony to the truth of Christ's resurrection—the greatest of miracles—and of his continued life and working, is not historical only; it is partly and most powerfully the witness of living Christians who know Christ, who love and serve him, who have been transformed, recreated by his power. Our hope and prayer is that this statement may lead all who read it not only to examine the miracles of the Bibles and to give heed to the things they signify, but to rest their faith and confidence in the living God and in his Son Jesus Christ, whom he has sent forth to be the Saviour of the world.

ART. VII.—LATIN PAGAN SIDE-LIGHTS ON JUDAISM.

HERR AHLWARDT is simply the last of a long line of Jew-baiters. Anti-Semitism is as old as Christianity. In view of this fact, what light do pagan Latin remains, literary, legal, and archæological, throw upon Judaism?* The literary allusions are found in over fifty Latin writers from Cicero to Placidus, from the middle of the first century B. C. to the middle of the fifth century A. D. Every department of literature that flourished after the middle of the first century B. C. is represented here: Cicero, the orator, the poets of satire, epos, elegy, and epigram, historians from Livy to Rutilius Namatianus, romancers like Petronius and Apuleius, Seneca, the philosopher, Quintilian and Macrobius among scholars. Considering that Jews are not found in Rome in large numbers until after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius in B. C. 63, it need hardly excite surprise that there are but two references to Jews in the voluminous works of Cicero. Vergil's allusions are wholly indirect. The satirists do not refer to the Jews so frequently as we should expect. But for the *periochae* to Livy's lost books we should not know that he had ever heard of Judæa, and with a single marked exception the historians make no serious attempt to write Jewish history. Too frequently, if Judaism is mentioned at all, it is to glorify some villain of high degree, to add interest to a court scandal, to record the idiosyncrasy of a *princeps*, or to misrepresent people destined to outlive their conquerors. It was to be expected that the elder Pliny, as the polyhistor of the early empire, would, at least in the *Naturalis Historia*, have considerable to say about the origin and history of the Jews. But aside from geographical allusions,† mention of

* Some years ago the writer began to note the references in *pagan* Latin sources to the Jews and Christians, with a view to subsequent collation and study. This paper has to do with the first part of the subject—Judaism. It is, perhaps, proper to add that, until his own collation had been completed, he had not heard of, much less seen, Giles's *Heathen Records to the Jewish Scripture History*, Lond., 1856, or Meier's *Judaica*, Jena, 1832. The work of neither Giles nor Meier is complete, and writers other than pagan have been admitted. T. Reinach's *Fontes rerum Judaicarum*, I. Paris, 1895, he has not been able to consult.

† See *N. H.* 12 § 64; 19 § 101; 5 § 66 *sqq.* (Judæa, Galilæa, Samaria). Q. Curtius Rufus (4. 8. 9–10) speaks of Alexander's vengeance on the Samaritans. The *cod. Theodos.* (16. 8. 15) of the fifth century mentions Jews and Samaritans together, and the late allusions to them in the legal codes show their importance; for example, *Nov.* 129 praef. (541 A. D.); *cod. Theodos.* 13. 5. 18; *ib.* 16. 8. 16 and 28. Judæa is mentioned in a number of inscriptions, for example, Orelli-H. 5451 = Wilm. 1170; Wilm. 1183 = *C. I. L.* 3. 2830; Wilm. 1622 *a* = *C. I. L.* 3. 5776; *C. I. L.*

natural and manufactured products,* there is but little to gratify our expectation. He barely mentions Cæsarea (comp. Tac., *H.* 2. 78), but tells us (5 § 69) that Iope (Joppa) was older than the deluge, and that there were still traces of the chains which had bound Andromeda to the rock running out into the sea at that place. (Comp. 9 § 11.) Jerusalem (5 § 70) he styles *longe clarissima urbium orientis non Iudaeae modo*—language apparently warranted, if the adjective refers to the architectural splendor and military strength of the city.† In succeeding paragraphs P. describes the Jordan and Lake Gennesaret "surrounded by beautiful cities." ‡ With Pliny's curious description of the Dead Sea (5 § 72; 2 § 226; 7 § 65) should be compared Tac., *H.* 5. 6–7 and Justin. 36. 3. 6, 7. The peculiarities of the Essenes attracted the attention not only of Pliny, but of other Latin writers. Pliny (5 § 73) styles them "a lonely people, remarkable above others in the whole world, with no woman among them, purposely abstaining from love, without [the use of] money, living among the palms" (*gens socia palmarum*). He adds that their numbers are replenished by the unfortunates who, weary of life and the ups and downs of fortune, seek a home among them, and that in this way a people is perpetuated among whom no child is born.

We do not have to learn from Pliny (5 § 70, and 13 § 44) that the palm groves of Jericho were famous, for Horace uses them as typical of a large income, speaking of one of two brothers who prefers a life of luxury and ease to the rich palm groves of Herod, § and Vergil, in *Georg.* 3. 12, exclaims:

3, p. 857, dipl. XIV. The hint of Placidus, *Glossae* 53. 24 (ed. Deverling) is still in place: *Iudaea: cum a scribendum.*

* See Pliny, *N. H.* 14 § 123; 12 § 111 (comp. Justinus 36. 3); 31 § 95; 13 § 26, 44, 49. Although Pliny mentions Scythopolis (Bethshan), he says nothing about its famous linen industry, which was famous as late as Diocletian (*Edictum de pret. rerum*, *C. I. L.* 3, p. 801 *sqq.*). Comp. Claudius Claudianus, *in Eutrop.* 1. 356–357.

† Tacitus (*H.* 5. 2) speaks of J. as a *famosa urbs*, and in 5. 8 *sqq.* he describes the temple stronghold and fortifications. However, considering that the temple in size and splendor probably surpassed any structure of the kind in Rome, both Pliny and Tacitus are contemptuously silent or strangely ignorant.

‡ It would seem that Pliny for a part of his account drew on Pomponius Mela, one of the earliest writers (first cent. B. C.) who attempted a description of the ancient world. It is amazing that P. has added so little to what Mela says. There was less excuse for Martianus Capella, an encyclopedic sort of writer, who, writing in the fifth century, had earlier writers to draw upon. See 6 §§ 678, 679. Ammianus Marcellinus at end third cent. A. D. mentions Palestine as fertile and having famous cities, reminds us that Cæsarea was built by Herod, and restricts his references to Eleutheropolis, Scythopolis, Neapolis, Ascalon, and Gaza (14. 8. 11; 19. 12. 8).

§ *Epp.* 2. 2. 183-184. This grove was presented to Cleopatra by M. Antonius, but ultimately became the property of Herod. See description in Justin. 36. 3.

*Primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas.** Nor was the fame of these palms short-lived, for these groves are mentioned in a *descriptio orbis* of the fourth century A. D. But while we miss in Pliny what we should expect to find, and although Jewish allusions are in given authors few and far between, in the aggregate they are numerous and most suggestive. In them we see revealed the Roman's opinion of Judaism, while we catch glimpses of the influence of Judaism on Rome.

What light is thrown upon Jewish settlement and history by the Latin pagan remains? We know that the Jew became much of a cosmopolitan, and that wherever men came together, especially for trade purposes, he was soon found.† There, without really becoming one of them, he mingled in a small way commercially with the men of the community, setting up his synagogue and emphasizing his social and religious exclusiveness. The testimony to the wide dispersion and number of the Jews is varied in character. Greek pagan writers, inscriptions, coins, archæology, Bible history (for example, Acts ii, 5–11), and much indirect, but very conclusive, testimony all reveal to us Jews settled in every part of the habitable world. Some of these settlements are very old and some are very large. For example, Dio Cassius is authority for the statement that in the Jewish revolts of 116 A. D. in Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and Cyrene 460,000 Jews perished. Before the middle of the first century A. D., according to Philo the Jew, the Egyptian Jews numbered a million souls. Later on we find the chosen people everywhere: in the islands of the sea, as far west as Spain, and as far north as Cologne. The Hebrew holds his own alike in Babylon, the Mighty, and in Palmyra, the Queen of the Desert. In the south he makes for himself a home in Mediterranean Africa, and insists on the right to live and gain in the towns of Italy, in the city of the Golden Horn, and in the western Mistress of the World. Small wonder that Philo affected to hope that Judaism would soon become the religion of mankind. Latin literature and inscriptions corroborate this story of wide dispersion. As early as B. C. 59 Cicero (*pro Flacco* 28. 67) tells us that *aurum Iudaeorum nomine quotan-*

*Comp. Lucan, *Phar.* 3. 216; Statius, *Silv.* 5. 2. 138, 139; Servius to Verg., *Geor.* 3. 12; M. Valerius Probus ad h. l.

†L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (5th ed.) 3: 571.

*nis ex Italia et ex omnibus provinciis Hierosolyma exportari soleret.** In that same speech (28. 68) C. implies that the Jews and their adherents were very numerous throughout the East. He expressly mentions Adramytium, Laodicea, and Pergamum in the province of Asia, and Apamea in Phrygia, as Jewish centers. The later Jewish dispersion is attested by the epitaph on the tomb of the emperor Gordianus III: *Gordiano sepulcrum milites apud Circesium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum huius modi addentes et Graecis et Latinis et Persicis et Iudaicis et Aegyptiacis litteris.* (Jul. Capitol. 20. 34. 2.) At a much later time Ammianus Marcellinus (24. 4. 1) speaks of a community of Jews located near Babylon, whose town was burned by Julian's soldiers. In 321 Constantine (*cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 3) notifies the *decuriones* of Cologne that the Jews cannot claim exemption from municipal service. The *edictum* of Arcadius of 397 A. D., and a little later (412) that of Theodosius to the governors of Illyricum (incl. Macedonia and Dacia), presuppose Jews in considerable numbers in those countries. (*Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 12 and 21.) In the far West we find Jews at Abdera, in southern Spain (epitaph of a Jewish child, *C. I. L.* 2. 1982), at Dertosa, on the northeast coast (epitaph of a Jewess in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew), in the south at Sitifi, in Mauritania (Orell.-H. 6145—*C. I. L.* 8. 8499), where a certain M. Avilius Januarius is styled *pater sinagogae*, a term of honor like our "father" or "mother in Israel,"† both of which occur in a considerable number of inscriptions; at Cirta (*C. I. L.* 8. 7155); also in Lower Pannonia (*C. I. L.* 3. 1. 3688; comp. also *Eph. Epigr.* 2. 593). The number of Jews in the provinces seems to have increased steadily. In 398 the emperors Honorius and Arcadius issued an edict (*cod. Theodos.* 12. 1. 157) because of the peculiar condition of affairs in southern Italy, where incumbents for the public offices could not be found, inasmuch as the Jews refused to serve the state in this capacity. Naturally we find traces of Jews in the provincial towns of Italy.‡ Likewise is the Roman

* Flaccus is lauded as a patriot for his *edictum*. The sum realized at two *drachmae* a head would have been insignificant except upon the theory that the number of contributors was very great.

† Orell.-Henz. 2522, gives an epitaph to a *mater synagogarum Campi et Bolumni*, by name Sara, a *proselita an* XVI.

‡ See Orell.-Henz. 5302—*C. I. L.* 10. 1971, from Naples: *Claudia Aster Hierosolymitana captiva*; *C. I. L.* 10. 1893, from Murano near Naples, in which case the ἀρχων was elected

Hebrew much in evidence. While Jews had come to Rome on special occasions at a much earlier period, and must have drifted thither along with other streams of foreigners, the first Jewish colony that we can trace historically sprang from the prisoners whom Pompeius brought from Jerusalem, after its capture in B. C. 63, to grace the *triumphus* that was voted him by the senate. This nucleus apparently grew rapidly.* While the Latin pagan testimony to the number and influence of the Jews in Rome is to a great extent indirect, it is none the less conclusive. The inscriptions which reveal this fact are mostly Greek rather than Latin, probably because Greek was the vernacular of these Roman Jews. But our knowledge of Jewish proselytism, the hints in Latin poets, and the testimony of the *columbaria* speak as decisively as could more direct statement. The spread of Judaism was due in no small measure to successful propagandism. This was felt at Rome apparently as early as B. C. 139, the year of the Maccabean embassy of Simon. Valerius Maximus, according to the epitome of Julius Paris (1. 3. 3), remarks: *Idem* [the prætor, Cn. Cornelius Hispalus] *Iudaeos, qui Sabazi Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coëgit.*† Strange Jews these, to be attempting to corrupt (*inficere*) Roman religion with the cult of Juppiter Sabazius, a Phrygian deity! The Roman confused the Jewish Zebaoth or Sabaoth (Jehovah of Hosts) with Sabazius.‡ Read rightly, Valerius Maximus says that the Jews, who came in the embassy, attempted a propaganda against the state religion and that the *praetor peregrinus*, in order to break it up, sent them home.§

for life, hence the *διὰ βίου*; Orell.-Henz. 6144=*C. I. L.* 10. 3905, from Capua. The *archon archesynagogus* proves the existence of a Jewish community. For other rulers of the synagogue (*ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*) see *C. I. L.* 9. 6201, 6205, 6232, and comp. cod. *Theodos.* 16. 8. 4; also (*γερουσιάρχης*) *C. I. L.* 9. 6213, 6306, 6221; *ib.* 10. 1893. The *princeps libertinorum* of a Pompeian inscription (*C. I. L.* 4. 117) is believed by Marini and de Rossi to refer to the Jewish community there. Comp. Acts vi, 9. Jews of northern Italy are represented by a Brixia (Brescia) epitaph (*C. I. L.* 5. 1. 441): *Coelia Paterna mater synagoges Brixianorum*; and from Pola, across the Adriatic, we have an inscription to one of that class known as *σεβόμενοι* (Orelli-Henz. 2523): *matri pientiss | religioni lud | aicae metuenti.*

* See *Acts* xxviii, 17-31.

† The epitome of Nepotianus has: *Iudaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit aramque privatas e publicis locis abiecit.* The mention by Valerius of the consuls of the year (139) fixes the date.

‡ Friedlaender (*Sittengeschichte Roms* 3: 617, 6th edit., Leip., 1890) explains the confusion of names on the assumption that the Greek Jews pronounced the word Zabaoth like Sabaoth.

§ The later legislation against Judaism was in many cases aimed at proselyting zeal. Septimius Severus sought to prohibit conversions to Judaism (Spartianus, *Sept. Sev.* 17. 1). The cod. *Theodos.* (16. 8. 1) in 315 A. D. threatened with death Jews who assailed apostates.

Cicero's language, referring to the Jews in his speech *pro Flacco*, while having regard primarily to those of the province of Asia, is such as to make it certain that he is speaking also of the Hebrews of the city. He says: "You know, Lælius, what a crowd of them there is, how they stick together as one man, what influence they have in the public assemblies." And in the same connection he speaks of a *multitudinem Iudaeorum, flagrantem nonnumquam in contionibus.* Horace (*Sat.* 1. 4. 142–143), writing about B. C. 35, playfully threatens one who does not agree with him that he with a company of fellow-poets will come *ac veluti te | Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.* Among proselytes are to be reckoned not only those who submitted to circumcision, but the "proselytes of the gate," the God-fearing Gentiles* who kept the Sabbath, burned lights before daybreak of the Sabbath, so that the law forbidding the kindling of fire on the Sabbath need not be violated, and who abstained from swine's flesh.† Many of the references, even of a contemptuous character, to the Sabbath observance and to other Jewish usages prove conclusively the vast number of Jewish adherents. Horace in a well-known passage (*Sat.* 1. 9. 68–72) represents a Roman as breaking away from a friend, who wished on the street to speak of a private matter, with the excuse: "At a more suitable time; to-day is the thirtieth Sabbath. Would you give offense to the circumcised Jews?" "I have no scruple, I reply." "But I have. I am a trifle weak—one of the many. Pardon, but some other time." Here it seems clear that the contempt in the mention of the Jews does not apply to the *unus multorum.* In other words, the person who here would observe the Sabbath is one of a multitude of non-Jewish Sabbath-fearing persons.‡ Ovid in a tone perfectly serious, when urging the lover to miss no opportunity which promised an amour, mentions particularly the Jewish Sabbath as a favorable time, doubtless because of the number of people who made a holiday of it.§ In the *Remed. amor.* he implies the same thing, when in a given case he urges

*Among these were the φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν and the σεβόμενοι, who, while not practicing the ceremonial law, attended the synagogue and rejected polytheistic worship. Comp. Orell.-Henz. 2523—*C. I. L.* 5. 1. 88, and Acts of the Apost. x, 2; xiii, 16, 26, 43.

† See Exod. xxxv, 3.

‡ Comp. Persius 5. 179–184.

§ *Ars amat.* 1. 75–76: *nec te praetereat Veneri ploratus Adonis, | cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro.*

the necessity of travel despite the fact that it is the Sabbath.* Tibullus (1. 3. 18) speaks of the Sabbath as a good excuse along with *aves* and *omina dira* for not starting on a journey. Such passages tend to show how strongly Judaism had intrenched itself in the city of its conquerors. Before the end of the first century the Roman Jews have so multiplied that they are no longer found exclusively in the Trastevere (*regio trans Tiberim*) and the Ghetto. Juvenal (3. 11 *sqq.*) makes the neighborhood of the Porta Capena a habitat of the Jews. The Jewish burial places found in the Subura and Campus Martius prove the dispersion throughout the city.

Several causes contributed to successful propagandism, especially the decay of the old faith and the felt need of something to take its place. The mystery which enveloped Jewish worship appealed to the same curiosity which made the other foreign "mysteries" popular, and which was but one manifestation of a general trend toward orientalism. The "new cults," for example, those of Mithras and Isis, had, as Schuerer† has pointed out, two common attractions, namely, the substitution of some form of monotheism for the bewildering mazes of polytheism and a professed atonement for sin. This tended to satisfy a real religious demand, and Judaism could in this direction outbid any rival cult. But how far beyond mere numerical conquest did Judaism impress itself upon the life of the Roman world? At least, how far is this influence reflected in Latin pagan literature or art? At a time comparatively early—not over five or six years after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius—we have seen Cicero resenting the influence of the Jews in the public assemblies, apparently at Rome. That they early obtained recognition is clear enough. Josephus (*Antiqq.* 14. 10. 1–2) with evident appreciation gives us the decrees of the first Cæsar in behalf of the Jews. He had further commended himself to them in that he had overthrown their old enemy, Pompeius—the man who had outraged their religious sentiments by forcibly entering the Holy of Holies of the temple, where no alien had ever before stood.‡ No wou-

* 219–220: *nec te peregrina morentur | Sabbata.*

† *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, 2d Div., 2: 302–303. N. Y., 1891.

‡ Pompeius, however, spared the temple and laid no hand upon the immense money treasure therein stored. His restraint was more likely due to "policy" than to *pudor*, as Cicero would have us believe (*pro Flacco* 28. 67). Comp. Livy, epit. CII. and Tac., *H.* 5. 9.

der that Suetonius (*Julius* 84), in writing of the grief manifested in Rome at Cæsar's death, makes especial mention of the Jews, who during whole nights hung in crowds about the place where his body had been burned. The early emperors and many of their successors thought it expedient to favor them so far as to allow them jurisdiction over their own communities; they administered their own funds; their worship was protected by the law; they were exempt from public office and army service.* In a word, Judaism became at a period comparatively early a fashionable fad along with the cults of Cybele, Isis, and Mithras. The Jewish princes, who from time to time were educated at Rome or lived there as hostages, and who were frequently intimate with the court circle, must have contributed to a better understanding of the "mysteries" of Judaism. For example, the sons of Herod the Great, because of the intimacy of their father with Marcus Agrippa, were educated at Rome.† Herod's grandson, Herodes Agrippa I, was educated there with Drusus, the son of Tiberius and Claudius, whom an odd freak of fortune was destined to make Emperor of Rome, while H. Agrippa's mother, Berenice, during a long residence at Rome, was an intimate friend of Antonia, sister-in-law of the emperor Tiberius. Augustus allowed the Jews to have their way about sending the two-drachmæ tax to Jerusalem,‡ whereas Cicero had praised Flaccus for confiscating in his province of Asia large sums got together for this purpose. Claudius, in an edict given in Josephus (*Antiqq.* 19. 5. 3), grants the Jews complete toleration. The *columbaria* at Rome containing the ashes of the freedmen and slaves of the imperial houses, especially of Claudius, contain names that are evidently Jewish. Likewise was Nero's court in close touch with Jewish influences. If Poppæa, the wife of Nero, was not actually a Jewish proselyte, § she affected to favor what was apparently a fashionable interest in Jewish ceremonial and practices. Josephus in styling this infamous empress a "God-fearing" or "devout" woman (*Antiqq.* 20. 8. 11)

* Until Hadrian's reign, with the exception of Tiberius's outburst, the Jews appear to have enjoyed immunity from legal persecution.

† Josephus, *Antiqq.* 15. 10. 1.

‡ Josephus, *Antiqq.* 16. 6. 2.

§ Tac. (*Ann.* 16. 6) says that the body of Poppæa was not *burned* according to Roman custom, but after the usage of foreign kings was *embalmed*. She also veiled her face (*ib.* 13. 45).

must have referred to her recognition of Judaism and her partiality to his countrymen.* Jewish beauty invaded even the imperial dwelling on the Palatine. Berenice, the eldest daughter of Herodes Agrippa I and sister of Herodes Agrippa II, the "King Agrippa" of the Acts of the Apostles, was one of the most handsome women of her time and race. Her beauty and riches had been her ruin, but were yet destined to enable her to play for high stakes with the ruler of the world. Her career had been a checkered one before St. Paul made his wonderful appeal in her presence (Acts xxv, 13, 22 *sqq.*). She had been the legal wife of two husbands and, as rumor had it, the paramour of her own brother, with whom she lived. That this had been the gossip of Rome is evident from Juvenal (6. 156–158), where the poet represents an extravagant Roman dame, when shopping, as handling among other very costly articles "a diamond ring famous and more expensive as having adorned the finger of Berenice—a ring which in other days a foreign king presented to his incestuous sweetheart—which Agrippa gave to his sister." Six or seven years later, when, after vainly striving to dissuade their countrymen from war with Rome, policy or necessity made brother and sister the allies of their country's enemies,† Berenice captured the heart of Titus, son of Vespasian, and conqueror of Judæa.‡ The intimacy thus begun was long continued. Some time after the destruction of Jerusalem Berenice went to Rome (in 75 A. D.) and lived on the Palatine as the wife of Titus. Suetonius (*Tit.* 7) says that this *amour* was notorious, that T. had promised to marry her, and he adds, later on: *Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam.*§ In this Vespasian may have had a hand, for after his death in 79 she returned to Rome. But Titus had recovered his head and refused to recognize the former object of his passion. With her return to Palestine she disappears from history.

* Comp. Josephus, *Life* § 3.

† Tac. (*H.* 2. 81), narrating the movements by which Vespasian became emperor, says: *nec minore animo regina Berenice partes iuvabat, florens aetate formaque.*

‡ Tac. (*H.* 2. 2), referring to Titus's sudden return to his father from Corinth (he was *en route* to Rome from Judæa), says: *fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae veritus iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice iuvenilis animus.*

§ This agrees exactly with what Aurelius Victor (*Epitom.* 10. 7) says. The same author gives an illustration of Titus's great jealousy of her (*Ibid.* 10. 4). Quintilian's mention of her refers probably to that period in her life when she lived with Titus. Q. tells us (*Inst. orat.* 4. 1. 19) that he argued a case for Queen Berenice in which she herself was *iudex.*

Seneca, not later than 65 A. D., acknowledged that the conquered Jews gave laws to the conquerors *—a sentiment re-echoed by a hostile writer centuries later.†

Antoninus Pius permitted circumcision in the case of native Jews. ‡ From Ulpian (*Dig.* 50. 2. 3. 3) we learn that a "constitution" of Septimius Severus and Caracalla opened to the Jews the highest honors under conditions which recognized their scruples. Elagabalus thought that the Jewish worship should have a place in his Pantheon. § Alexander Severus *Iudaeis privilegia reservavit.* ‖ ¶ These repeated favors are but a reflection of the influence that Judaism must have been able to exert.

How far did the representatives of literature and of the educated classes appreciate the virtues of Judaism? What was their treatment of it, when they began to realize its power? Their answer was a string of charges, based on ignorant prejudice and a hatred which manifested its venom in studied contempt and willful misrepresentation. The Romans could not, or would not, understand the significance of Jewish institutions and usages. Abstinence from swine flesh, the Sabbath observance, with its respite from toil, imageless worship, circumcision, fasting, and contempt for art excited mingled disgust, credulity, and hatred. We have seen that those who more or less strictly kept the Sabbath constituted a great multitude, but the gap between the crowd and the literary class was a wide one, and upon the latter must we depend for our information. Juvenal (14. 97 *sqq.*) speaks of proselytes who, abstaining from the pork from which their fathers abstained, put the same estimate on the flesh of pigs and men, and in another place ** he jests about the country where a long-continued mercy (abstinence) has made it possible for pigs to attain advanced age. Macrobius (*Saturn.* 2. 4. 11), writing of the jokes of old-time and famous

* St. Augustine (*de civ. dei* 6. 11): *De illis sane Iudaeis cum loqueretur, ait* [sc. Seneca] "*cum interim usque eo sceleratissimae gentis consuetudo convaluit, ut per omnes iam terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dederunt.*"

† See Claudius Rutilius Namatianus: *de reditu suo*, ed. L. Mueller (1. 398): *Victoresque suos natio victa premit.*

‡ *Digesta* 48. 8. 11.

§ Aelius Lampridius, *Heliogab.* 3. 5.

‖ Ael. Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.* 22. 4.

¶ The treatment of Judaism by the Christian emperors as revealed in the legal codes is beyond the scope of this paper.

** 6. 160 *et vetus indulget senibus clementia porcis.*

men, says that when Augustus was told of Herod's cruelty in ordering the "slaughter of the innocents" under two years, and that among them was a child of Herod himself, the emperor remarked, "It is better to be Herod's hog than his son." The Roman liked pork and esteemed the boar as the *pièce de résistance* of a dinner.* He interpreted the Jew's refusal to eat swine as an insult and a reflection upon his taste in matters of the table. Tacitus explained their abstinence from pork on the assumption that the pig is subject to leprosy (*scabies*), † from which the Jews had suffered. ‡ Seneca (*Epp.* 108. 22) seems to have in mind Jewish abstinence from certain meats and to the "talk" (*calumnia*) engendered thereby.

The references to the Sabbath found in the Latin writers may have been based more on misunderstanding than on malice. When Tacitus, in *Hist.* 5. 3, hints at the origin of the rest-day as due to the leprosy and the consequent exile, he is probably using a source that was common to Justinus. To prove the Jews to be leprous Egyptians would be to make them out the very offscouring of earth. §

The Sabbath *rest* the pagans never understood, or, if they did, they purposely misrepresented it as *laziness*. Juvenal ‖ reproaches the proselyte with being made a Jew by a father who spent the seventh day in doing nothing and held aloof from the things that men consider necessary. Seneca (cited by St. Augustine, *de civ. dei* 6. 11) made the same objection to the Sabbath, that it was wrong to waste one seventh of our time and thus neglect matters that urgently need attention. The same moralist, in *Epp.* 95. 47, says: "Away with the lighting of lamps on the Sabbath. Surely the gods do not need a light, and even men do not enjoy soot." Three hundred years later, when Rutilius Claudius Namatianus wrote, the Jewish race is characterized as the source of pure folly, in love with their *frigida sabbata*. ¶ As early as Tibullus (1. 3. 18) the seventh

* Juvenal 1. 141 of the boar: *animal propter convivia natum.*

† Justinus (36. 2. 12) calls the leprosy *scabiem et vitiliginem.* ‡ Tac., *H.* 5. 4.

§ The source of these slanders was doubtless Alexandria. See Jos., *contra Apion.* 2. 2, where the origin of the word Sabbath is an Egyptian word=ulcer. Comp. Just. 36. 2, with the very different account of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 4).

‖ 14. 105. *Sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux | ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.*

¶ The *Scholia Bernensia* to Vergil (ed. H. Hagen, Lips., 1867), *Georg.* 1. 336, have three notes to the word *frigida*, of which the second reads: *satis cognitum est, Saturni stellam frigidam esse et ideo aput Iudaeos Saturni die frigidos cibos esse.*

day is referred to as *dies Saturni.** The Romans seem to have fallen into the mistake of supposing that the Sabbath was a necessary fast day with the Jews.† Martial (4. 4. 7) compares "the fasting breath of Sabbath-fearing women" of Domitian's time to sundry vile and malodorous things. Suetonius (*Aug.* 76) represents Augustus as remarking that no Jew kept his Sabbath fast so scrupulously as he had fasted on a given day. That the Jews fasted much is clear enough (Luke xviii, 12). Tacitus remarks (*H.* 5. 4) that they still commemorate the long-continued famine of older times by frequent fastings, and that their use of unleavened bread is a proof of the corn that they seized (to satisfy hunger).

Another object of particular ridicule was the Jewish "worship without images." This seemed to the Roman a contradiction of terms and, as we shall see, soon resolved itself into a charge of atheism. Nothing connected with Judaism was so hard for Roman comprehension as this Hebrew God—spiritual, invisible, and still the basis of an elaborate ceremonial worship. In one breath the Jew is styled an atheist, in another he becomes a worshiper of the sky or of a pig. Now his god is Sabazius, or Bacchus, now the golden ass which, it was believed, had been set up in the Holy of Holies. The position of the Jew was to the Roman untenable. The latter had a place in his Pantheon for representatives of all cults; the Jew recognized no Pantheon. The man who could not, at least silently, tolerate the gods of his adopted country, but pronounced them spurious, put himself outside the pale of civilization and proclaimed himself an Ishmaelite. He was an "atheist."‡ Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) represents the proselyte as carefully taught to despise the gods of his fathers. . . . "The Egyptians venerate several animals and the representations of them that they make. The Jews know but one God and know him only spiritually (*mente sola*), considering as impious those who fashion images of the gods in human likeness, and believing that Deity is supreme, eternal, inimitable, imperishable. Accordingly they allow no images

* Petronius (*fragm.* 37) probably refers to this: *ni tamen et ferro succiderit inguinis oram | et nisi nodatum solverit arte caput, | exemptus populo Graia migrabit ab urbe | et non ieiuna sabbata lege premet.* Also Fronto: *Epistt. ad M. Caes.* 2. 7 (ed. Naber, 1867, p. 32): *Nec aliter Kal. Sept. expecto, quam superstitiosi stellam qua visa ieiuniorum polluant.*

† Comp. Censorinus 11. 6; Ovid, *A. A.* 1. 415–417.

‡ Pliny (*N. H.* 13 § 46) says that the Jews were a *gens contumelia numinum insignis.*

(*simulacra*) in their cities, much less in their temples." The historian adds (*ib.* 5. 4) that whatever Romans regard as sacred the Jew considers as profane; the Jew believes it right to do what the Romans consider *incesta* ; . . . he offers up a ram as if to insult Juppiter Hammon; the ox which the Egyptians revere as Apis the Jew sacrifices. Juvenal (14. 96 *sqq.*) says that certain persons [Jews], descendants of a father who keeps the Sabbath, worship nothing except the clouds and the divinity of the sky (*numen caeli*)—that is, they have no God! Petronius (*frag.* 37) goes a step farther and ridicules the Jew as a hog worshiper as well as a sky worshiper.* This is worse than Lucan, who says (*Phar.* 2. 592) that the Jews are given up to the worship of an unknown god: *dedita sacris* | *incerti Iudaea dei.* This language is eminently respectful compared with the insulting charge of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 4), namely, that the Jews consecrated and set up the image of an ass in the Holy of Holies,† because a herd of wild asses led Moses to a rock out of whose veins he got an abundant supply of water when they were about to perish on the march. Hence the nickname *asinarii*, which, applied to the Jews, is to be traced to Alexandria, for it is one of the slanders of Apion which Josephus styles "a palpable lie" (*contra Ap.* 2. 7). Tacitus (H. 5. 5) further informs his countrymen that the impression that Bacchus was an object of Jewish worship—a belief due to the sacred music of pipes and timbrels, and to the famous golden vine of the temple ‡—was erroneous, inasmuch as there is nothing common between the festive Bacchanalia and the absurd and mean practice of the Jews.§

As might be expected, hardly anything receives more contemptuous mention than circumcision, though other peculiarities, such as fasting, burning of lights, use of unleavened bread, abstinence from meat, come in for their share. Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) explains circumcision as due to a desire to be recognized as different from other people (*ut diversitate noscantur*). The ancient horror of human mutilation operated to intensify the

* *Iudaeus licet et porcinum numen adoret* | *et caeli summas advocet auriculas.*

† But he says (*H.* 5. 9) that Pompeius entered the Holy Place and found it empty, and, further, (*ib.* 5. 5) that the Jews allowed no representation of Deity.

‡ Josephus, *Antiqq.* 15. 11. 3.

§ And nothing seemed too absurd! Ael. Lampridius, *Heliogabalus* 28. 4: *struthocamelos exhibuit* [*Heliogabalus*] *in cenis aliquoties, dicens praeceptum Iudaeis, ut ederent.*

abhorrence and contempt for those who practiced circumcision, which must have seemed to the Romans but a form of mutilation.* Claudius Namatianus (*de reditu suo* 1. 387, 388), about 415 A. D., only voices an abhorrence common to many preceding generations in his *reddimus obscaenae convicia debita genti, | quae genitale caput propudiosa metit.* Imperial legislation against it recognizes this as fully as the necessity of checking proselytism. Hence laws against circumcision were not made applicable to Jews alone: the prohibition was general. (See Jul. Paullus, *Sent.* 5. 22. 3–4 in Jurisprudentiæ Ante-Justin., ed. Huschke, 5th edit.) According to the *Digesta* 48. 8. 4. 2 (comp. Paulus, *Sent.* 5. 22. 3, 4), castration is treated as homicide, and circumcision and castration were not regarded as worthy of different treatment.†

It is generally assumed that Hadrian's prohibition of circumcision was the cause of the great Jewish uprising led by Simeon bar Koziba.‡ It is more likely that the attempt of the emperor to rebuild the place of the Holy City with the pagan Aelia Capitolina, having a temple to the heathen Juppiter on the site of the temple of Jehovah, drove the Jews to desperation. The bitterness of the subsequent struggle makes for this view. Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, restricted the prohibition of circumcision to Gentiles.§

Further, the Jew was charged with practicing sorcery, with avarice, with social exclusiveness and hatred of mankind, with immorality, with contempt for art, and with disloyalty to Rome. What have Roman writers to say about these charges?

Moses's wonder-working before Pharaoh gave him a wide reputation as magician, which long outlasted his time—a reputation in which Abraham somewhat shared! Abraham's origin as a Chaldean may have had something to do with this.‖

* Juvenal in 14. 99 *sqq.* seems to hint at Jewish circumvention of a law against circumcision: *nec et praeputia ponunt; | Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges—Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius, | tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses.* Petronius (*fragm.* 37. 1–4) contemptuously mentions the hog worshiper as the circumcised. In *Satir.* § 102 he refers to circumcision as distinctly Jewish. Martialis (7. 30) compares the circumcised Jew with the scum of the earth. Comp. Id. 7. 35. 3–4.

† The act of 415 A. D. against circumcision is plainly directed against Jewish proselyting. Comp. *Dig.* 48. 8. 11.

‡ See Spartianus, *Hadrianus* 1. 14. 2: *moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia.*

§ See *Dig.* 48. 8. 11.

‖ As late as the fourth century Firmicus Maternus regards Abraham as a master in astrology.

Pliny (*N. H.* 30 § 11), in a chapter on the origin of magic, makes Jannes, Lotapes or Jotapes (? Jambres), and Moses representatives of a class of magicians (*alia magices factio*). Justinus makes Moses the inheritor of his father, Joseph's (!), magical powers, whose story he gives.* In Apuleius (*de Magia* 90) Moses is mentioned along with Jannes and other great magicians.† Comp. 2 Tim. iii, 8. Certain is it that the Jews are represented as making a business of fortune-telling and exorcism, and had a reputation for dealing in the black art.‡ The old Jewess was the gypsy hag of antiquity.§ Juvenal (6. 542 *sqq.*) classes the Jewish fortune-teller with other immoral and lying cheats; for example, with the Isis priests and the Chaldean soothsayers. No sooner has the priest of Isis taken his departure from the house of the typical woman of the period, when the Jewish hag enters: *Cum dedit ille locum, cophino faenoque relicto | arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem, | interpres legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos | arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli. | Implet et illa manum, sed parcius; aere minuto | qualiacumque voles, Iudaei somnia vendunt.*

The *charge of avarice* probably grew out of jealousy, commercial or otherwise. Jewish settlements were trade settlements. Especially at Alexandria did the Jew come into rivalry with the Greek, and to this same Alexandrian Greek are to be traced many of the anti-Semitic slanders of the time. The large amount of gold exported as temple tax from Italy

* 36. 2. *Post Damascenum Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israhel reges* [of Damascus] *fuere. Sed Israhelem felix decem filiorum proventus maioribus suis clariorem fecit. Itaque populum in decem regna divisum filiis tradidit, omnesque ex nomine Iudae, qui post divisionem decesserat, Iudaeos appellavit, colique memoriam eius ab omnibus iussit, cuius portio omnibus accesserat. Minimus aetate inter fratres Ioseph fuit, cuius excellens ingenium fratres veriti clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. A quibus deportatus in Aegyptum, cum magicas ibi artes sollerti ingenio percepisset, brevi ipsi regi percarus fuit. Nam et prodigiorum sagacissimus erat et somniorum primus intelligentiam condidit, nihilque divini iuris humanique ei incognitum videbatur: adeo ut etiam sterilitatem agrorum ante multos annos providerit; perissetque omnis Aegyptus fame, nisi monitu eius rex edicto servari per multos annos fruges iussisset; tantaque experimenta eius fuerunt, ut non ab homine, sed a deo responsa viderentur. Filius eius Moses fuit, quem praeter paternae scientiae hereditatem etiam formae pulchritudo commendabat.*

† See Trebellius Pollio, *Claudius* 2. 4.

‡ Flavius Vopiscus (*Saturn.* 8. 3) makes Hadrian say: *Nemo illic* [that is, in Egypt] *archisynagogus Iudaeorum, nemo Samarites . . . non mathematicus, non haruspex.*

§ The Syrian woman mentioned by Valerius Maximus (*Epit.* Jan. Nepotianus) 1. 8. 4 (*Syram mulierem Marius in castris habebat sacricolam, ex cuius se auctoritate asserebat omnia aggredi*) was likely a Jewess.

and the provinces to Jerusalem seems to have excited the cupidity of the Romans. *Unde auctae Iudaeorum res* are the words of Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) in referring to this. Nearly 300 A. D. Flavius Vopiscus (*Saturnin.* 8. 7) asserts that the Jews have but one god, and that his name is Lucre.

The *charge of social and religious exclusiveness* admitted of easier proof. This clannishness was not inconsistent with the fact that "Judaism was an effective leaven of cosmopolitanism and of national decomposition." The high-sounding claim of the Jew, that he represented a chosen people and that others were his inferiors, seemed to the Roman a ridiculous claim, when set up by an insignificant people inhabiting a small province. Rome tried to break down the old national barriers: it was exasperating that the Jew sought to thwart the attempt. According to Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) the Jews will neither eat nor sleep with aliens, and, while as a race they are most libidinous, they refuse to intermarry with other nations. Even their obligation to each other appears to be "obstinacy," and, while they are mutually sympathetic, they show *adversus omnes alios hostile odium.* Justinus (36. 2. 15) explains this clannishness on the ground that the prudential non-intercourse with foreigners, growing out of the old Egyptian lie about the leprosy contagion, became a religious obligation. Juvenal * and Tacitus unite in representing this clannishness as carried so far that the circumcised would not, except to fellow-Jews, point out a highway or direct to a spring of water.†

The Jew was not only a man-hater, *he was vicious and immoral.* Seneca, who as a moralist might be expected to have some appreciation of the morality underlying Jewish practices, can see in them nothing better than a *sceleratissima gens.*‡ Tacitus, who assumes the virtue of impartiality, outdoes their enemies in calling them *proiectissima ad libidinem gens* and in sexual matters *inter se nil inlicitum* (*H.* 5. 5). There is not much doubt that the immoral tendencies of Egyptian worship were laid equally at the door of Judaism. The Roman knew the Egyptian origin of the Jews, § and likely assumed that, before

* 14. 103-104: (sc. *solent*) *non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,* | *quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.*

† The enthusiasm of Claudius Namatianus for paganism leads him to go out of his way to assail both Christianity and Judaism: *Radix stultitiae: cui frigida sabbata cordi,* | *sed cor frigidius religione sua* (1. 389-390).

‡ *Fragm.* 42 (ed. Haase, Leip., 1878).

§ See Tacitus, *H.* 5. 3.

the Jews left Egypt, their religion was Egyptian. That the Jewish worship was confounded with that of Isis is clear, and the Isis priest, whose linen robes and fillets reminded the undiscriminating crowd of the priests of Jehovah,* was recognized as a corrupter of women. In the reign of Tiberius the Jews and Egyptians were *together* expelled from Rome.†

The Hebrew's *opposition to art* was a religious one, or, at least in part, a result of his law, which forbade the making of human figures.‡ Because he carried it so far as to refuse to erect statues in honor of the Cæsars, his enemies converted the refusal into a *charge of disloyalty* to Rome. How groundless was the charge is shown by the well-known custom of offering temple sacrifice for the emperor and the Roman people twice each day. Still Tacitus (*H.* 5. 5) will have it that the proselytes are taught to despise the gods of the state and to ignore the claims of country. In sharp contrast to other provincials was the Jew's refusal to undertake magistracies, as we have seen (*cod. Theod.* 12. 1. 158), and to fight in the armies of the empire. This fairly earned reputation as seditious and discontented subjects of Rome the Hebrews maintained long after every hope of national rehabilitation had vanished. When the emperor Marcus Aurelius was in Judæa *en route* to Egypt, disgusted with the filthy and seditious Jews, he is said to have exclaimed: "*O Marcomanni, O Quadi, O Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni!*" §

The ignorance and prejudice of the Romans as to matters Jewish is especially patent when we take into account the treatment of Judaism by the historians, and this, too, when Rome was full of Jews, when appeal might have been made to their sacred books, and when Judaism had been ably defended by its own representatives. This prejudice degenerates too frequently into studied contempt or hardly disguised hatred. Of the Romans who wrote in Latin of Jewish affairs the most voluminous is Tacitus. In view of his professions of fairness we have a right to expect that he will seriously look into the history of the people of whose origin he writes. Instead of so

* C. Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, Lond., 1872, vi, 432, n. 1.

† Sueton., *Tiberius* 36; Tacit., *Ann.* 2. 85.

‡ See Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* 2. 10. 4.

§ Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 5. 5. Various readings for *inquietiores* are *inertiores*, *deteriores*, and *incertiores*.

doing, he apparently assumes the task of maligning a whole race and of rendering unpopular a people whose religion a multitude of his countrymen had evidently come to believe in and respect. We have already seen Tacitus serving as retailer of the Egyptian falsifiers who systematically misrepresented things Jewish. No one can read what Josephus says about the falsifications of Manetho (*contra Ap.* 1. 25 *sqq.*), of Cheremon (*ib.* 32, 33), and of Lysimachus (*ib.* 34, 35) without believing that Tacitus used either these writers or J. himself. In the latter event, the historian has left himself without excuse, for he has purposely overlooked the account of Josephus and culled out the malicious fabrications which Josephus only mentions that he may fairly answer them. In narrating the origin of the Jews Tacitus (*H.* 5. 2) indulges in a tissue of absurdities, historical and etymological, referring the Jews, according to hearsay, successively to Crete, to Aethiopia, to Assyria, and even to the Solymi, "a people celebrated in the Homeric poems."* The whole account is calculated to make the reader believe that these people were national pariahs, who had no history, no God, and no worship that could commend itself to rational men. Even Jewish patriotism becomes in the eyes of Tacitus a culpable obstinacy.† But ignorance and expressed contempt are not to be predicated of Tacitus only. Justinus (36. 2) has an account of the origin of the Jews worthy of comparison with that of Tacitus. Cicero, who was in most matters no narrow bigot, probably voices the opinion of the educated classes when he compares the Jews as a nation of slaves with the Syrians.‡ In *pro Flacco* 28 Judaism is a *barbara superstitio.* And this was the view commonly entertained of it.§ Suetonius (*Aug.* 93) thinks it worthy of mention that Augustus *Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praetervehens apud Hierosolyma non supplicasset, conlaudavit,* and, after bringing to a successful issue a great struggle, of which the most dreadful siege of ancient times was the culmination, neither Vespasian nor Titus was

* *Iliad* 6. 184, 204; *Ody.* 5. 283.

† Tacitus (*H.* 5. 10) (writing of Vespasian before the siege of Jerusalem): *augebat iras, quod soli Iudaei non cessissent.*

‡ In *orat. de prov. cons.* chap. 5, Cic. says that Gabinius delivered the publicani *in servitutem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti.*

§ Comp. Seneca cited by St. Augustine, *de civ dei* 6. 11; Tac., *Ann.* 2. 85, and *H.* 2. 4; 5. 8; Quint. 3. 7. 21; Pliny, *Panegyr.* 49. 8; Apuleius, *Flor.* 1. 6; Servius to Verg., *A.* 8. 187; *Digesta* 50. 2. 3. 3. Comp. Horace, *Sat.* 1. 5. 97-101.

willing to assume the name *Iudaicus*, as was to be expected. The Jew is consistently represented by Juvenal and Martial as a low, poor wretch and an object of public insult—a marked contrast to his condition at an earlier time.* These writers both picture him as a chronic beggar, as when Martial (12. 57. 13) speaks of "the Jew who has been trained by his mother"—who begged before him—"to beg." In order to paint as darkly as possible the neglect by his countrymen of a site hallowed by the Numa myth, Juvenal† pictures the place as inhabited by poverty-stricken Jews—so poor that the trees are their shelter by night, and their goods and chattels a basket for begging, and a bundle of hay on which to sleep. Even when Martial (11. 94) addresses a Jewish poet (*Solymis . . . natus in ipsis*) it is in the most insulting tone. Juvenal (3. 296 *sqq.*), in describing the night dangers of the Roman streets, makes the drunken bully who assaults Umbricius add insult to injury by calling him a Jewish beggar: *Ede ubi consistas; in qua te quaero proseucha?* Sometimes the insult was carried so far as to outrage decency and private rights. Suetonius (*Domit.* 12), after the statement that the two-drachmæ poll tax imposed on the Jews was under Domitian collected with extreme rigor, adds that when a young man he was present in a crowded assembly as a state official physically examined a man ninety years of age to ascertain whether, having been circumcised, he was subject to the tax.‡

We have seen how the peculiar attitude of the Hebrew excited contempt and even hatred. This must have been intensified in no slight degree by the bitterness of the great struggle which ended with the capture of Jerusalem.§ How far is this

* Rank, military service, and high place did not stand between him and the taunts of the satirist. There is not much doubt that the object of Juvenal's insulting words, 1-129-131—

Atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
Nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches,
Cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est

(sc. *sed etiam cacare:* Fried. Juv. ad loc.)—is none other than the Alexandrian Jew Tiberius Julius Alexander, nephew of Philo, procurator of Judæa, procurator of Egypt, soldier in the Parthian and Jewish wars. Comp. Suet., *Vespas.* 6; Tac., *Ann.* 15. 28, *Hist.* 1. 11; *ib.* 2. 74 and 79. For a time much later see Claud. Claudianus, *in Eutrop.* 1. 220-221.

† 3. 12-16. Hic, ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ,
Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Iudæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex,
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
Arbor et electis mendicat silva Camenis.

‡ To this sort of thing Martial 7. 55. 7-8 refers.

§ As individuals the Jews seem to have been law-abiding, attending to legitimate means of acquiring wealth. Incidental allusions, such as Justinus (40. 2. 4) makes to Jewish brigands in Syria, prove nothing.

later conventional Roman opinion reflected in the treatment to which the Jew was subjected by his conqueror? We have seen at various times evidences of liberal treatment at the hands of the Roman. Tacitus (*H.* 5. 9), after recognizing that Pompeius was of Romans the first to subdue the Jews, seems to assume that some defense of his action in entering the Holy of Holies is necessary. Cicero (*pro Flacco* 28) seems to consider it a mark of great virtue in Pompeius that he did not steal the vast temple treasure, attributing it to "pudor!" But the political unrest of the Jew continually involved him in trouble. After the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Pompeius in B. C. 63, Roman and Jew stood as enemies face to face. The brevity of treatment by the historians is only too indicative of the contempt or ignorance commonly entertained for the conquered people.* Tacitus disposes of the career of Herod the Great in two or three lines—scant notice for a man of whom Josephus (*Antiqq.* 15. 10. 3) can say, "Whereas there were but two men that governed the vast Roman empire, first Cæsar and then Agrippa, who was his principal favorite, Cæsar preferred no one to Herod besides Agrippa, and Agrippa made no one his greater friend than Herod beside Cæsar."

In the year 19 A. D., during Tiberius's reign, the senate, moved by some dreadful exposure,† proceeded against the Isis worship, and Judaism, for reasons already mentioned, seems to have been confounded with the Egyptian cult. What happened we know from Tacitus (*An.* 2. 85): "Measures were taken to rid Rome of the Egyptian and Jewish cults, and the senate voted that four thousand men of the freedman class, contaminated by that superstition and of proper [military] age, should be transported to Sardinia for the purpose of putting a check upon the banditti there. It was assumed that, should they perish there because of the unhealthiness of the climate it would be small loss (*vile damnum*). As to the rest, it was further decreed that, unless before a given day they abandoned their unholy rites, they should withdraw from Italy." It is quite clear

* Julius Florus (40. 30) says: *verum hanc quoque et intravit* [Pompeius] *et vidit illud grande impiae gentis arcanum patens, sub aurea vite cillum.* Aurelius Victor (*de viri illustr.* c. 77) disposes of the Jewish war with *atque Iudaeos cum magno sui terrore penetravit* [Pompeius]. Pliny (*N. H.* 7 § 98) and Ammianus Marcellinus (14. 8. 12) are almost as brief. Comp. also *epit.* to Bk. 102 of Livy. The limits of this paper preclude more than an illustrative use of the statements of the historians.

† See also Jos., *Antiqq.* 18. 3. 4, 5.

from Suet., *Tiberius* 36, that the Jews are referred to here.* Tacitus's reference (*H.* 5. 9) to the demand of Caligula, that his supreme divinity should be acknowledged in the temple, utterly fails to recognize the monstrosity of the idea to a monotheistic Jew, who could tolerate no human image whatever. That of all the procurators,† Tacitus characterizes Felix, brother of the notorious Pallas, the favorite freedman of Claudius himself, as preeminently outrageous and vile is abundant proof that other accounts of his rule are not overdrawn. The historian says (*H.* 5. 9):‡ "Antonius Felix, distinguishing himself for cruelty and licentiousness of every sort, exercised with the spirit of a slave a despotism worthy of a tyrant." In view of Tacitus's explicit mention of Christ (*Ann.* 15. 44) as founder of the Christians and his execution under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa, what are we to think of the statement of Suetonius?§ Is it a case of crass ignorance?‖ The *impulsore Chresto* will admit of more than one explanation. *Chrestus* may have been a Jewish false Messiah at Rome, with the real or assumed name *Chrestus*. The name *Chrestus*—χρηστός, "good, gentle," was not rare at Rome.¶ It is more than likely that the Jews and Christians were confounded in Roman imagination and that Suetonius blunders, placing Christ, whom he misnamed *Chrestus*, at Rome instead of Jerusalem. The difference in pronunciation between *Chrestus* and *Christus* was very slight, and the latter—"the anointed one," would mean nothing to a pagan Gentile.**

Tacitus's description of Jerusalem and account of the great rebellion††—the end of which was coincident with the collapse of the Jewish nation—fragmentary though it is, because of the

* Comp. Tac., *H.* 5. 9. This is not likely inconsistent with the statement of *Ann.* 2. 42, made relative to the year 17, that Judæa and Syria, overburdened with taxation, prayed for relief, and that "the young Germanicus" was sent with extraordinary power to the East to pacify the malcontents.

† Tacitus mentions other procuratores and legati, as do the inscriptions, for example, Wilm. 1622 *a*—*C. I. L.* 3. 5776; *Ib.* 3, p. 857, priv. veter. xiv; *Ib.* 10. 4862 (Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis).

‡ Tac. *Ann.* 12. 54 ought be read. Comp. Acts chap. xxiv.

§ *Claud.* 25: *Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*

‖ Dio Cassius (60. 6) informs us that the proposed expulsion of the Jews was abandoned. Comp. Acts xviii, 2.

¶ See Cic. *ad famil.* 2. 8. 1 and the Indexes to the volumes of the *C. I. L.*

** On the misuse of *Chrestus* for *Christus*, see Tertullian, *Apol.* 3; Id. *ad nat.* 1. 3; Lactantius, *Instit. divin.* 4. 7.

†† See Tac., *H.* 1. 10; 2. 4; 5. 1 and 10 *sqq.*

lost books, is most interesting. Too long to quote here, it should be read in connection with the account of Josephus.

Other writers add but little to the fragments of Tacitus. Suetonius * glorifies Titus's personal prowess in the final assault. The inscription on the arch of Titus (*C. I. L.* 6. 945=Wilm. 923), erected in Rome by the senate to commemorate the capture of Jerusalem, ignores any mention of the Jewish war; but the *relief* inside the arch shows the triumphal procession with men bearing sacred vessels brought from the temple.† However, another arch, dedicated to Titus, which stood in the Circus Maximus until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, alludes to the capture of Jerusalem in language needlessly false.‡ These reminders of the past, no less than the coinage of the Flavian emperors with its IVDAEA CAPTA, IVDAEA DEVICTA, must have stung the survivors to the quick (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* 6. 326, 354, 2d edit.). Especially galling to men who recalled the splendor of the old temple§ and had seen that splendor disappear amid fire and carnage must have been the tribute paid to maintain the worship of the Capitoline Jupiter.‖ That the Messianic hope was the mainspring of the unrest, which culminated in revolt, receives countenance from Suetonius (*Vespas.* 4): *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et con-*

* Tit. 5: *Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque eam natali filiae suae.* Eutropius (see 7. 21 sqq.) says the same thing. Aurelius Victor (*Tit.* 10) has not a word about the Jewish war; comp. Id *de Caesar, Vespas.* 9. 10. More interesting is the picture which Valerius Flaccus (in his dedication of the *Argonautica* to Vespasian) gives of Titus at the siege: *versam proles tua pandet Idumen* | *(namque potest), Solymo ac nigrantem pulvere fratrem* | *sparsentemque faces, et in omni turre furentem.* Comp. Martial 2. 2. 5.

† On the fate of the golden candlestick, etc., see R. Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (Bost., 1890), p. 290 sqq.

‡ *C. I. L.* 6. 944=Wilm. 923: SENATVS . POPVLVSQ . ROMANVS IMP . TITO . CAESARI . DIVI. VESPASIANI . F . VESPASIANO . AVGVSTO . PONTIF . MAX . TRIB . POT . X . IMP . XVII . COS. VIII . P . P. PRINCIPI . SVO . QVOD . PRAECEPTIS . PATRIS . CONSILIISQ . ET . AVSPICIIS . GENTEM . IVDAEORVM . DOMVIT . ET . VRBEM . HIERVSOLYMAM . OMNIB. ANTE . SE. DUCIBUS . REGIBUS . GENTIBUS . AUT . FRUSTRA . PETITAM . AUT . OMNINO . INTEMPTATAM DELEVIT. This ignores the repeated capture of Jerusalem by the Egyptian kings, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes in B. C. 168 (Justin. 36. 1. 1; comp. 36. 3. 8-9) and Pompeius. Comp. Seneca, *Suasor.* 2 § 21. Other witnesses to the siege are the seals found on the Mount of Olives and under the debris of the city and bearing the inscription LXF or LXFRE—*legio X. Fretensis* (*Eph. Epigr.* 2. 346, p. 298; *ib.* 5, 1441, p. 618), which receives interpretation in the fact that the tenth legion was the one left by Titus in charge of the ruined city. The coin of Vespasian, VICTORIA NAVALIS (Eckhel 6, p. 330; comp. *Eph. Epigr.* 3, p. 331), commemorates Vespasian's naval victory on Lake Gennesaret, described by Josephus, *Wars of Jews*, 3. 10. 9, 10.

§ As late as 400 A. D. the *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 14 forbade the collection of the Jewish tax for the maintenance of the temple worship.

‖ If the coin FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA (Eckh. 6, p. 404) can be depended upon, there would appear to have been some amelioration in the matter of the two-drachmae tax.

*stans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum postea eventu paruit, praedictum Iudaei ad se trahentes rebellarunt.** The Romans naturally referred this prophecy to Vespasian, hailed emperor by the legions of Syria, of which Judæa was a part.

But Jewish patriotism was not dead. When Trajan died Hadrian inherited the bequest of mingled power and trouble. The result of the last desperate struggle for Palestine (132–135 A. D.), precipitated apparently by Hadrian's attempt to rebuild Jerusalem † (from which the Jew was barred by royal mandate), and led by Simeon bar Koziba (Barcochebas), surnamed "the Son of the Star" (Num. xxiv, 17), could not be doubtful. (Comp. Spartianus, *Hadr.* 5. 2 and 14. 2.) The issue of this forlorn hope was absolute ruin. Still, the obstinacy of the Jew made the Roman victory costly.‡ Even the later coinage calls to mind the fact that the cup of Jewish bitterness was not yet full. The very name of the sacred city was to give place to a pagan one—Aelia Capitolina §—by which the Jew must be reminded at once of his conqueror and of the triumph of the

* Various stories are told by Tacitus and Suetonius of prophecies which foretold to Vespasian the power that afterward became his. For examples, Tac., *H.* 2. 78: *Est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus* [*mt. range through a part of Galilee and across Phœnicia to the sea*]: *ita vocant montem deumque* [*that is, whose oracle was there*]; *nec simulacrum deo aut templum,—sic tradidere maiores—ara tantum et reverentia. Illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos, inspectis identidem extis, "Quicquid est," inquit, "Vespasiane, quod paras, seu domum exstruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum hominum."* Has *ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat.* Suet. (*Vespas.* 5) tells the same story, adding, *et unus ex nobilibus captivis Josepus, cum coiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore ut ab eodem* [*that is, Vespasian*] *brevi solveretur, verum iam imperatore.* Comp. Josephus's own account, *Wars of Jews* 3. 8–9. See also Cicero, *de divinit.* 2. 54. 110 *sqq.*

† We know from coins and inscriptions that Hadrian was in Syria in 130–131 A. D.; for example, coins with ADVENTVI AVG[VSTI] IVDAEAE, Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* 6. 495. *C. I. L.* 3. 116 (found at Jerusalem) is a reminder of H.'s visit: *imp. caes.* TITO. AEL HADRIANO | ANTONINO AVG PIO | P P PONTIF AVGVR | D D [=*decurionum decreto*]. The title *Imp. II.* was doubtless conferred upon Hadrian in recognition of the Jewish war. See *C. I. L.* 6. 975 and 976=Orelli-H. 813 and 2296 and *C. I. L.* 14. 3577. Comp. *C. I. L.* 6. 974=Orelli-H. 5457. *C. I. L.* 3. 2830 mentions the *ornamenta triumphalia* conferred upon Julius Severus, who was transferred from Britain to Judæa to suppress the revolt.

‡ Dio (69. 14) gives the number that perished in battle as 580,000—but a small part of the total loss by plague and famine. Fronto, *de bello Parth.*, in a letter to M. Aurelius (ed. Naber, Leip., 1867, pp. 217–218), says, *quid? avo vestro Hadriano imperium optinente quantum militum a Iudaeis, quantum ab Britannis caesum?* The desperate character of the war is also attested by the inscriptions which prove the participation of legions and auxiliaries, some of them from outlying provinces, where they had long been located. See, for example, *C. I. L.* 14. 3610=Orell. 6501; *C. I. L.* 6. 3505; *ib.* 6. 1523=Orelli-H. 5480; *C. I. L.* 10. 3733=Orelli-H. 833; Orelli-H. 3571. Even the Syrian fleet was called upon, for example, *C. I. L.* 3. 6934=Orelli-H. 6924 and *C. I. L.* 6. 1565 (*Eph. Epigr.* 2, p. 331). See also *C. I. L.* 3. 6706=Orelli-H. 6500.

§ See Eckhel 3, p. 441 *sqq.*; HELYA CAPITOLINA, in the *Tabula Peuting.*; *C. I. L.* 3. 116.

chief representative of the pagan's gods.* As if this were not enough, the site of the Holy Place must be desecrated by a temple erected to the Capitoline Juppiter. The old unrest remains, but it cannot longer be dignified as patriotism.† Henceforth, though cosmopolitan, the Jew is a stranger among men.

The history of later Judaism is not to be read in pagan sources, for the later conflict was waged with the Church, and the Church was not so tolerant of unbelievers as had been paganism. It is doubtful whether much of the legal enactment against Judaism after the second century can be considered as pagan at all, for the union of Church and State inaugurated an active propaganda and the *edicta* of the Christian emperors were inspired by Christianity.‡ On the other hand, Julian (361–363 A. D.), who hated Christianity, favored the Jews. His favor extended so far that, before his fatal Persian expedition, he attempted to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. Why he failed we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (23. 1. 2–3).

Such is the light thrown by Latin sources, other than patristic, upon Judaism. We have seen the Jew pushing his propaganda to the farthest corners of the Old World; we catch glimpses of conquered Judaism wringing reluctant acknowledgment from its conquerors; we see what the Roman thought of it, as Roman opinion veered from favor to jealousy or contempt, and, later, to a hatred which led to repressive measures. But amid poverty, misrepresentation, carnage, and political ruin, national character still asserts itself, until passion has burned itself out in futile efforts to preserve national entity.

* *Aelia*, the nomen of Hadrian; *Capitolina*, referring to Juppiter Capitolinus.

† Of this unrest we have occasional glimpses, as, for example, Julius Capitolinus, *Anton. Pius* 5. 4; Spartianus, *Severus* 16. 7; Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 42. 10.

‡ For example, *cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 1 (Constantine, 315 A. D.) provided a death penalty for Jews. *Ib.* 1. 9. 1 invalidated a bequest to the Jews of Antioch. At a later time new means of repression and annoyance were found; for example, cod. 1. 9. 5 (Gratianus, 383 A. D.) required service of Jews at court. *Cod. Theodos.* 3. 7. 2 forbade marriage between Jews and Christians. Comp. *cod.* 9. 9. 5 and *cod. Just.* 1. 7. 6. *Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 15 (Honorius, 404 A. D.) excluded Jews from an army career. *Nov.* III (Theodosius II, 425 A. D.) disbarred Jews from legal practice, from the civil service, and forbade the erection of new synagogues. *Cod. Theodos.* 16. 8. 22 (415 A. D.) continues the war against circumcision.

Edwin Post.

Art. VIII.—THE SAVIOUR'S TOMB.

When in Jerusalem we went out of the city to see an ancient tomb, believed by many to be the veritable tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, and the place where the Lord lay. Because of the interest gathering about it we give a description of this tomb, and also some of the reasons why it is considered to be the very one in which the body of Jesus was laid, and from which he arose on the third day. John says, "Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulcher, wherein was never man yet laid." Matthew tells us that Joseph took the body "and laid it in his own new tomb." We are told in Hebrews that he, Jesus, "suffered without the gate;" and, whatever gate may be meant, because it was without the gate it must have been without the walls of Jerusalem.

In the excavations and surveys that have been made of Jerusalem it is conceded that the so-called Church of the Holy Sepulcher lies within the old walls. It is further granted by most authorities that the genuineness of the reputed site of the holy sepulcher rests solely upon the vision which Helena, the mother of Constantine, is said to have had; and the reality of this vision is generally repudiated. Therefore, if we are led by a reasonable faith instead of by a blind credulity, if we are guided by confidence in the revealed word of God instead of by trust in a pretended vision of a superstitious woman, then we must reject the traditional site of the holy sepulcher. Further than that, when Titus destroyed Jerusalem in A. D. 70 all that he left standing was a part of the walls of Zion; for sixty-two years the very site of the city was a waste place, and then it was rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian, and became a Roman city. The Jews under Barcochebas retook the city and occupied it only for a brief time, when it was again captured and made a Roman city. Before the siege by Titus the Christians all escaped to Pella, and it is regarded as very uncertain when they returned. During the time of the Roman occupation they were permitted to dwell in Jerusalem only under exceptional circumstances and in small number; and during the Jewish occupation if the sepulcher had been within the city it would likely be known to the Jews, and by them be destroyed

because of the hatred they had of Christians. So that we are not surprised that no mention is made of the holy sepulcher until the fourth century, and that Eusebius tells us the "illustrious monument had been lost in darkness and oblivion." But during the latter part of the first century it may have been known, and Schultz says in the Schaff-Herzog Cyclopedia: "Of course the first Christians knew the place where Christ was crucified and buried, but they evidently did not give much attention, or ascribe much value, to such externalities." But if they knew these sacred places they must have held them in reverence.

By the aid of natural features it may be possible to determine the position of Calvary, and we may also be able to locate the holy sepulcher. The evangelists translate Golgotha as "the Place of a Skull;" and the presence and position of the Greek article, together with the capitals, imply that it was a well-known place, and very early in the history of the Church was designated by a specific name. The gospels no doubt refer to a topographical characteristic in naming the place. As early as the time of Jerome it was held to mean "the Hill of Death." Now, outside of Jerusalem, a little northeast of the Gate of Damascus, there is a peculiar hill; it is in the shape of a skull, as has been shown by accurate plaster casts made of it. It is inclosed by four roads, and is very conspicuous from them and from the city walls, which meets the requirements of inferences obtained from Matt. xxvii, 39, and Mark xv, 29, and from the fact that the Romans always crucified their malefactors in such places in order to make the spectacle an impressive one to the people. This hill has been called from time immemorial "the Hill of Execution." Moreover, it appears that something took place there which has made a lasting impression by stirring the hatred of the Jewish people; for as they pass they throw stones at the hill and cry, "Cursed be he that destroyed our nation by aspiring to be the king thereof." After the most exact and patient investigation Dr. Conder has placed this hill in his maps of survey as Calvary.

Now, it is near Calvary, and in a garden, that we must seek for our Lord's tomb. And here just a little northwest of the skull-shaped hill we find a garden; this may easily have been a garden from the earliest times, for there is a deep and an-

cient well for irrigation, and the configuration of the land and its sunny exposure would make it a very desirable spot for a garden, as it is to-day. In this garden is an ancient sepulcher, of which we offer a brief description. After having hastily viewed it one morning in March we took a guide in the afternoon and went to examine it more closely. Passing a short distance up the road leading from the Damascus Gate toward Nablous, we came to a lane passing up a hill, and in the lane opposite the Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ we reached an arched gate, the entrance to a garden. In this garden, on the upper side, not far from the gate, we found a deep excavation. Entering the excavation, we came to a singular tomb, very unlike those in the rocks near Akeldama, and different from any tombs we saw in Palestine. This sepulcher is cut into "the Hill of Execution."

The tomb must have belonged to a rich man, for the work is extensive and the finish fine; it must have belonged to a married man who had children, for there is evidence of preparation for several single loculi; and it never had but one occupant, because only one of the loculi was finished. We found two openings to the sepulcher; one was a door, and the other an opening in the masonry above the level of the door that had evidently never been closed. If one were to stoop and look into this opening from the garden level of old he might see clothes lying in the bottom of the loculus in the north side of the sepulcher; but he could not see a napkin that had been bound about the head unless he entered the sepulcher, which is in singular conformity with the requirements of John xx, 5. Upon entering the door of the sepulcher we found ourselves within a rectangular chamber whose greatest length is from south to north. In the northwest part of this chamber there is a groove cut into the rock wherein a slab could be fitted to form the side of a loculus, or single tomb; but the slab has apparently never been placed in position. At the right of this chamber, and at right angles with it, is another chamber cut into the solid rock and divided from the first by a partition which is pierced midway for a door. The second chamber, being below the level of the first, is reached by a descent of two stone steps. Crossing this chamber to the right, we come to a place for a loculus, but the loculus has

never been cut out, and the marks about it show that this place was used at an early date for an altar. On the wall of the chamber above the altar there is the fresco of a peculiar cross, a Roman cross with mortise-like ends. Above the left arm of this cross are the Greek letters iota and sigma, making the ancient abbreviation of the word Jesus; above the right arm are the Greek letters chi and rho, which form the ancient abbreviation of the name Christ. Below the left arm of the cross is the Greek letter alpha, while below the right arm is the Greek letter omega. These letters are in uncial characters, indicating that the fresco antedates the ninth century; and because the chi and rho are not in monogram the fresco may date before the third century, for at that time and thereafter they were usually placed in monogram.

If this peculiar chapel had been known to Eusebius, whose historical memory must have extended into the second century, as he was born in the latter part of the third, he would likely have spoken of it; but he does not speak of it; and of the tomb of Christ he says, as previously quoted, that it "had been lost in darkness and oblivion." Now, the gradual accumulation of rubbish around and over this might have caused it to be lost. Furthermore, there are other more definite considerations to identify this tomb as that of the Saviour. In the south side of the chamber there is cut into the rock a place for a loculus, but no place has been cut for the head to rest, and the slab for the side of the loculus has never been placed in position, the inference being that this loculus was never occupied. In the north end of this chamber is a loculus of great interest. It lies east and west, with head toward the east. The slab forming its side is in position, and the place for the resting of the head is cut out of the rock, indicating that not only was the chapel used for a tomb, but it also contained only one grave, and in this grave a body had been deposited. Outside of this sepulcher a Roman guard could be placed after the door had been closed by a great stone and sealed. Here, as long as the guard remained awake, no man could come and steal away a body, and what Roman guard ever slept at the post of duty? Here they could behold an angel if he rolled away the great stone. Here two women could stand and certain others with them, and two men in shining garments could stand by them

within this chamber. Here, after he had calmed their fears, an angel could lead the two Marys within, saying to them, "Come, see the place where the Lord lay." And here a young man in a long white garment could sit on the right side, and yet sit at the head of the tomb. The position and construction of this sepulcher are just such as a wealthy Sanhedrist would probably choose; and before a body was placed in the one particular loculus it was a new tomb hewn out of the rock wherein never man was yet laid. The strictest examination seems to show that this sepulcher meets the minute particulars given in the varying accounts presented in the several gospels, and harmonizes them all. Opposite the sepulcher have been found broken columns, tessellated pavement, and other remains of an ancient church, and near by was discovered a ruined crypt containing many ancient loculi placed close together. Upon the loculi were found inscriptions in abbreviated words formed of uncial Greek letters. Some of these we examined. One contains the following: "Nonus and Onesimus, Deacons of the Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ." One tablet which has been removed, we were told, to Gethsemane, is said to bear the words, "Buried near his Lord." The loculi face the west and north sides of the sepulcher and tomb where Jesus is supposed to have been laid. The church must have been very old, for there is no record of it. Those who were to be buried in this crypt believed that so they would be laid near their Lord, that is, near where their Lord had been buried; the name of the church declares their assured and positive knowledge of his resurrection. It should be said in conclusion that this theory of the site of the holy sepulcher is not a new one; Mr. Fisher Howe, of New York, wrote a pamphlet forty years ago advocating its claims. The distinguished missionary and scholar, Dr. Jessup, of Beyroot, considers this to be the very tomb in which our Lord was laid, and an increasing number of scholars and archæologists accept the same conclusion.

W. Ralston

Art. IX.—OUR BIBLE AND OUR FAITH.

Without doubt the most distinguishing feature of the religious thought of our day is the strife over the Bible. Once before in the Church's history it has been the object of intense controversy. For it the reformers strongly contended against Rome. In God's good providence they secured to us forever an unchained and open Bible, as the Magna Charta of the evangelical Church. But now, over this our priceless treasure we Protestants are striving among ourselves.

What is the cause? It is evident that the controversy is too often without any clear consciousness of motive or aim. We are all agreed in the firm persuasion that in our Bible we possess the sure word of God to us. It is certain no evangelical Christian has any thought of calling in question the authority of the Bible in the Church. Beyond this fundamental agreement, however, there is marked difference of opinion. Most Protestants are furnished and armed with a traditional view of the Bible's miraculous origin and constitution, which they believe to be indispensably necessary in order to a sure reliance upon its message. Over against the old view, and yet at the same time far removed from certain essentially negative theories, stands the representative "new view" of the Bible, championed—with minor differences but in essential agreement—by many of the leading orthodox theologians of the day, and accepted by not a few of the laity. Between the representatives of these two general views there is strife. At the same time all evangelical Christians are united in the common cause of maintaining the right authority of the Bible against the claims of Rome and its divine truth against the assaults of unbelief and of a negative criticism. Manifestly, the difference between the parties in our domestic strife is not a fundamental one.

And yet, respecting the real matter about which we are contending there certainly exists a general and most unfortunate unclearness. "Misunderstandings ordinarily arise from this, that people do not understand each other aright." So doubtless it is with us. So soon, however, as we reflect, it becomes plain that the real motive in all the controversy is the interest of faith. For no mere fond theory do men so contend. This

is no doctors' dispute, but a matter of most vital interest to every Christian. In the Scriptures we think we have eternal life, in their sure testimony concerning the Christ, the eternal Word of God and Saviour of the world. Therefore, for the sake of the faith by which we live, we contend as for our life against every man who seems to us to be about to mar our Bible or take it from us. Yet evangelical Christians do not at present understand each other. The one party believes that, if the absolute inerrancy and verbal inspiration of the Bible are given up, the basis of the faith is gone. The other party believes just as sincerely that the old view is in effect an obscuration of revelation, a hindrance to faith. Evidently the parties do not understand each other. How inconsiderate, aimless, blundering much of the disputing is! Both parties in the strife have one and the same end in view—"that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified." But the controversy can never come to a final settlement until the parties understand each other's spirit, standpoint, and aim, and especially until they clearly conceive the very nature of the issue itself.

The principle involved in the present controversy over the Bible is essentially the same as that for which the reformers contended, namely, the right relation of the Bible to faith; only we have the problem in a more advanced stage. The reformers contended first of all for the great fundamental principle of justification by faith. This having been established, there immediately arose the question concerning the authority for faith—whether to pope, to council, or to Scripture final authority should be ascribed. After much controversy and development of thought all Protestantism laid firm hold on the principle that the New Testament, together with the Old —with which it is inseparably connected in the chain of revelation—in a word, that the whole Bible, being the sure record of the revelation of God in Christ, must in all times and places be the only and sufficient rule of faith. This was the second of the two great principles of the Reformation. To the reformers the Bible had no other significance than as a minister of faith. As such, however, it was to them certainly more than mere rule. It was, first of all, the divine record of God's saving revelation —the ever-fresh and uncorrupted fountain of the water of life, from which every man had the right to drink freely with-

out the mediation of priest. For the reason that it was all this, the Bible—and the Bible only—was fitted to be the Church's canon. The essential principle of the relation of the Bible to faith the Reformation firmly established. To succeeding generations, however, was left the task of bringing the principle to its full conception and perfect application. Protestantism has here an unfinished problem to carry to its final solution. The same is, doubtless, true concerning all the great principles of the evangelical Church. We have as yet only fairly begun to realize them. Original Protestantism was reformed in principle, but was very far from being thoroughly renovated in thought and life. The Reformation recovered all the principles of the Gospel, but we cannot believe that any of them has even now quite reached its perfect application. As to faith, for example, is there not even yet remaining in Protestantism much of the false Roman notion as to its nature and object? As to the holy catholic Church—in which we believe, while we have with well-grounded assurance repudiated the Romish conception of it—can we claim that we ourselves, even after so long a time, have perfectly conceived and realized it? As to the Bible—which we profess to prize so highly—do we clearly comprehend what it signifies to the individual and to the Church, and have we secured its full and proper use? Protestantism according to its very nature has accepted all the problems, not of the world or of the being of God, but of the Christian life, and is bound to solve them. The solution will bring unknown blessing and power, for the solution is the realization of the perfect life and of the kingdom of God.

The persistence in Protestantism of a considerable portion of the old Romish spirit of scholastic dogmatism has only in very recent years received due recognition. It is, nevertheless, a most certain fact, and is the key to the understanding of much of the history of Protestant thought. The part which this old scholastic spirit has played in disturbing and retarding the progress of evangelical theology is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of Protestant dogmatizing about the Bible. In the reformers themselves the evangelical spirit strongly predominated; but in the next generation faith declined, and the scholastic spirit began to reassert itself. It was in this age that the theologians, seeking in Romish fashion to ground faith by means

of some purely external authority, substituted the Bible for the pope and invented for it the strictest theory of verbal inspiration. Could anything be more clear, more perfect, more conclusive, than the doctrine which they put forth? By the most inexorable logic, whoever admitted their first proposition—the actuality of a divine revelation—was forcibly conducted to an inevitable conclusion. If God—so the argument ran—gave man a saving revelation at all, he must have provided that it be conveyed to him in perfect integrity and in a form suited to his comprehension. To this end God must have provided for a written record of the revelation, and this record must be in every way perfect. Hence God must have dictated or suggested every sentence of the record *verbatim et literatim*, and thus have preserved it from error of every sort. Error could no more be ascribed to it than to God himself.

In the confidence of this old theory of inspiration the Church for generations rested quite undisturbed. Yet the theory was not sufficient to prevent a general decline of religious life. Moreover, orthodox Protestants, although armed with a theory apparently so invincible, were utterly powerless to check the tide of rationalism that swept over the Church in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the reason why the orthodox could not withstand the march of the rationalists was that at bottom they were rationalists themselves. For rationalism does not consist in the character of the conclusions one reaches, but in a certain principle and method. Whoever identifies Christian believing with any sort of mere thinking, whether unorthodox or orthodox, is a rationalist.

The old rationalism, however, has mostly passed away, having been overcome by a believing and progressive theology, one of whose chief distinctions was its energetic repudiation of the old mechanical theory of inspiration. But rationalism had never to any great extent modified the orthodoxy against which it contended. It was too extreme and too antagonistic for that. It won over individuals, but it could not modify the opposing system. With the new evangelical theology, however, the case has been different. Occupying the positive standpoint of faith, it has been able to gain in an ever-widening circle a sympathetic hearing. Nevertheless, the progress has not been very rapid. Of late, however, the advance movement of certain new views

of the Bible has been accelerated to a degree sufficient to cause uneasiness among conservative Christians. A century ago biblical criticism was carried on mainly in a hostile way, and by men of a negative and rationalistic temper. Now, however, we have fallen upon very different times. The problems of the higher criticism are being investigated by orthodox scholars, asking the same questions and handling the same materials as were formerly used chiefly with unfriendly intent, but so using them as to increase the intelligibility without diminishing the authority of the Christian Scriptures. The fact that at length faith has taken up in earnest the task of the critical examination of the Bible ought to be accepted by all as a manifest sign of good. But it does not so appear to all. To many the higher criticism in bulk, no matter how or by whom conducted, is a crime. The mere investigation of the authenticity of a book of the Bible is a sacrilege. To affirm that any book of the Bible contains errors of any kind is not far from blasphemy. Nor is this way of thinking confined to the laity. Many ministers are no less disturbed, believing that any modification of the views which they inherited and with little or no examination have adopted must mean a loss to faith. Others dogmatically repel all historical criticism, except where it seems to support their own opinions, however crude and unproved. There are, again, ministers of still another class, who feel bound to acknowledge the right and even the necessity of reverent biblical criticism, hoping for faith's sake that in the end the views which they and many others have cherished may be reestablished. Now all fear of the results of science is of doubt, not of faith. "True, faith, like perfect love, casts out fear."

> Nothing that keeps thought out is safe from thought.
> For there's no virgin fort but self-respect,
> And Truth defensive hath lost hold on God.*

In such a case of distress the theologian has a most important duty to perform. It is not his chief business to cultivate a science. The science of the true theologian is not for its own sake, but for the guidance and edification of the Church in faith. He has a more serious task than merely to settle questions of historical criticism. All critical study must be hallowed and made to serve and not subvert the interest of

* Lowell, "The Cathedral."

faith. No erroneous view of the Bible can be altogether harmless, for in some way and at some time it may become a hindrance to faith. So the critic who in any way corrects such a view takes away a stumbling-block to faith. He should, however, take care not to put another stumbling-block in the place of that which he removes. No doubt some of the popular notions about the Bible are utterly unable to stand the test of scientific inquiry. And when they are destroyed those who held them will be decidedly better off—unless, indeed, along with the destruction of the error faith was bewildered rather than helped. For it is possible that an inconsiderate critic should rudely snatch from people their precious errors without pointing out the real truth by which they must live. He may, perhaps, convince them against their will that what has been taken away is worthless, or even injurious. At the same time they are troubled and bewildered, and the general impression left upon them is that a subtraction has been effected. But the biblical teacher who at the same time is a theologian has in such a case a great opportunity to show that his views about the Bible, instead of being a subtraction, are in reality a distinct addition—instead of making faith harder, are rather calculated to make it easier, surer, deeper. It is his opportunity to quiet the alarm of those who are fearful, and to show them that true faith has a certainty too deeply grounded to be shaken by any of the changing thoughts of men or by any of the results of science.

This, then, is the great problem concerning the Bible, namely, its significance for faith. What is the Bible in its practical relation to the individual and to the Church? The importance of the problem cannot be overestimated. Behind every particular question of doctrine or morals, of creed or polity, lies the fundamental question concerning the authority of the Bible. Now, the fact that the Bible has normative authority in the Church, and that of right, is not a matter of controversy. No evangelical Christian questions it. The problem is to understand that authority so that all hindrances to the realization of the Bible's full significance may be removed. Far too much of the thought concerning the Bible has been directed to the formation of theories as to how God must have given it to us, and as to what it is in itself, apart from its actual

use. But the Bible is given for use, and not for curious theorizings as to how it was made. The first and chief question should be, What does the Bible do, and what is it designed to do, for the individual and for the Church? What it is we can only learn from what it does. Scientific theology has no place for *a priori* arguments to prove what the Bible must be. If it is to be recognized as having universal divine authority it must obtain that recognition by a practical proof of its unique and indispensable value to faith. And this it has done by the thorough test of many centuries of use and experience.

It can scarcely be doubted that much of the unclearness which has prevailed in Protestantism respecting the relation of the Bible to faith has been due to the remnant in it of the old Romish notions concerning the nature and objects of faith. The Roman Catholic view of faith, while it has never absolutely excluded the idea of personal confidence in God, has nevertheless made the credence of dogmas the chief thing. It has accorded to mere doctrines a saving power over the heart of man which the evangelical view ascribes to Christ alone. And the doctrines may be applied by every man to himself, without any antecedent renewal of the heart. The true evangelical conception, on the other hand, makes faith to consist solely in the personal reliance of our whole being upon God. No mere holding of certain things to be true is faith; and so-called articles of faith are not at all immediate objects of faith. They are rather judgments which faith forms concerning the various parts of Christian reality. But the faith itself is never anything else than a sure confidence in God. This faith in God is at the same time faith in Christ, who manifests the Father to us for our apprehension and, by virtue of all that is involved in the incarnation, is the fit and only Mediator to bring us to God. The great and destructive error into which so many Protestants have fallen is that they make the Bible as really as Christ an immediate object of faith, instead of a means to faith. They conceive the Bible to be a book of formal truths which God in these precise words suggested in the inner consciousness of inspired men, whom he also directed to write down the identical words given, in order that the world may know what God, the Lord, has spoken. To accept all these words as exactly and infallibly true, it is conceived, is an act of faith. The evil of this view must be appar-

ent to all who rightly conceive the nature of faith and the nature of revelation, which is the ground of faith.

Faith must have its grounds. If in life and death we are to confide in God it is necessary that he should be manifest as graciously disposed toward us, willing and able to forgive, restore, glorify. That he is so disposed toward us he has made known, not by suggesting a formal statement of the truth in the minds of a few prophets, but by manifest gracious dealings with all men at all times. His infinite love to men and his eternal purpose to save them are perfectly manifested in Jesus Christ, who in his own person sums up all that God is and does for men. In Jesus Christ we behold a life which, while genuinely human, has an unmistakably divine content. When we consider that life of perfect purity and truth, of heavenly wisdom and grace, of measureless love and sacrifice, we are constrained to say, "As is this Jesus, so also must God be." The love of Christ overmasters our hearts, if only we give it room, and we rejoice to find in him communion with our God.

And this Christ is not a mere guide into the presence of of God, there to leave us. He is the perpetual Mediator of the revelation and grace of God. We are evermore to gaze upon him, that we may have "the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Now faith, wherever it exists, must have a present object. It is not enough to believe that in times past God communed with men. We must find a present Saviour. If Jesus Christ is nearly two thousand years distant he cannot help us. But he is still present, with all power to save, ever making the Father known. The office of the Holy Spirit is to present to us the living Christ, who rose a conqueror over sin and death, that he might fill all things. Faith lays hold of this present Christ. "Faith," said Luther, "is a certain sure confidence of heart and firm assent by which Christ is apprehended, so that Christ is the object of faith, nay, not the object, but, so to speak, in faith itself Christ is present." Hence, faith is saving because it is the bond that cements us to Christ, whose life is our life, whose wisdom is our wisdom, whose glory is our glory.

If, now, the Bible has any vital relation to faith, it must mediate a present revelation, it must make known a present Christ. It is just this that it does. It is the only and sufficient record of the revelation of God in Christ. Faith in Christ origi-

nates by an act of God in willing hearts which yield themselves to the persuasive revelation of God's grace. The ground of faith must be historical fact. We are able to yield ourselves absolutely to God, not because he says he will have mercy, but because in very deed he shows his infinite mercy in Jesus Christ. We read the words, "God is love;" but we believe in God's love because we know Christ, who shed his blood for us. If on every page of a book claiming to come from God were spread in golden letters the words, "God is love," they could not convince us, and would, indeed, be false, unless God actually dealt with us in love. So our faith finds the ground of its confidence in the historical facts of God's self-revelation in Christ.

Mere acquaintance with the facts, however, does not of itself produce faith. There is necessary not only an outward manifestation of God's power, but also an inward revelation of his presence. When Peter confessed Jesus as the Christ the Lord declared to him, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." This is the universal law of the origin of faith. There is first a knowledge of Christ after the flesh, and then, in the obedient heart, an inward revelation of the Word. In Jesus Christ the flesh was not the revelation, but the Word. The flesh was as a veil, or transparency, for the Word. With us the case is not at all different in principle from that of Peter. It is only a matter of circumstance whether the manifestation of Christ, in which by a spiritual revelation we find our God and Saviour, comes to the mind through the eye of the flesh or through tradition. Let once a true picture of Christ be presented to the mind, by whatever means, and there is a sufficient basis for the Holy Spirit to work faith in the obedient heart, whereby the present, living Christ is apprehended. The apostles in their preaching made not the least effort to produce in their hearers an orderly knowledge of the incidents of the life of Christ. They preached him as the Son of God, who died and rose again for our salvation. The New Testament writings, which arose as occasion called them forth, are not to be regarded as the documentary record of the life of our Lord, but rather as the documents of the apostolic preaching and testimony concerning him. They afford such a view of the historical Jesus as is needful for the production and confirmation

of faith in the living, glorified Christ. So the entire New Testament, epistles as well as gospels, belong to the apostolic testimony concerning Christ. Moreover, since Christ came as the consummation of the long revelation leading up to him, we need the Old Testament, which is the record of that revelation, that we may understand the full significance of Him who came as its fulfillment. So, the Church holds to the whole Bible as necessary to the right understanding of God's revelation in his Son.

This whole Bible is, as Luther wrote, "the book given by God the Holy Spirit to his Church." The Church gathered up the writings of the apostles and of some of their companions, and, after generations of practical testing, at length declared them to be—together with the Old Testament—the perpetual rule of faith. The inapproachable esteem in which the Church holds the Bible is due to two great facts. In the first place, the New Testament—and, as inseparably connected with it, the Old—is the original testimony concerning the revelation of God in Christ, is the unchangeable tradition proceeding from the apostolic Church. In the second place, it is an incomparable source of vital inspiration in the Christian life. That the book is from God the Church has never doubted. That it is "an historical piece, but unhistorically given," is a view which in reality is already fallen; but the Church will always affirm that the writers of the Holy Scriptures wrote not out of the wisdom of men, but as they were taught of the Holy Spirit. This Bible must ever be the source and standard of the Church's preaching. The faith that apprehends the risen and unseen Christ is always in the first instance faith in the historical Christ. There is not the slightest possibility that the spirit of faith should ever put anything else in the place of the only record which the world contains of the testimony of Christ's original disciples, trained and inspired for their work. Now this recognition of the authority of the Bible as God's saving word to men is not in the least affected by any questions of historical criticism. Is not the fact that the truth which in all these ages has given life to men is the same truth of which the Bible is the original record—is not this enough to put the authority of the Bible in the Church far beyond the possibility of historical criticism to unsettle it? Criticism has

to do only with the form and manner of the tradition. It has nothing to do with the content of truth. That is settled beyond cavil by the joint witness of those who had seen and could testify that "the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world," and of the multitudes following who, having not seen, have yet believed in the Lord, and in communion with him have great assurance and unspeakable joy. So the Church, knowing the grounds of its faith, will give free scope to all honest research, and will never deny the faith by saying, as some individuals inconsiderately do, that unless the Bible is verbally and absolutely inerrant it is not the word of God.

If the Bible is given, first of all, to the Church as its source and norm of doctrine, it is no less truly given to the individual believer as a member of the Church. It is not a book addressed to the unbelieving world, to bring it to Christ. The world could never be evangelized by means of the mere distribution of Bibles in heathen lands. Faith "cometh by hearing." How shall they believe without a preacher? So the living Church goes with its living message. Believers are brought into the fellowship of all saints through the testimony of the Gospel, which is the same, now and forever, as it was in the beginning. So every believer is to be made acquainted with the Bible, the voice of the apostolic Church, and in unanimous confession the voice of the Church in every age. In this Bible he finds not only credible testimony, but the loftiest and most inspiring expressions of Christian experience, and so his faith is fed and strengthened. If he has a clear certainty of faith—if he knows whom he has believed—he has not the slightest cause for disquietude on account of any real or supposed errors and discrepancies in the form and not the content of the record. To him the Bible is the inexhaustible, unfailing word of God. He proves it to be such; for through it by faith he comes face to face with his Lord, "who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord."

J. R. VanPelt.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE Methodist Episcopal Church is not aware of its own rapidly increasing abundance of high scholarship and manifold culture. This rich and vigorous abundance will report itself with enthusiasm and power, the coming twenty years, in all departments of the Church's life. We predict that in literature its efflorescence will be bloomy and its fruitage bountiful. The contributed articles in this number of the *Review* are by writers who have never before appeared as contributors in these pages. To hold the balance even, our next number will be filled by contributors whose writings have long been familiar to our readers.

DR. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES wrote to Dr. S. Weir Mitchell: "I cannot work many hours consecutively without deranging my whole circulating and calorific system. My feet are apt to get cold, my head hot, my muscles restless; and I feel as if I *must* get up and exercise in the open air. This is in the morning, and I rarely allow myself to be detained indoors later than twelve o'clock. After fifteen or twenty minutes' walking I begin to come right, and after two or three times as much as that I can go back to my desk for another hour or two. . . . In composition, especially poetical composition, I stand on the brink of a river and hold myself very still, watching the thoughts that float by on the stream of association. If they come abundantly and of the right kind there is a great excitement, sometimes an exalted state, almost like etherization, incompatible with a sense of fatigue while it lasts, and followed by a relief which shows there has been a tension of which I could not be conscious at the time." Dr. Holmes also says that a man's best things are apt to be spontaneous, not the result of express premeditation, but dipped from the running stream of one's thoughts when it flows full to the banks. He should have added that a man must by diligent study see to it that his mind is continually fed from living fountains of thought, or no such bank-full stream will run in its channels.

Some Hebrew rabbis and others of the Jewish faith have publicly objected to a reference to Jesus the Christ which occurred in the Thanksgiving message issued last November by the President of the United States, wherein it is recommended that we, the citizens of this country, implore forgiveness of our sins and a continuation of heavenly favor through the mediation of Him who taught us how to pray. The objection shows a failure to apprehend the truth as to the character of this nation. By many a token, from the beginning until now, ours is as distinctly a Christian nation as it is a maritime nation; its Christianity is as actual and obvious as its Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The very courts have decided and declared Christianity to be part of the law of the land. Our Jewish friends are at liberty to dislike this fact; but to criticise its recognition in our public documents is neither good manners nor good sense.

With equal fitness the atheist, living in this Christian land, might find fault with any reference by public officials to a divine Providence; and the anarchist might object to the attempt of government to prescribe or suggest anything to the people as to their customs and observances. With similar propriety a Russian Jew might protest against United States officials using the English language in their messages and utterances. But this is a Christian country, and English is the language of the land, as "Old Glory" is its flag. Those who do not like the religion or the lingo or the Stars and Stripes can find large areas of the earth's surface unencumbered (and unblest) by the New Testament, the Anglo-Saxon speech, or the Star Spangled Banner; and at all our ports the gates are oiled to swing easily outward.

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE IN BALTIMORE.

Madame Blanc, the distinguished French writer, whose observations in America are recorded in her book, *The Condition of Woman in the United States*, noticed elsewhere in this number, visited and examined many of our American colleges for women, as well as some coeducational institutions. A prominent Presbyterian pastor calls our attention to the fact that she seems to prefer our Woman's College in Baltimore. Part of what she writes is as follows: "Among establishments of recent date the college at Baltimore, opened in 1888 under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, seemed to me destined to the largest measure of success. The charming capital (?) of Mary-

land, where it is situated, affords many advantages—a very mild climate, cultivated society, the neighborhood of a university, abundant libraries, art galleries like that of Mr. Walters, which is open to the public on stated days and combines a large number of the finest masterpieces of the modern French school, and, lastly, the Conservatory of Music, due, with so many other gifts, to the munificence of George Peabody. The construction of the Woman's College also testifies to that private generosity so commonly found in America. The Rev. Dr. John F. Goucher erected the impressive hall in Roman style, where laboratories occupy an entire floor, the rest being devoted to classes, assembly rooms, collections of minerals, botanical and paleontological specimens, etc. Mr. B. F. Bennett, in memory of his wife, added the massive edifice, in the same style, devoted to physical culture, and containing a swimming bath and gymnasium constructed after Swedish methods, which bid fair to oust German methods throughout America. The teachers in charge of the gymnasium are from the Royal Institute at Stockholm, and the famous Zander apparatus is used to correct, by proper movements, any weakness or deformity in the pupil. Once a year the progress made in lung capacity and muscular power is measured. Separate buildings afford the students something very like family life. I notice when I go through them that the dining rooms, as well as the kitchens, are situated on the top floor, to avoid all odors. Elevators, running constantly, prevent any inconvenience which might otherwise arise from this plan. The girls eat at small tables seating eight. I talk with some of them—pretty, as all Baltimore women are reputed to be, and possessed of a vivacity and grace which are decidedly Southern. There is no shadow in them of that somewhat haughty pedantry which I sometimes observed in the North. Then, too, they have greater skill in turning a compliment. I have reached the South; I already feel the affinities which exist between this part of America and France. Religious influences reigned over the foundation of the college, but there is almost as much personal liberty here as anywhere else. While there is a rule forbidding the students to attend theaters or balls, drink wine, or play cards, the girls are permitted to give a monthly party under the direction of the lady in charge of the housekeeping, and each girl is allowed to invite one or more friends. Food and lodging cost two hundred dollars a year; tuition, one hundred dollars, not including accomplishments, with ten dollars extra for the use of laboratory apparatus.

Of course only a college very richly endowed could give so much for so small a price. The beautiful Methodist Episcopal church serves as the college chapel, there being a private passage between the church and Goucher Hall. The campanile is a more or less faithful copy of San Vitale; and amid all these structures of Lombard architecture, in rough-hewn granite, it is indeed fine, solid, and severe of aspect. A preparatory school, known as the Latin School, thrives close by the college, under the same rules."

In harmony with the above were the words of Dr. Eliot, spoken to the recent annual meeting of the New England Association of College Presidents: "The best equipped college for women in this country is in Baltimore."

The institution which could so impress observers so critical and capable as Madame Blanc and the President of Harvard University, judging it from their very different standpoints and studiously comparing it with other colleges of its kind, and which receives hosts of students from other denominations and from all parts of the land, is, beyond question, eminently worthy of the pride and patronage of all Methodism. Our own laymen and ministers cannot, without loss and shame, neglect to acquaint themselves with its merits and attractions.

DANGERS FOR THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THERE are grounds for distrust of the stability of the republic of France. First of all, French colonization has been a marked feature of the policy of the republic since the disastrous defeat of the nation by the Germans in 1871. During a period of twenty-five years France, having lost by the peace of that fatal year a large slice from her northeast portion, has sought a recompense in barbarous countries. She has established a colony in Tonquin, in a semi-Chinese population, at great cost in money and life; and she has taken possession of the island of Madagascar within the present year. She has added Tunis to Algeria and pushed her rule southward into the desert. These enterprises have cost much treasure and made no return. Algeria has been a French colony for sixty years, and has not paid back a sou of the immense cost of the enterprise. The ordinary argument for colonies in England and in Germany does not apply in France. The growth of population is so slow that there is no force in the plea that new lands must be provided for the sons of France. Even if it were necessary the French would leave

the homeland reluctantly, and go expecting to return. The two facts explain why France, having once owned more than half of North America, does not now own a foot of it. If she had had people to spare in such numbers as England has had, and if her people had been as willing to expatriate themselves as the English are, France would be master here. She had the genius of discovery and conquest, and fastened forever her tongue in the geographical names of this continent. If her La Salles and her generals had been followed by such a flood of migration as England has poured into her colonies we would not be here or we would be French. France has always listened to the advice of her enemies in a remarkable measure. Bismarck suggested to a French ambassador, in 1874, that France might repair her territorial losses by founding new colonies; and in a few months the Tonquin enterprise was undertaken. That pleased Germany for several reasons. It took off the French mind from meditations of revenge, consumed French treasure, and scattered the French army out over the globe. An interesting likeness is here to that policy of France with respect to her home frontiers which has been pursued for centuries. Paris is the heart of France; it is perilously close to the northern and northeastern frontier. And yet Bourbon kings, Napoleons, and republics have always tried to push outward the southern and southeastern frontiers; and in each case the enemies of France have adroitly turned the desire of France in the wrong direction at moments when looking northward might have been profitable. The insecurity of Paris threatens the peace of the world. And yet only rarely has a French statesman labored to remedy the evil. French eyes have wandered off to Italy or Spain, and whole centuries of diplomacy and war have been consumed in vain struggles for small strips of land in or beyond the Alps, while the capital remained exposed from the north. A hundredth part of the effort wasted in these vain struggles would have made Paris safe by pushing the northern frontier outward. The evil of the loss of Metz in the war of 1870–71 is that Paris is exposed more dangerously than ever before; this position tempts military Germany. What France under the republic does is to look off—this time far away into southeastern oceans—wasting treasure and dispersing her strength in an effort which her history condemns. This is the first danger of the republic. Wise men of monarchical sympathies see the mistake—see it because their political enemies are making it. They are not slack

in pointing it out; and some day of colonial disaster may overthrow the republic. Besides, there are innumerable details of colonization which provoke one by one discontent. For example, slavery exists in Madagascar. To destroy it by proclamation is apparently impossible; but the ministry has been forced to choose between that method and losing their places. Next year some new ministry will be confronted with the fact that slavery still exists in Madagascar; for the proclamation needs a great army behind it, and there is in fact only a small army there.

A second danger of the republic is its boundless extravagance, its shameless politics, its numerous parties, its ever-exploding scandals—the totality of its political life is diseased. Health there is in the nation, but it is more and more outside of the noisy friends of the republic. The Roman Church has made good use of its bad days; it is stronger in influence than ever before; and it does not trust or love the republic.

A third danger is that, for the first time in a quarter of a century, both monarchical parties have willing and available candidates. There is a Bourbon king in sight and a new Emperor Napoleon. The young men who bear these names are not advertising their movements; but either, in an opportune hour, might be proclaimed. Nothing may come to pass; but the possibility of a king or an emperor is assured; and fantastic politics in the republic inspires hope in two families having sons of full age and of approved character and ability.

A fourth danger lies in the increasing demands of the republic upon the wealth of the nation. Every kind of taxation but one has been pushed to its utmost limits. An income tax is now under discussion. The radicals demand it, and before long it will be conceded. That means a new and dangerous opposition of business classes, to whom, the world over, an inquisitive mode of taxation is odious because it is inquisitive. It carries with it, in France, a weakening of the resources of the nation for a day of peril from a foreign army. The war chest of former days is in our days the power of a people to suddenly and largely increase their taxes. It saved us in the civil war. But France pays in peace all forms and high rates of taxation, and a war minister would find it hard to increase revenue.

The sum of it is that by foolish and costly colonies without colonists, by political extravagance and scandals, by burdensome taxation, and by keeping the Roman Church in fear, the republic is gradually weakened in the confidence of the nation. And

scions of houses which have reigned have come to mature age and command respect. The Bourbon prince is especially conspicuous for personal and civic qualities of high excellence.

The army of France is a factor about which nothing is ever known until the day of revolution. In France, by tradition and instinct, the men of war despise the lawyers, who are now the governing class. The antagonism is kept out of sight because the lawyer is the master and obedience is the first law of military life. But the army has ruined two French republics, and may ruin a third. Many contingencies may help the republic over the piece of bad road in front of it. The Turkish empire may go to pieces under such conditions as to distract the French mind from home griefs. The bad chances in the far-off colonies may not arise; and a strong Republican statesman may arise to put order in French politics. The last is not probable. Statesmen are not made in factions. The outlook is not assuring for the republic, though no sign of revolt appears on the troubled surface of the national life. Dangers multiply and intensify each year, and many shadows darken the prospect, rendering at least problematical the perpetuity of the French republic.

"OCCUPATION, STATESMAN; RELIGION, NONE."

THIS was the account given of himself by a colossal thief at the sergeant's desk for record on the prison blotter when he was brought in by the police. That the man who so registered did make a study of affairs of state and exercise over them considerable control none will deny; but he was a statesman only as a bank burglar is a banker; one plundered State and city as the other robs banks—a fraudulent and misnomered kind of statesman. His public career was an almost perfect type of statesmanship unmixed with religion, untrammeled by the slightest film of moral principle. Morality and religion are at bottom one—a sense of and loyalty to the highest right. Of that there was none at all in Boss Tweed's statesmanship, and he knew it. But he had the audacity to write himself down a statesman, for which, it must be confessed, he had some warrant from his times, and, were he now alive, might find warrant also in the present, which keeps Tweed in countenance by the presence, in all parties, of "statesmen" unencumbered by any sense of right. In the hall of civic history stands Tweed's figure like a brazen statue of statesmanship without religion. Not in every case does such

statesmanship receive its just deserts, for a "statesman" of description is always entitled to the privilege of recording occupation on a prison register, and, if need be, to have a entirely to himself, that his name may be written large wit its aliases and every maledictory title with which an outr and pillaged public may be moved by righteous wrath to him.

"Statesmen" not a few, whose religion is the same in kind quantity as Tweed's, are to-day at large, busy looting treas municipal, State, and national; electing and controlling l latures, framing charters, wrecking railroads; constitu coercing, or cajoling courts, and corrupting the purity of elec by buying the votes of some, selling their own votes, preve others from voting, stuffing ballot boxes, miscounting ba and "doctoring" returns. A prominent and politically influ Democratic journal calls attention to the dishonesty whi alleges to have been practiced in the recent presidential ele in Virginia and Tennessee; it sternly and solemnly war election thieves, directing its words chiefly to those of its party, and in the South, that they will destroy the repub they do not stop. In this statement the journal simply s without exaggeration the sober, hard, grim truth; the situ is indeed dangerous and alarming. When States which been thrown on their honor by the nation have not honor en to confine their chicanery to "protecting civilization" on own soil, but proceed to imperil by fraud the proper resu national elections, what is to be done?

It is advisable to consider how matters stand. The pr ment which is so pregnant with peril is as follows: All ci complaining to the United States government that they are robbed of the elective franchise, and other rights given and anteed by the Constitution of the United States, have beer by the national authorities that the government which can u courts and its armies for the protection of interstate com and transmission of mails, as at Chicago in 1894, can do no to protect its citizens from being studiously and systema robbed of that badge and crown and very heart of all c ship, the right of suffrage. In this our government is as tent as it sometimes appears to be in protecting its citizens insult, robbery, violence, and murder in foreign lands. Th and mortifying fact is that, at home or abroad, the Americ izen is insufficiently protected. Our federal Congress and f

courts, not denying suffrage-robbery and other crimes alleged and proven, refers the complainant back for hearing and redress to the State government, to the very power that has assisted to victimize him by enactments which governors, legislatures, and courts combine to create and enforce. Congressional action on the Blair Educational Bill and the Lodge Federal Elections Bill has set the face of the national legislature that way like a flint; while the federal courts by their decision on cases brought up under the Kuklux and Sumner Civil Rights laws, and on appeals to federal courts against invidious discriminations enacted by various States, have delivered over the aggrieved and helpless citizen to the mercy of his State. The right or wrong of this, constitutionally or morally, we are not here and now considering; only stating facts and joining with patriotically anxious journals in remarking that the situation is perilous.

The right of a State to have its elections conducted, if it thinks proper, by means of disfranchising statutes, shotgun intimidations, miscount of ballots, or falsification of returns, appears to have been conceded by the national government, with the tacit approval of the nation and the efficient assistance of numerous friendly journals outside the interested States. It seems to have been firmly and finally decided that if the civilization of any State be of such a type as requires to be upheld by grand larceny of constitutional rights, then such "civilization" shall be permitted to protect itself from the meddlesomeness of hypervirtuous non-residents, and to repel so far as it can the far-fetched and pretentious impertinence of a man named Moses, formerly of Mount Sinai, now a mysteriously influential citizen of the universe, and a potentate among principalities and powers in heavenly places, who menaces certain forms of civilization with extinction by claiming divine authority for such sumptuary restrictions as "Thou shalt not steal"—not even votes nor the right of suffrage; and "Thou shalt not kill"—not even thine unduly pigmented fellow-citizen. By general consent it has been arranged that a State may sit serenely on the summit of its sovereignty surrounded like a heathen god with the bones of human sacrifices and offerings extorted from the terrified, or like the sultan, safe and complacent in his palace on the Golden Horn, and say boldly to all mankind, with the leer and language of that stalwart modern apostle of fraud, Mr. Tweed, "What are you going to do about it."

It seems, according to our metropolitan mentor, who declares

government by the people to be in deadly peril, that before the recent election there were "many misgivings that it would not be conducted honestly" in some States; and some "praiseworthy journals" in the South "made no secret of their distrust as to the methods by which it would be conducted." They therefore "exhorted the local election officers to refrain (this time) from destroying the force of the election as a true expression of public opinion." The journal kindly gives us a glimpse of the grounds for these preelection misgivings by mentioning that hitherto in portions of the South certain peculiar but indispensable measures for the control of elections by a minority have been used. These measures, it says, have been "tolerated by intelligent and enlightened public opinion," as being "necessary to prevent the destruction of Southern civilization." Out of consideration for the exigencies of "civilization" all hampering laws had been removed, so that, we are informed, "those States were left absolutely free in their elections on the third of November last." And now we are able to perceive the exact nature, shape, and dimensions of the peril which has affrighted patriotic journals, South and North. The danger was that the local managers might, through momentum of habit and sheer dead weight of asininity, fail to discriminate between occasions, and so go on as usual practicing fraud, tampering with suffrage and the sanctity of the ballot box, not realizing the importance at this critical juncture of putting at least enough honesty into the election to prevent the "ruin of the nation through Mr. Bryan's entrance into the White House." That necessary, timely, and well-aimed fraud is one thing, and unseasonable, misdirected rascality quite another, is too plain to need elucidation. Even Tweed, the "statesman" with no religion, came in time to perceive that, and to know that "unmerciful disaster follows fast and follows faster" on the heels of miscreants and felons who fail to remember the difference at a sufficiently early hour.

Well, it seems that the awful *faux pas*, foreseen to be possible to an undiscerning "statesmanship," was actually committed. Hence the mournful ululations now sounding long and loud from brainy editorial sanctums. It is reported that, with most fatuous feloniousness, as well as with base ingratitude toward many generous promoters of their liberty, the "statesmen" of certain States have used that liberty as a cloak of maliciousness to rob the wrong party. We are told that the freedom granted to those States for the purpose of enabling negroes to prove an *alibi* if

anybody should accuse them of being at or near the polls on election day has been misused by political mismanagers so as to steal Tennessee and Virginia from McKinley; and this is severely denounced as a scandalous abuse of the liberty to cheat. This high misdemeanor is a shocking disappointment to Northern copartisans, because those States had shown considerable aptitude and practical sagacity in cooperating with the kindly offices of friends outside their borders; they had ingeniously planned and neatly accomplished the expunging from their own statute books of all laws obstructive of the liberty of cheating in elections, so that electoral fraud might have free course and be glorified in the "saving of civilization." Even the honor which exists among thieves stands aghast at the turpitude of stealing from the wrong persons. That is the blunder, often referred to, which is worse than a crime. Crime, it is held by "statesmen," may be necessary and commendable for "preventing the destruction of civilization;" but the stupid crime that blunders into imperiling the stable existence of the very republic which protects the right of a State to use any necessary means to prevent the destruction of the local "civilization" is utterly inexcusable. For it the most astute and cunning advocate ever retained by criminals could construct no argument in defense. Such *gaucherie* is simply horrible; its bare mention is enough to make any intelligent thief go softly with unwonted caution, distrusting his kind for the remainder of his days. The offense is rank; it smells to the opposite of heaven; its stench is enough to asphyxiate even lost spirits accustomed to brimstone.

We are not surprised to learn that "Southern papers of the highest character" consider themselves "released from the obligation they previously felt to preserve silence with regard to dishonest practices at the elections," and go to the pitch of indignantly reprimanding those guilty of such flagrant perversion and untimely misuse of the privilege of fraud. And an illustrious Democratic Northern daily, after announcing that "the dishonesty feared, if not expected, was practiced to a serious and even appalling extent in Virginia and Tennessee," justly and solemnly says that "this is a matter of extreme gravity," because it "tends to bring the Southern States into peculiar disrepute, and reveals a condition of public sentiment there . . . which threatens the very existence of the republic, whose only safety rests in the purity of the ballot box or in elections as actually expressive of the popular will honestly and freely declared. If, for instance,"

continues our journalistic luminary, "the result of the late election had depended on the electoral votes of a Southern State whose election frauds were notorious, the consequences would have been appalling;" and then it adds that if the election of Mr. Bryan "had been obtained by false counting and other flagitious practices at the election in any Southern State on whose electoral votes the result for the whole Union depended," there would have been "a terrible revolt against the outrage." Surely, surely, it would have been an "outrage," and where is the man with soul so dead he would not rise in revolt against villainy so misdirected, so unsuited to the situation, so deleterious, and so perilous? We were prepared to hear the journal from which we have quoted propose some drastic remedies for a condition so aggravated. We would not have been startled if it had even suggested that "statesmen" who have displayed such glaring incapacity deserve to have the legalized privilege of fraud taken away altogether by the enactment of laws permitting nothing but plain, unequivocal honesty in elections; but, acute and critical as the crisis is described to be, it seems not to be considered as justifying such severe and awful treatment as the enactment of anything resembling the Ten Commandments or the Golden Rule.

It is extremely humiliating to "statesmanship" which has congratulated itself on its superior adroitness to see its best-laid schemes turned against itself. This "statesmanship" has looked northward with amused pity at the folly of cities like Boston, New York, and Chicago, which submit to be governed, disgraced, and robbed by thugs and criminals, by Tammany gangs, by ignorant, insolent, and predacious foreigners, because those cities lack the sagacity to adopt the new definition of democracy as the rule of a minority; because their pusillanimous and blockhead citizens consent to see their fair and proud municipalities in the control of the worst elements rather than abandon such fundamental republican principles as the supremacy of the majority, the inviolability of the ballot box, and the inalienable sovereignty of the citizen, whether native or naturalized, blonde or brunette. Fat-witted Puritan fanaticism, suffering humiliation, loss, and injury out of stubborn devotion to mere principles, has often been an object of compassion.

But even in the South, now, the serious disadvantages of fraud to communities sanctioning it begin to be acknowledged. The Charleston *News and Courier*, after saying that the people

had supposed fraud to be better than force for "preventing the destruction of civilization," confesses that "its use was nevertheless a great blunder. Although first used against the negroes, it demoralized public sentiment, and in course of time was used by white men against white men. Hindsight is always better than foresight, and looking back we can see that it would have been better to kill out the negroes or submit to military rule than to have made fraud at elections respectable. Republican government is only safe on the condition of fair elections. Without them society is necessarily at the mercy of the lowest classes." The amount of *ex post facto* half-wisdom in such a confession is encouraging; not that there is a particle of penitence in the words, for this is not remorse, but only chagrin—a retrospective recognition of insufficient shrewdness and blundering method. But even an incipient perception of the inutility of immorality and prudential reflections produced by penalty may have initiative value. The disfranchisers, heartsick with disappointment at the results of their methods, now upbraid themselves for their shortsighted folly in "making fraud at elections respectable," and bitterly regret not having tried murder instead. They seem ready to approve the prompter and nimbler wisdom of Calvert City, Ky., where, it is reported, if a negro shows himself in the place he is immediately "shot by the enlightened freemen of the town." If repentance and reform have only advanced far enough to say regretfully, "It would have been better to kill out the negroes," then we must remark that the ferocity of that proposition is worthy of a Turkish Kurd proposing the massacre of an Armenian village; and "civilization" has its savages. True it is that if only the highwayman had killed his victim he might perhaps have rested comfortably on the certainty that dead men tell no tales; and extinct citizens subterraneously colonized in graveyards have no means of access to the ballot box, being inexpensively detained therefrom by the law of inertia and the steadily reliable force of gravitation. And yet, true as all that is, an attempt to save civilization by means of barbarism might prove unsatisfactory. To turn a State into a slaughter house would be at best a moist, unpleasant, slimy, altogether sickening, and probably very tedious sort of job; and it is doubtful whether murder would turn out more profitably than vote-stealing. Numerous persons, not negroes, would be sure to get hurt before the butchering was over. Occasionally already in certain localities it has become obvious that there are drawbacks

to the shotgun as an instrument of "civilization," one of which is its liability to get reversed. Some man spotted with a large birthmark, so large that it covers his entire body, weary of monotony and reckless of social proprieties, concludes to try how it feels to be at the butt-end of a gun, playing with the trigger, with somebody else at the muzzle to welcome the contents. This preference for the butt-end position might become epidemic among citizens whose skin resembles the hue of the chestnut when it drops from the frost-opened burr; they might become possessed by a craze for playing pitcher instead of catcher in the local ball game. Men of that color made good soldiers in the civil war, and are officially reported to make prime soldiers in the regular army to-day. An effort to "kill out the negroes" would bring upon the State attempting it a reign of terror more bloody, frenzied, and remorseless than that of the French Revolution; and in due time a United States army, with the nation behind it, would appear on the scene to put an end to the carnival of crime and carnage.

The alternative between fraud and murder is probably one wherein, whichever a man chooses, he will wish he had taken the other, unless, indeed, he climbs toward moral uplands by wishing he had not tried either. The system of things shows such unfriendlines toward dishonesty and cruelty as to make all wickedness ultimately look like a blunder. There are dreadful drawbacks to the introduction of corruption. The clerk, trained to deceive customers for his employer's benefit, is liable, in some moment of cupidity born of impecuniosity, to deceive the employer for his own private advantage: a mere clerk may lack the fine ethical discernment to discriminate the difference. The drawback in keeping a ferocious dog to terrorize the neighbors is that the undiscriminating brute may bite his owner's family. A man named Haman reports from a dim antiquity that the trouble about building a gallows for an innocent neighbor is that the loop at the end of the rope manifests a lively preference for the architect's own neck. Inconvenient and embarrassing as some persons find it, the sailor in the prayer meeting was correct in saying, "This world seems to be so made that a man can afford to do just about right;" and neither individual, nor party, nor community can afford to do otherwise. This, however, is not yet acknowledged by some "statesmen," some journals, some communities. The influential newspaper previously quoted, referring to the recent heinous misuse of the privilege of fraud by which the desired result of the

national election might have been endangered, says: "It was a peril that must be completely removed in presidential elections hereafter, or the very existence of the republic will continue to be threatened." The editorial closes with the statement, partly explicit and partly implied, that "the first duty of the Southern States now under charges or suspicions of dishonest practices is to" put a stop to cheating at elections, except so far as may be necessary to save civilization from being destroyed in spots by the rule of a sun-burned majority!

After a while some real statesmen, having horse sense touched with morality, will arise in the midst of the communities now under political censure and say to their fellow-citizens: "Suppose, instead of cheating or killing, we try plain downright honesty and simple manly fairness." And then up from bedrock and far toward the heavens will rise a true civilization, stable, majestic, and lasting, a Dothan in no need of questionable protection, being defended by the horses and chariots of the Lord God Almighty. Meanwhile in certain regions public affairs, including presidential elections, will remain under the control of leaders whose appropriate autograph on the inmate register of the prisons they deserve would read: "Occupation, Statesman; Religion, None."* Righteousness and justice are the only solid foundation for prosperity or safety. Even pagan Rome ages ago was wise enough, religious enough, Christian enough to write on her law book, "Justice is the everlasting unchangeable will to give each man his right."

Statecraft of the crafty sort which winks at wrong while it profits party plans and stands aghast when it imperils them is condemned even by low-grade utilitarian morals, and presents a spectacle at once so deplorable and so ridiculous as to be tragedy to angels and comedy to devils.

* Since this was written we have read the statement recently made by "An Old Virginian" that, in his State, "thousands were cheated out of their privilege to register as voters, and many were not allowed to cast their ballots;" but that now a league of influential citizens "has taken up permanent quarters in Richmond and set out upon a campaign to secure honest elections;" and that "the personnel of this movement includes as a rule the most high-toned citizens, men that may be called the aristocrats of the commonwealth. They have been derisively denominated the 'Kid-gloved Party.' These are the men who have determined that the colored man shall be free to vote as he pleases, and that his vote shall be counted. It is notorious that the upper class has always had the respect of the negroes to a far greater degree than the 'poor white trash,' and it has now come to pass that the richest and the poorest, the highest and the most lowly, find themselves drawn together in a common cause." The "Old Virginian" adds that "similar conditions prevail in other parts of the South." We heartily agree with him that "these are hopeful signs," calculated to gladden all patriots who respect the two great commandments of Jesus Christ, on which hang all the law and the prophets.

THE ARENA.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

In the July–August number of the *Methodist Review* there is an ar by Professor Parsons, on Paul's preaching at Athens, in which he re the common view that the apostle addressed the Athenians from M Hill (the Areopagus), and contends that his address was delivered in Royal Court (τῇ *βασιλείῳ στοᾷ*) at Athens, chiefly because Demosth adversus Aristigona says that "The senate from the Areopagus sitting in the Royal Court surrounded by a rope [in order to keep crowd away from it] enjoys much quietness by itself."* But the may not have been trying a case at all, as Pausanias—who made wrote his *Itinerary of Greece* in the second half of the second centu states that in the Royal Court "the king archon sits during the ye his magistracy."†

But, apart from these considerations, Luke does not say that brought Paul to the *senate* of the Areopagus, but simply to *Mars' Hi* the Areopagus). If he meant to the senate of the Areopagus wh he not say so? The passage from Demosthenes which we have quoted calls it the *senate* from the Areopagus. Again, in *De C* Demosthenes calls it the senate from (or of) the Areopagus.‡

Æschines against Ktesiphon calls this court "the senate whi in (*ἐν*) Areopagus."§ In Isocrates, partly contemporary with D thenes, the court is called "the senate from Areopagus."‖ Th court in the time of Isocrates was held on Mars' Hill is quite clear his statement, "When they go up (*ἀναβαίνω*) to Areopagus,"¶ that is, become members of the court. In the time of Pausanias (A. D. 160–175) trials were still conducted on Mars' Hill, for he "The white stones upon which those who undergo trial and the cutors stand, they call the one of them the (stone) of Insolence, ar other the (stone) of Impudence."**

It is plain that Paul does not address the court, but the mer brought him to the hill, and also the crowds in the vicinity. T ginning of his address is, "Athenian men,"†† not judges, language dignified enough to be addressed to such an august court as that Areopagus. Paul was not brought to Mars' Hill to be tried, bu the Athenians might learn his doctrine. Socrates was not tried court, but by a different one, nor does this court ever appear to ha any special jurisdiction in religious matters.

The language of Luke is altogether appropriate to the conduct the apostle to a hill (*ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον*),‡‡ *ἐπί* with the accusative.

* 776. † Lib. i, cap. iii, 1. ‡ 134. § 2

‖ *Areopagiticus*, 14. Note.—The word Areopagus manifestly comes from *ἄρειος*, *martial*, and *πάγος*, a hill, not from *ἀραῖος*, cursed. In that case it would be *Ἀρα*

¶ *Ibid.*, 15. ** Lib. i, xxviii, 5. †† Acts xvii, 22. ‡‡ Acts x

not necessary to state that they brought Paul *up on* the hill, any more than in the instance where he states that the shipwrecked passengers were ordered to go forth, "escape to the land," that is, escape to it and get on it, ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.* But Luke makes the matter clear when he says: "Paul, standing in the middle (or midst) of Mars' Hill," etc. Is this suitable language if a court was intended?

In February, 1870, I visited the Areopagus, of which I have given a description in my *Journey to Egypt and the Holy Land*, from which I give the following: "The Areopagus is a narrow ledge of rock nearly west of the Acropolis. This ledge rises gradually from a ravine, and extends in an eastward direction toward the Acropolis for about one hundred and fifty yards, and abruptly terminates when about one hundred yards from the Acropolis. At the northeast end the perpendicular height is about forty feet, at the northwest end about thirty feet. A few feet from this perpendicular end, on the south side, sixteen steps remain cut out of the rock, by which the ascent to the Areopagus was made. These steps begin about five feet from the ground; originally there were lower steps, doubtless, which have worn away in the lapse of time. The height of the Areopagus where these steps ascend is about twenty-five or thirty feet. At the top of these steps are two seats cut out of the rock facing each other, where it is probable the accused and the accuser sat."†

Baltimore, Md. HENRY M. HARMAN.

DR. WHEELER'S "SOCIALISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT."

AFTER finishing the reading of this article by the professor I found that the margin of my *Review* was covered with interrogation points, protests, and marks of surprise. Let me therefore enter the "Arena" with a few of my complaints.

He begins by hinting that Christian socialists are "verily guilty" in consenting to accept anything from, or to live under, an economic order which they believe to be "unchristian." Would he have them leave the country or die of starvation? The political order of Turkey is unchristian; shall we therefore accuse and condemn the reformers in that land who attempt to improve it?

"Give a dog a bad name and then shoot him." That is what the professor does. He gives a bad name to "the excellent people calling themselves Christian socialists," and then proceeds to shoot them. He confounds them, not with socialists proper, but with anarchists like Proudhon, who held that property was a crime, and thus attempts to cover them with odium. Socialists hold, he tell us, "*that private ownership is robbery*, and that, therefore, the whole fabric of our industrial and commercial life is built upon a monstrous crime." But it is not true that socialists generally hold that "private ownership is robbery," and Christian socialists deny it. They make a vital distinction between property held for reasons of personal enjoyment, such as pictures, books,

* Acts xvii, 43. † P. 277.

furniture in a house, and property employed for the production of other property, that is, as "instruments of production." If we define capital as "wealth employed in the production of other wealth," then the socialist doctrine is that capital should be in control of representatives of the people with the view to the highest production of an equitable distribution of products. Let us quote from the professor, lest injustice be done: "It is true that *some* of our Christian socialists are pleased to limit their great principles to a part of property—to that which is employed in production, to 'the instruments of production.' But, since all property is actually or potentially an instrument of production, the distinction does not distinguish, and no lines can be drawn between the things sinfully owned and those whose possession is righteous."

The professor promised us "carefully considered" statements. Will he tell us how a carpet on a parlor floor is actually or potentially an instrument of production so long as it remains the private property of the house owner? He may sell the carpet or raise money on it as security, but then it would be no longer his. The very able article of Thomas Kirkup on socialism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xxii, p. 206, will be accepted as good authority. He writes: "The essence of Socialism consists in this associated production with a collective capital, with the view to an equitable distribution. In the words of Schäffle, 'The alpha and omega of socialism is the transformation of private competing capital into a united collective capital.' This is the principle on which all the schools of socialism, however opposed otherwise, are at one. Such a system, while insisting on collective capital including land, *is quite consistent with private property in other forms* and with perfect freedom in the use of one's own share in the equitable distribution of the produce of the associated labor." How astonishing, then, is the professor's very remarkable statement that "Theft, robbery, spoliation, covetousness, and a large number of other words could have no meaning in a socialistic state!"

The professor's topic is "Socialism and the New Testament," and he makes an extraordinary argument against socialism out of certain illustrations employed by Jesus, drawn from the social order of the times. We are informed that in a socialistic state "the very teachings of Christ would be unintelligable," because, forsooth, people would not understand his references to poverty and riches, to capitalists, usury, thieves, etc. That indeed would be bad for the illustrations, but would it not be splendid for mankind? "A world in which one could not fall among thieves," we are told, "would get no lesson from the parable of the Good Samaritan." And must we then keep thieves to the end of time in order to learn how to treat their victims? and "camels" instead of trolley cars, in order to see through "the needle's eye?" Must "Cæsar" and his coins continue, and "publicans" and "harlots," in order that Jesus may be intelligible and be the founder of an abiding dispensation? What shall be said to such doctrine as this?

Jesus makes frequent reference to kings: "Ye shall be brought

before kings;" and an apostle admonishes us to "honor the king." Shall we, therefore, like the court preachers of Charles II, assert the divine right of kings? "The economic order based on property," the professor tells us, "is so woven into the New Testament that the fading of that order out of the world would make Jesus the founder of a temporary dispensation." After that argument there is nothing more to be said. It is a veritable guillotine stroke for socialism.

There are many statements through this article that need qualification, of which the following is a sample: "The socialist *limits* the *cause* of *our evils* to the institution of property." No; many of them would include rum, even under the Swedish system, as a cause of evil. "Socialists teach that institutions make us bad." Do they? Do they not rather say that bad institutions occasion badness? And who will deny it?

Bridgeport, Conn. JOSEPH PULLMAN.

"THE MORMON PROBLEM."

IN the September–October issue of the *Methodist Review* is an article on the above subject which I cannot let pass without protest. Evidently the writer, Rev. F. S. Beggs, is not "up" in Mormon history or doctrine, or he could not have written that article. He speaks admiringly of the courage and devotion which led them to brave the dangers and privations of the wilderness and cites as an instance the experiences of "the Handcart Brigade," one of the most inhuman outrages ever perpetrated on trusting womanhood and helpless infancy, and which should have subjected the perpetrators to extermination from the face of the earth. A wonderful example of heroism truly, to inveigle more than a thousand women with their children across the ocean and out to the limits of civilization, then tell them they must walk one thousand miles to their destination, over mountain and plain, across rivers and through trackless prairies, while to carry their sick and helpless infants they were furnished with carts in which provisions and such household effects as they had must also be transported by the thews and sinews of these deceived and defrauded women! No marvel that the pathway was "blazed" with shallow graves and whitening bones of these victims of Mormon lust and greed of power. Our brother lauds the industry and thrift that changed the barren wilderness into a fruitful garden, that built up the beautiful city of Salt Lake, with its imposing Tabernacle and magnificent Temple. I, too, have looked on these wonders of skill and endurance, but with other eyes than those of Mr. Beggs. I have seen them built by the compulsory toil and forced contributions of men and women lured from the Eastern States, from England, Scandinavia, Germany, and elsewhere, by the promise of a modern Eden, a paradise, a veritable Mount Zion, where God comes down and holds converse with his people as in the Eden of old, where wealth and the divine favor are the lot of all who join this community of Latter Day Saints(!). As well laud the enterprise and industry of the toilers on the Pyramids, the palaces of Thebes, or the temples of Baalbec or Heliopolis.

But Mr. Beggs fails to appreciate the genius of Mormonism; he sees but one bar sinister on its escutcheon—polygamy—and partially defends that. He says they are more evangelical than Unitarians or Universalists, and deprecates the insult of sending missionaries among them. Did the brother ever hear of Unitarians or Universalists who affirmed that Adam was God, and that the human race is the natural offspring of male and female deities? Yet that is orthodox Mormon doctrine.

It teaches further that woman, if saved at all, must occupy a low, menial position in the next life, unless she has been the wife or concubine of some one of "the saints." Can Unitarians or Universalists match that? Certainly they cannot.

It claims that the revelations (?) made to its chief prophets are of superior authority to the New Testament Scriptures, and that Joseph Smith was the peer of any of the Old Testament prophets. I have debated those questions in public with their priests and teachers, and know exactly what they claim.

It teaches that the Book of Mormon is of equal authority with the Bible, holds and practices the doctrine of "blood atonement," which our brother would do well to study, and exercises a more repressing and soul-crushing despotism over the minds of its people than was ever wielded by pope or council.

Its creed is a "crazy patchwork" of Christianity, Judaism, Islamism, and paganism—a travesty on evangelical religion. Its tutelar saint, Joseph Smith, would, to quote Governor Ford, of Illinois, "drink like a sailor and swear like a pirate;" and as an evidence that the stream does not rise above its source I have seen a noisy, intoxicated crowd of men and boys around the door of a liquor store in Salt Lake City above the portals of which was the legend, "Holiness to the Lord;" a fair indication of the moral stupidity of Mormonism.

I have direct oral testimony that large numbers of their youth abhor the religion of their parents, and would gladly shake off its shackles were it not for a well-founded fear of the consequences. The religion of the "saints" is credulity based on fraud, falsehood, and abomination.

Frankfort, Kan. THOMAS SCOTT.

REPLY TO DR. LEWIS.

MY critic sees fit to characterize my article on "Entire Sanctification" as "Subjective Theology." All theology that relates to man, as a scheme of redemption, has its subjective side, and we Methodists have ever emphasized the experimental feature. Of course, experience must be in harmony with the objective truths of God's word, as the mental impression of a mountain must have its origin in a real external mountain in order to be true. We base our belief in the removal of the sinward tendency on such passages as, "And the God of peace sanctify you wholly," etc. While it is certainly rational to believe that God will remove that impairment for which we are not responsible, my friendly critic doubts the privilege of having this tendency removed instantaneously, consequent to

our faith and prayer, because there is no specific promise to that effect. As well might he doubt instantaneous conversion. On conversion there is an instantaneous removal of this tendency in a varying degree, and why should not the remainder be removed at a subsequent time? We see no reason against it.

I said nothing in my former article about the witness of the Spirit to this removal, although it does not appear incredible that the Spirit, one of whose offices is to convict of sin, might witness to the removal of a tendency to sin. But what about the witness of one's own spirit? May not a man know whether he has a tendency to evil? Just as certainly as one may know that he has no tendency to drink intoxicating beverages he may know that he has no bias to evil. True, this tendency lies below consciousness; but we judge of a tendency just as we judge of the unseen nature of soil by its products, and, thus judging, we may know when the tendency is gone by the absence of its fruits. Immaturity may still remain and perfection be far distant, as Bishop Merrill so finely discriminates, while on this revealed nature of God as a sufficient foundation we predicate our belief that the effects of sin will finally be obliterated.

These views may be "practically unknown to the great masters of exegesis" outside of Arminian theology, but there are masters here who nobly hold and defend them. Of course, the great Calvinistic theologians hold that the elimination of this sinward tendency cannot occur until death, but Methodism does not so believe. God is able to do for us "above all that we ask or think," whatever may be the thoughts of our friendly exegete in the city by Lake Erie.

G. E. Schreiber.

Danville, Ill.

EVOLUTION AND GENESIS.

Professor Conn, in his admirable paper in the last *Review*, tells us on the first page that scientists and Christians are joining hands. But on page 891 of the *Review* he tells us that scientists attribute the origin of man to evolution. Has the Christian world reached that point yet? If so, of what value is the account of the supernatural origin of man, as recorded in Genesis? Is it an allegory? If it is, has it no force whatever? Does it not teach that man had a supernatural origin? How then could evolution, which is purely natural, originate him? What right have Christian writers on evolution to ignore the account in Genesis? And is it needful for them to reiterate statements that have every appearance of antagonism to the Bible? Professor Conn's article is a fine piece of art, highly original and suggestive, but the point I have raised is a confusing one to many who believe in evolution but do not believe in casting doubts on Bible statements. Let scientists give the Christian world the supernatural origin of matter, life, and mind, and I suppose we will agree to leave to evolution all the rest.

D. M. Young.

Sodus, N. Y.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

REFLECTION ON A GREAT PASTORATE.

A most significant event in the life of the cities of New Yo Brooklyn, and, indeed, in some respects an event of exceeding inte the whole Christian Church, is the celebration of the fiftieth anni of the pastorate of the Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D., of the C of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn. Not only the congregation, but the ch of the city, and, indeed, the city itself, have done themselves ho celebrating this golden anniversary in the service of one of Am foremost preachers. It is a pleasant thing, also, to remember in c tion with it that he is not celebrating the close of his pastorate; the age of seventy-five, he continues to minister to his people, an the prayer of thousands that his life and labors may be continu many years to come. It is not the purpose, however, of this pa speak of the event itself, nor to describe it, as it has already been done in the current press. We propose simply to note a few r connected with it which may well engage the attention of our y ministry.

Dr. Storrs began his ministry when Brooklyn was a small city celebrates his fiftieth anniversary when it has grown to be one foremost cities in the country, and by its union with New York to become a part of the greatest city on the American continent life has been a part of the growth of the city in which he reside has helped to make its history, and stands to-day as a most e example of Christian activity. It is one of the privileges of an ex pastorate that this may be done. The opportunity, in this par form, is not possible to the Methodist ministry; and yet many ministers have become great factors in the life of the cities in whic have dwelt, having lived long in the same city and having been ferred from church to church. In this way they have exerted power and influence. The cases of such lengthened pastorates as Dr. Storrs are relatively few, even in churches of unlimited pas Yet, without entering into the question of the desirableness of the tion of a definite pastoral term, we may at least assume that the Dr. Storrs affords room for reflection on the part of our Church, a terial for study on the part of young pastors.

His pastorate has also been remarkable because of the men with he has been associated. Brooklyn is designated as "the City of Chu and its pulpits, of all denominations, have been filled by men o eminence during Dr. Storrs's residence there. In his anniversary he thus pathetically speaks of his great colaborers who have gone "The changes in churches and pastors around us have not been markable as in other decades since 1846. In the last ten years lo

death have continued. Mr. Beecher has gone from the pulpit which he made famous in the world, and his elder brother, Dr. Edward Beecher, has lately gone. Dr. Henry Van Dyke has gone, and Dr. Charles H. Hall, with each of whom the relations of many of us had been intimate. Dr. William M. Taylor, of New York, who was as much beloved here and almost as much at home as among his own people, has also entered the heavenly society. Bishop Loughlin has also ceased from his earthly labors, and Father Fransioli, than whom no more honored priest has served the Roman Catholic Church. Dr. Henry M. Scudder, too, has gone."

Living in the sunlight of publicity and surrounded by so many ministers whose fame filled the land, Dr. Storrs has ever maintained with dignity and power his own unique and brilliant eminence. In the golden anniversary of his pastorate, his influence is undiminished, and a great city pays tribute to him as one of her foremost citizens. Indeed churches of every name, the land over, join in grateful recognition of the event.

We may also notice Dr. Storrs's relation to great public interests. His long pastorate gave him an opportunity of acquaintance with the leading forces of the city, and he was thus enabled to do a work which would have been impossible to him under other conditions. A study, however, of his life shows that he touched the public life of his city and country only at vital points. He did not constantly interfere either in municipal or State or national affairs, but he waited his opportunity and brought his influence to bear only when questions of great moral importance presented themselves. In this way his power did not wane, but grew. Devoting himself as he did only to great interests, on important and sometimes crisal occasions his voice was a trumpet-call to duty. He was the furthest removed from being partisan in his relations to public life.

His career may emphasize also to young ministers the possibility of success, in the entire absence of sensational methods, by constantly preserving in their preaching the loftiest ideals. Dr. Storrs has never been seduced, by the desire for popular applause, to abandon those noble forms of thought and expression which have been the dominant features, perhaps, in his public ministry. He has been regarded as the most polished orator in the country. The maintenance of a lofty ideal in thought and in form is rarely found in the life of any public man, and his career shows that when such a man can live long enough in the same field of labor he can bring to him a congregation which will appreciate his ideals and be profited by his style and methods. For twenty-five years he has spoken without notes, his discourses being always delivered with the most polished diction and in the chastest oratorical form. He has never appealed to passion, or prejudice, or popular favor, by any methods which would lower the dignity of the pulpit, or be reckoned as out of harmony with our Lord's method of teaching.

His sermon in connection with the celebration of the golden jubilee of his pastorate contains some gentle notes of warning. We quote one passage which may well demand attention at the present time: "Those days

of plainer living and higher thinking are not as familiar to us now. The Church feels the change as well as the world. Culture is now the word, rather than the greater word, Regeneration. Preaching is more literary, pictorial, or sometimes sensational. Social questions occupy more largely the attention of pastors and people than do the deep things of spiritual experience. Enthusiasm for the truth of what is still recognized as the divine religion is less energetic than before. Missions, at home and abroad, are often sustained rather by the secular benefits which they promise than for the object of seeking and saving that which was lost. Doubtless there are signs of promise in all this, but doubtless there are signs also of a drift from Christian thought and feeling. It is sufficient for us who are coming toward the end to have rendered service as faithfully as we could; and so long as the Master of the Gospel remains supreme, alike in power and life, we need not fear that means or men will ever be wanting for furtherance of his divine cause." These are not the words of a pessimist or of a man who regards the golden age of the world as in the past; they are the words of one who recognizes the best that is in the present, yet fears that there is a drifting away from the fundamentals, and there needs to be a restoration of the Church's true work, namely, the world's regeneration. We may well take warning from this veteran minister, who is not out of touch with his age, and see to it that we carry forward, in connection with the advanced thought and the changes of our time, those principles and methods which must ever lie at the foundation of a successful ministry.

Dr. Storrs has always and chiefly been a minister of the Gospel, seeking no other place of honor or influence. In this respect his example, like that of the late Phillips Brooks, is of immense value. The wide and lasting influence of both is due to their whole-souled devotion to the one single work of preaching the Gospel of the Son of God. This is the supreme function of the Christian minister.

EXEGESIS OF HEB. I, 6.

THE King James version renders this passage, "And again, when he bringeth in the first-begotten into the world," etc. The late revision renders it, "And when he again bringeth in the firstborn into the world," etc. The margin of the revision reads, "And again, when he bringeth in, or, shall have brought in."

The different renderings of this passage are expressive of the difficulties which are found in translating and expounding it. The first difficulty is that with regard to the word "again." Its position in the Greek connects it with the verb, whereas many commentators regard it as used simply in the sense of introducing a new quotation. The change from its place in the Greek is supposed to be rhetorical, or due to a displacement of the word. There is no instance found in the New Testament where the Greek word here rendered "again," meaning "further," or "in addition," does not occupy the first place in the sentence. An accurate

rendering of the passage requires that we adhere, as nearly as possible, to the form in which it is found in the Greek text. We therefore reject the translation, "And again, when he bringeth in the firstborn into the world," because it would remove the "again" from its true place. We would place the "again" with the verb. The verb itself is in the aorist tense, after the particle of time when. It cannot, accordingly, be rendered as a present indicative, translating the aorist tense as though it were a present indicative, and must, therefore, be rendered in the manner in which such a word should be rendered in good Greek. It is a case which in Latin is recognized as a *futurum exactum*, and should be rendered, "And when he shall have brought again the firstborn into the world."*

In the exposition of the passage we have now to inquire as to what point in the life of Christ the text refers. Several interpretations have been attempted of this passage. One expositor refers it to his incarnation; another refers it to the period between his resurrection and ascension; a third, to his second advent; a fourth, to his coming to judge the world; while a fifth interpretation has been that it refers to the prophetic introduction of the passage. The first meaning is excluded by the translation we have given. It is impossible to conceive of Christ as having been introduced a second time to the world on the occasion of his birth. It must refer, somehow, to some other period in his history. Again, the time between his resurrection and his ascension is not historically recognized as a period of such relative separateness in Christ's history as to lead us to suppose this to be the reference in this place. We conclude, then, that it refers either to his second advent or to his coming to judge the world. In order to determine which of these meanings should be adopted we must go back to the Old Testament passage from which it is quoted, and find that to which the idea most probably refers. A glance at Old Testament prophecy will show us that it refers to a threat of penalty which was to be inflicted by the heathen, "and after the heathen be punished, Israel also shall be punished." This seems to indicate its reference to Christ's coming for judgment, rather than to the second advent, and that the passage alludes to something in connection with his appearing to the world as "the first-begotten." This word here indicates his relation to mankind, as "the only begotten" refers to his relation to God. The passage then relates to men, and Christ is represented as coming to judge them.

This is the only instance where "first-begotten" is used absolutely; elsewhere it is connected with other words. It is one of those quotations from the Old Testament in which the sacred writer employs a passage in its general significance. Each particular passage is used, by the one who quotes it, mainly for some specific point which is contained in it. Quotations are sometimes employed, not for the words which they contain, but for the sentiments which they express; hence, it does not seem necessary to insist too strongly on the exact reference of a passage

* See Delitzsch.

in the Old Testament. The emphasis is here laid on the fact that Christ's grandeur and supremacy are such that he is rightfully an object of worship to the angelic hosts. Whether the passage is quoted from Deuteronomy or from Psalm xcvii is not therefore a question of primary importance.

UNCONSCIOUS CODES FOR MINISTERS.

A FEW years ago the editor of a great paper, eulogizing that eminent journalist, Horace Greeley, made the statement that "every man who has charge of a newspaper, who controls a newspaper, has to have a moral code by which he is guided in the conduct of his paper." He then proceeded to give "the professional code that guided Mr. Greeley during his control of the *Tribune*." This code was: "'Always give a hearing to your opponent. Never attack a man and refuse to let him answer in the same column. Be always as considerate of the weak and friendless as of the powerful. Waste no strength in advocating that which is intrinsically impossible. Never compromise your own opinions on account of your subscribers or adversaries. If they don't like your ideas they can always go to another shop.' That was the doctrine which Horace Greeley practiced during his active life. I cannot remember, amid all the controversies—and they were often very bitter controversies—in which he was continually engaged, that he ever violated one of those principles."

It is to be assumed that every minister has a code by which he is governed, consciously or unconsciously. Of course, he recognizes in general that the New Testament is the standard of ethics which he is to proclaim, and by which he is to guide his own conduct. Ethical writers, however, agree that Christ did not lay down a set of rules for every emergency of life, although no one denies that he did announce principles to meet every case as it arises. Each minister has certain unwritten, but controlling, moral principles. He is probably not aware that he has them. It may be that he does not refer to them, even in his thoughts, at the time of determining his actions. He acts from emotions which arise freely and naturally, without suspecting that he is controlled by ethical laws; just as it is possible Mr. Greeley had never formulated the code by which he was constantly guided. The important fact is that at some time, and in some way, he had imbibed principles by which he was controlled.

The minister's code might read somewhat as follows: "Never preach what you do not believe, and never fear to preach what you think ought to be proclaimed. Never favor the rich as against the poor, nor lead your people to feel that you know in your own conduct any class distinctions. Never fail to give your people, every time you preach, the best production of your mind and heart. Never regard your services as rendered for pay or for any earthly reward. Never regard a member of the church as hostile to you or as unchristian because he does not agree with your views and methods."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

COMPOSITION OF THE PENTATEUCH.

WELLHAUSEN, the most advanced leader among the divisive critics, sees in the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch, at least three well-defined and distinct codes. We say "Hexateuch," because in recent years this term has almost entirely displaced the word Pentateuch, since critics regard the Book of Joshua not as a separate work, but merely as the continuation of the preceding five books. We say "at least three well-defined and distinct codes," not because there are no traces of other documents in these books, for these codes in their turn show clearly that they also are of a composite nature, but because they are independent of each other in every sense of the word. These three codes, written by different men, and in different ages, were skillfully edited by a later writer, who added and omitted whatever suited him. So cleverly did this compiler do his work that more than two thousand years elapsed before the learned world discovered the nature and style of composition. The old view that Moses kept a journal during his sojourn in the wilderness, in which he wrote down facts as he witnessed them, and that he furnished an elaborate system of laws for the government of the Hebrews, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs, has been discarded by the critics, and has been labeled "uncritical." That Moses wrote the earlier portions of the Pentateuch in the first year of the exodus, near Sinai; Deuteronomy in the plains of Moab toward the close of the journey, and the other portions during the thirty-eight or thirty-nine years in the wilderness, is, we are assured, no longer credible, for such a view is contrary to the laws of historical criticism and natural development, according to the composite gospel of Darwin and Wellhausen.

We shall not try to reproduce all the theories of the divisive critics regarding the origin of the Pentateuch, even in outline, but shall limit ourselves to the one most in vogue at present, being in the main the hypothesis of Wellhausen, which has been popularized in Great Britain and America by the late Robertson Smith, and more recently by Canon Driver. This theory, according to the former, "is the growing conviction of an overwhelming weight of the most earnest and sober scholarship."

The three codes of the critics are usually known in our day by the signs J E, D, and P. The J E is the most ancient. It is, as the name indicates, a composite work, wherein at least two writers are easily distinguished by their employment of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim; hence the terms "Jehovist" and "Elohist." These two ancient authors wrote quite independently of each other, and a later writer united their separate works into one harmonious whole, but, as might be expected, with various additions and omissions. The J E Code, though mostly

historical in nature, is nevertheless not entirely devoid of law. Wellhausen claims that the "legislative elements are incorporated only at one point, where they naturally fall into the historical context, namely, in connection with the lawgiving on Sinai, Exod. xx–xxiii and xxxiv." This part of the Hexateuch has been termed the prophetic narrative, proceeding, as the designation implies, from those in sympathy with the prophets, rather than with the priestly caste. It dwells with delight upon the early history of the patriarchs, upon their simplicity of life, upon the good old times, when the father performed priestly functions for himself and family at some sacred spot, made holy by a vision from some heavenly visitor or by the offering of sacrifice by some distinguished ancestor. The exact time when the Jehovist and the Elohist wrote is not known, neither is it easy to fix the date at which their works were united into one document. Critics, however, agree that it was at a comparatively late period, certainly subsequent to the age of Solomon. It is also an open question whether J was written before or after E. One set of critics maintain that E is the older, and written between 900 and 850 B. C., while J could not have been produced till between 850 and 750 B. C. Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Stade give the priority to J, placing the date of its composition between 850 and 800 B. C., while E was written somewhere about 750 B. C.

D, or Deuteronomy, was the next in order. This code also shows the results of editing. The original code consisted only of that portion beginning with the twelfth chapter and ending with the twenty-sixth. Thus the first eleven chapters form a kind of an introduction to the Deuteronomic legislation. In recent years readers of Pentateuch criticism have grown familiar with analytical schemes or divisions of books which look more like algebraic equations than helps for determining the age and composition of an Old Testament book. The analytical scheme of the Book of Deuteronomy, according to Driver, is as follows:

P.					
J E.		xxvii, 5–7^a.			
D.	i-xxvi, xxvii, 1–4.		7^b–8, 9–10, 11–13, (14–26,)		xxviii, xxix-xxx.

P.				xxxii. 48–52.	
J E.	xxxi, 14–22.		xxxii, 1–43, 44.		
D.	xxxi, 1–13.	23–30.		45–47.	(xxxiii.)*

P. xxxiv, 1^a.		8–9.		
J E.			10.	
D.	xxxiv, 1^b–7.†		11–12.	

The Book of Deuteronomy differs so much from the preceding three books as to make it certain that Moses could not have written it, even if he had been the author of Exodus and the following two books. When was the Deuteronomic Code written? It is a question more easily asked than answered. Only one thing is established beyond controversy—

* Incorporated from an independent source. † In the main.

namely, that the book was in existence in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, say 623 or 621 B. C. We have said that this has been established beyond peradventure, since all divisive critics agree that the "Book of the Law," found in the temple by the high priest Hilkiah (see 2 Kings xxii 8, ff.), could not have been the entire Pentateuch, but rather the Deuteronomic version of the law of Moses. The arguments in favor of this conclusion are by no means satisfactory or convincing. But, to return to the date. The more conservative critics, like Delitzsch and Riehm, assign it to the time of Hezekiah; Driver sees no good reason for making it later than the reign of Manasseh; while Kuenen and Wellhausen place it in the days of Josiah. Thus, Moses is severely left out of the question; for in no sense, according to the critics, can he be regarded as the author of the Pentateuch, much less that of Deuteronomy.

P, or Priestly Code, *par excellence* the manual of ritualistic laws or ordinances regarding the services of the tabernacle, the functions of the priests and Levites, is clearly of a much later origin than Deuteronomy. Critics once favored the Elohistic or Priestly Code, as the most ancient portion of the Pentateuch. This view has, however, been given up. Such a mistake can be accounted for, because the "uncritical" confounded the origin of the ceremonial institutions of Israel and the laws respecting them, which "were gradually developed and elaborated." The completed form in which we possess the Priestly Code shows clearly, we are told, that such finished work could not have originated till toward the end of the captivity. Though the exact date of its composition cannot be fixed, any more than that of Deuteronomy, it is certain that the Priestly Code in its present form was not made public till after the return of the Jews from Babylon to Palestine. Ezekiel might have written a part of it—"the Law of Holiness," Lev. xvii–xxvi—but more likely Ezra wrote it, or some priests of his time. Be that as it may, it was Ezra, fourteen years after his return to Jerusalem, or 444 B. C., who read and proclaimed this code to his countrymen.

Now, the uninitiated may have sufficient temerity to ask: How can it be shown that the "Book of the Law," found by Hilkiah in the temple in the days of Josiah, was the Deuteronomic Code, while the "Book of the Law" of Moses read by Ezra must have been the Priestly Code? Let us answer the question by beginning with P. The laws and regulations in this code show too advanced a stage of civilization for the desert period. Such a tabernacle as is here described, with such a rich and elaborate ritual, cannot be a reality, but the invention of later times when the simple religion of the patriarchs had grown formal and lifeless. In other words, the magnificent portable sanctuary never existed outside the fertile brain of some postexilic priest, or, as Wellhausen says, "The tabernacle rests on an historical fiction of which Hebrew tradition, even from the time of the judges and the first kings, for which the Mosaic tabernacle was strictly intended, knows nothing at all about." So, as one has said, the Priestly Code is a religious novel, written

for ecclesiastical purposes. Wellhausen further asserts that the tabernacle was "the copy, not the prototype, of the temple at Jerusalem." Thus, what our fathers had regarded as history has been declared a myth, or, as Duhm boasts, "The Mosaic period is wiped out with one stroke; yea, even Moses himself is no more historical than Merlin or King Arthur." Not all, however, who assign a postexilic date to the Priestly Code are as radical as Wellhausen, Reuss, and Graf; for many, while accepting the conclusions of the most destructive critics, are not willing to subscribe to their premises, and though they assent to the most rationalistic teachings regarding the origin of the Hebrew Scriptures, yet they mysteriously hold to the inspiration of the Pentateuch.

Let us next proceed to Deuteronomy. Why is the date of this book depressed eight or nine hundred years? Here again the argument is purely subjective. We are again told that the laws recorded in this code are such as to show the impossibility of their being enacted till Josiah's time, and chiefly for two reasons: (1) Deuteronomy makes no distinction between priests and Levites—a distinction first made in exilic or postexilic times. (2) Deuteronomy teaches the doctrine of one central sanctuary (see xii, 13). But since high places and many sanctuaries were found from the earliest times, even to the days of Josiah, when they were finally—but only temporarily—abolished, it is impossible, it is claimed, that there could have been legislation against them, or that the offering of sacrifice at one central point was required. Do we not find good men offering sacrifice at various shrines, and even Samuel himself, the best man of his day, sacrificing wherever he pleased? And, indeed, do we not read in Exod. xx, 24, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee?" The plurality of places, which may be inferred from this passage, is successive rather than contemporaneous; but now, as the Hebrews are about to cease wandering and enter Canaan, it is eminently proper that Moses should insist on having one central sanctuary. Even in the unsettled and warlike times of the judges we have clear references to the Levites (Judg. xvii, 7); the ark of the covenant (xx, 27); a central sanctuary, now at Bethel (xx, 18–26), now at Shiloh (xviii, 31), then at Mizpeh (xxi, 1), then again, in the time of Samuel, at Shiloh (1 Sam. i, 3, and often). That Samuel and other good people offered sacrifices elsewhere can, for the most part, be accounted for by the general apostasy of the nation, or by some special theophany necessitating special action. That the people down the ages shamefully disregarded the laws of God, whether in the matter of religious worship or in civil affairs, cannot be urged as an argument for disproving the existence of laws prohibiting such abuses.

There are, however, many other reasons for believing the Pentateuch to be substantially the work of Moses, exactly such a work as we could have expected from the great legislator during his forty years' wandering in the wilderness. Some of these we will endeavor to present in the next issue. We judge the matter to be sufficiently important and opportune to call for more extended discussion.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

HIGHER EDUCATION AS A MISSION AGENCY.

THE subject of education in foreign mission fields is one that refuses to be exhausted, though the value of the college as an evangelistic agency has been variously estimated. Its worth probably differs in different countries more than that of any other distinct form of work. In India Dr. Duff instituted educational measures with the intent to "strike India in its brains." This was not without result, even when unattended with direct effort to convert the students. The theory has obtained in India, perhaps more than elsewhere, that education itself undermines heathen, ism and thus prepares the way for something better. There is much doubt, therefore, whether the funds contributed to missionary societies should be used for this indirect line of approach. As a rule a majority of the students in all the colleges of foreign mission fields, except in India, are communicants in the churches. The number of educated young men in India is estimated by millions, and the missionary college has to compete with the government college. It has, till recently, been thought desirable to educate heathen under Christian influences, even when nothing more could be attained; but the number of students who have gone out from some of these colleges to antagonize Christianity has been urged against the efficiency of this less positive form of extending the Gospel.

Some of the missions in India have acquired so large a Christian community—the Methodists in India, for instance—that they cannot furnish educational facilities sufficient for their own Christian students, and are therefore, confinin gtheir operations mainly to their own people. They are furnishing a large number of educated Christian young men, who enter into the avenues increasingly opening to educated persons as Indian civilization takes on more and more the complex European type. The proportion of Christians occupying places of trust relative to the percentage of the population is one of the most remarkable revolutionary forces in the country, as well as a credit to the efficiency of the Christian schools. The most marked revolutionary feature is, perhaps, in the advancement of Christian women. The first Indian lady to graduate in arts was Miss Chundra Mukhi Bose, a Christian. The first Indian lady to graduate in medicine was Miss Mary Mitter, now Mrs. Nundy, a Christian. The first Indian lady to graduate in law was Miss Cornelia Sarabji, a Christian. The first Indian lady to travel round the world, in search for means to ameliorate the condition of Hindu women, was Pundita Ramabai, a Christian. The only ladies, as yet, whose writings have won approbation from European critics are Miss Toru Dutt and Miss S. Sattiandhan, Christian ladies. Following this line to the provinces severally the same preeminence and priority of Christian women is found in the Northwest, in Oudh, and in Bengal.

It is not easy to follow the influences exerted by the Christian college. Some of the students of Dr. Duff's college are among the foremost ministers of India to-day. One college in South India numbers over five hundred effective Christian workers as graduates from its ranks. These India Christians have, in numerous instances, even forced their way to important places in Christian countries. Three hundred Christian students are recorded in Great Britain by government report, who have formed an "Indian Christian Association" in London. It is said that in fifty years not a single graduate of the Tungchow College has gone from the institution unconverted. It has been estimated that in seven of the government schools of Japan there is a larger number of Christians than was to be found in the leading Christian colleges of America a century ago. In 1889 there were three thousand students in seven of the most prominent government colleges, of whom one in every fourteen were Christian men.

A very remarkable movement for the extension of Young Men's Christian Associations and of the Student Volunteer Movement prevailing in these colleges in mission fields is worthy of attention. If it be true that not far from half a million students are found in the educational institutions in foreign mission lands, probably ten thousand of whom are professing Christians, it is of the highest importance to ask whether the latter can be brought into some scheme of national and international support. Until very recently they have been segregated, lacking the support which they might derive from each other, the energetic force which might come from mutual acquaintance, and some general combination for aggressive work among the educated young men of the several countries. Since the organization of the first College Young Men's Christian Association in Asia, in 1884, at Jaffna College, Ceylon, the movement has extended through many countries. The Christian College of Rangoon, Burmah, and the colleges of India, of Oroomiah, Persia, of Syria, West Turkey, Africa, Bulgaria, Japan, and other countries, have already become colleagues in the use of systematic methods of advancing Christianity among the young men of heathendom who are being prepared for leadership in their several countries by European training. The momentum which shall come from such combined organization to advance personal Christian life among this great body of prospective leaders of thought in Asia and elsewhere, it is hoped, will make a "new chapter of Church history." Secretary Wishard, of the Young Men's Christian Association, spent four years in investigating the world's college development, with a view of laying foundations for what, in his little volume recounting his observations, he calls *A New Program of Missions;* and Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, confesses himself "profoundly impressed" by Mr. Wishard's statement of facts and "the bright and vast outlook into the future" suggested by them.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

It does not appear that Protestants alone feel the pressure on their missionary treasuries. The Propaganda has experienced a falling off of about

$46,000 in their receipts, which is attributable, not only to the financial depression throughout the world, but also to the development of local activities in nearly every country of Europe. In other words, the specific home mission development has been partially at the cost of the foreign budget. The income of the Propaganda for 1895 does not exceed that of 1882, though it has now nearly twice as many foreign missionaries to support as it had fourteen years ago. This reads very like the statements one finds in Protestant mission reports, and suggests far more similarity between the causes that affect ecclesiastical finance in the one case and the other than we have been sometimes wont to acknowledge. We have somehow come to believe that the clerical pressure possible to the Roman hierarchy was equal to any emergency, quite apart from the general principles which govern the money market, and notwithstanding the fact of the lower average of income with the Roman Catholic than with the Protestant.

It is not remarkable that the greatest financial income of the Propaganda should exhibit itself in France, because that is perhaps as thrifty as any Roman Catholic nation, and because it has identified the national colonial advance with Roman Catholic missions. France contributed more than one half ($827,365) of the aggregate income of $1,364,068. How it was with the expenditure on the lands whence the contributions came, other than the United States, need not now be stated ; but here, one half the receipts, aggregating $34,000, were spent within the country for needy missions.

It is stated that in Africa there are twenty Roman Catholic agencies, laboring in thirty-four districts, against fifty-seven Protestant agencies in seventy-nine districts. Of the Roman agencies nine are French, and the missionaries make no secret of the fact that their object is to advance the interests of France as distinctly as those of the Church. In Uganda they have left no means, creditable or the reverse, unused to oust British influence. The "armed brotherhood" of the Cardinal Lavigerie crusade is more and more plainly acknowledged to be an armed advance of the Roman Church with political intent. The Brothers of the Sahara have built a station like a fort, and in Uganda they have relied on civil and political intrigue. Protestants have discouraged armed defense wherever practical. Bishop Tucker found the natives who attended divine services bringing their firearms with them, but persuaded them to rely on moral force and to leave their weapons at home, though the unsettled state of the land rendered it possible that war might break out at any time.

Dr. H. Martyn Clark, who has labored as a medical missionary in India, charges the Roman Catholic missionaries with further unworthy forms of advancing their cause. It is well known that they have at no time scrupled to teach the people to worship their same old idols under new names; but that they should have cherished the deliberate purpose of making perverts of Protestant missionary adherents, by bringing them into disgrace through persistent attempts to demoralize them, seems

scarcely conceivable. He charges that in July, 1890, the fathers of the Franciscan mission fell upon a community of some five thousand Christians which the Protestants had gathered in from the lowest classes of the people. From the worst part of this population, which Dr. Clark calls "riffraff," they hired agents to go into the villages around seeking proselytes, giving them higher wages than they could otherwise earn. Thus in a few days they induced hundreds of the people to become Roman Catholics, whom they had bribed with money, food, and presents. These poor people were fed, lodged, and even driven about in carriages.

Dr. Clark, however, goes still farther, declaring that the priests have deliberately promoted habits of intemperance and have fostered immorality among the people, that they might be cast out of the Protestant Churches, after which they were received with open arms into the Roman Catholic community. One illustration of this was their demoralization of the people by the introduction among them of intoxicating liquors. The native community in the Punjab were a nation of water drinkers, but simultaneously with the appearance of the Roman Catholic missionaries there came a flood of strong drink, indulgence in which was favored by precept and example. Again, among the Kohls, one of the many aboriginal tribes of India, it was the custom never to drink except for the purpose of intoxication, and the Roman Catholic priests have introduced moral corruption among them by the encouragement of the use of intoxicants as a mere beverage. These are grave charges to make, but they are openly made, and only because of the moral degeneration superinduced by this method of making perverts.

PAUL THE TYPICAL FOREIGN MISSIONARY.

Dr. Behrends, in his strenuous and sturdy book, *The World for Christ*, makes a study of the apostle to the Gentiles and finds in him the elements necessary for victorious world evangelization. Noting the training he received at Tarsus, his native city, his thorough grounding in the Old Testament Scriptures, the positiveness of his teaching, his passionate conviction and tumultuous energy, he says that it must not be overlooked "that the foreign missionary among the apostles was the most carefully educated of them all. . . . He was the only college graduate. There may be room for lay evangelists, with the scantiest of educational preparation, in lands where Christianity has become naturalized—though even here the necessity for a thoroughly equipped ministry is greater than ever; but the men who are to subdue the paganism of Asia and Africa cannot be recruited from the ranks of the undisciplined. . . . The foreign field needs and must have the best. It requires the clearest personal experience, the most steady poise of mind, the most careful and thorough educational discipline, the most genuine and cosmopolitan sympathy, and the finest theological equipment which can be found in the Church. It is the greatest task committed to her hands."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

E. G. Steude. His position as one of the editors of *Beweis des Glaubens*, the German theological magazine expressly devoted to the defense of the faith, is sufficient proof of his orthodoxy. On the other hand, he is a good example of the degree of variation from ordinarily accepted views permitted to the orthodox in Germany. We take as an illustration his opinion with reference to the historical trustworthiness of the biblical record of creation. He asserts that the two records of the creation found in the first and second chapters of Genesis respectively are not only based upon sources independent of each other, but that also they differ in their contents to such an extent that all the arts of the harmonists are unavailing in their reconciliation. Furthermore, Psalm cviii, Job xxxviii, and Jesus either contradict or disregard the account in Genesis. Then, too, almost no educated Christian to-day holds the view of the relation of the heavenly bodies to each other which molded the utterances in Genesis. The Copernican theory completely contradicts Genesis. He even goes so far as to take up one by one the theories by which it is proposed to "reconcile" the record in Genesis with the results of scientific research in the domain of nature, and to declare them each in turn to be impossible of acceptance. The assured facts of natural science cannot be brought into harmony with the scriptural account of creation, nor, *vice versâ*, can this be harmonized with them. Besides, Steude claims, this insistence upon the scientific character of the scriptural records robs us of their true significance, which is the religious. The biblical record of creation is designed to make clear that whatever God wills and commands at once takes place, or, in other words, his omnipotence; that God is a God of order, and, by the representation of God as doing his work slowly and gradually, that he prepares the mind of man to understand his humiliation of himself in the interest of humanity. Then, if we do not insist on the scientific character of the Genesis record, says Steude, we may insist with effect upon those facts in the record so true to the results of science as to be an evidence that that record was not conceived by one totally unaided by the divine Spirit and may so claim it as an utterance of the Spirit of revelation. But the chief advantage in yielding the historical-scientific exactness of the Genesis record lies, according to Steude, in the fact that thereby we are in a better position to win scientific men to belief in the essentials of the Christian religion.

Theodor Kolde. By his Luther Biography and other writings relative to the Reformation he has been lifted to the front rank among the leaders of thought in Europe and America. But while great historical themes have chiefly occupied his mind he is by no means indifferent to existing

conditions, which he studies with philosophic breadth and insight. For many years he has watched with keen eye certain movements within Roman Catholicism, which, while they are known in a general way by Protestants, have not been considered as carefully as they ought in reference to their bearing upon the religious and political life of Romanists as individuals. We refer especially to the brotherhoods of Romanism, which are so numerous that Kolde declares that for almost every saint there is a brotherhood, and that there is scarcely a church which has not at least one brotherhood. Among these he names the congregations of Mary as the most numerous; and so skillful are the priests in the management of this organization that for almost every occupation there is a special congregation; for instance, there is a congregation of dairymen, one of hotel keepers, one of servants, etc. Membership in these organizations is made easy by the reduction of the fees to such a point that even the poorest can enjoy the blessings of them, while the benefits, consisting mostly in indulgence munificently bestowed by Pius IX, are regarded as so valuable that membership is highly prized. Instead of heavy money payments, as formerly, the conditions of membership are pious works, such as devotional exercises and subjection to the priesthood and papacy. Members may be received at a very early age, and should they fall away from the faith their former connection with the brotherhood becomes a means of their recovery. The members are naturally most intimately connected with that priest to whom is committed the guidance of the brotherhood. To him they go to confession, and thereby he can regulate their lives. But at the same time, since each organization elects its own presiding officer from among the laity, laymen are given an attractive place in the management of the Church from whose more sacred offices they are excluded. By the multiplication of the offices the number of those thus held both to the brotherhood and the Church is greatly increased. The result is that by these brotherhoods the recent progress of Ultramontanism is to be largely explained, and that the loyalty and obedience to the Church which the system engenders can be employed by skillful hands almost without detection.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte" (Handbook of Latest Church History). By Friedrich Nippold. Hamburg, Lucas Gräfe & Sillem, 1896. The reader of the German language has in this work a compendium of Church history during the nineteenth century comparable in value to McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*. Of course, we do not mean by this to give the work our unqualified indorsement. It is written with as much objectivity as is possible to a strong partisan, but the reader cannot fail to discover a strong leaning toward the views of the "Protestant Association;" while, in the last sections of the work, its author openly makes use of his opportunity to bolster up that waning organization's failing cause. Nippold has been too active in the strife he por-

trays to write with unbiased mind. Still, the work is the only one of its kind, and its value to the student of Church life during our century is immense. The first book reviews the history of the Church from the Reformation to the period of rationalism, the second the age of Frederick the Great, and the third certain revolutions and reactions—all of which are treated in an introductory volume. The next two volumes portray respectively the history of Protestant theology and the history of Roman Catholicism during the century. The last volume discusses questions of the times as related to the several confessions, and questions as to future policy, and can hardly be termed history. One of the great defects of the work is that it almost wholly ignores England and America. However, we must confess that there is little in English and American Church life which has affected Christendom as a whole outside of those countries, since they have been borrowers rather than lenders. Nevertheless, England and America would have influenced the Church life of the Continent if Germany had been less impervious to new ideas; but her own thinkers have kept her so busy that she has had no time in this century to look across the Channel—to say nothing of the Atlantic. Out of the vast mass of material we can choose for special mention the discussion on the results for the believing congregation of scientific research in the life of Christ. The conclusion reached is that all this research has led to the study of the religion of Jesus himself, independent of every later addition and modification, whether by apostolic or post-apostolic influence. That this gain may be utilized Nippold insists that those points in which there is practical agreement shall be kept separate from those not yet settled.

"Das System Albrecht Ritschl's Dargestellt, nicht kritisirt" (Albrecht Ritschl's Theological System Set Forth, not Criticised.) By Gottfried Mielke. Bonn, Adolph Marcus. Of the multitudinous and multifarious works which have been produced as a result of the study of the Ritschlian theology this is in reality unique. It is really a brief exhibition of the somewhat scattered elements of Ritschl's theology in systematic form. The work is so much the more accepted because it is fair in tone and tends to clarify the involved and intricate discussions which have puzzled so many readers of Ritschl. Having set forth the doctrine in question, the author appends no comments, either commendatory or condemnatory, but leaves each reader to judge for himself. It is to be hoped that those of Ritschl's opponents in this country who have received their information concerning him from his enemies will, if they can read German, read this little book. They may then still condemn his views, but they will no longer do so without having given him a hearing. Besides, while we do not believe that any considerable number of such readers would accept his system as a whole, yet we believe many would learn from him some things which need attention in the theological world to-day. The first part of Mielke's book delineates the general view-points of the Ritschlian theology, such as the adequacy of revelation, his rejec-

tion of natural theology, and his attempt to define the limits of metaphysics in theology. It then portrays his doctrine of the kingdom of God, in which is discussed, not only the nature of the kingdom as such, but also the limits of our knowledge of God, and the abiding significance of Jesus for believers. This is followed by the doctrine of redemption through Christ, including the discussion of sin, evil, faith, assurance, eternal life, and the Holy Spirit. The doctrine of the Christian life is then taken up. It is all comprehended in the idea of Christian perfection, whose elements are belief in the divine providence, humility, patience, prayer, and the virtues as exercised in the social life. The final discussions pertain to tokens of the Church and its nature. He who reads these sixty pages will not wonder at the attention, both favorable and unfavorable, which Ritschl has excited. But we doubt whether anyone can read the book without wishing for a fuller knowledge of a system which, with all its peculiarities holds so much of good.

"Die Lebensfrage der systematischen Theologie die Lebensfrage des christlichen Glaubens" (The Vital Question of Systematic Theology the Vital Question of the Christian Faith. By Theodor Häring. Tübingen, J. J. Heckenhauer, 1895. The fundamental problem of every science is that concerning its right to be. In systematic theology this fundamental question is raised to a vital one, since it is one of existence or nonexistence. From the standpoint of science the claim of Christian theology to absolute truth is absurd, for science only seeks, but does not possess, the truth. There can be Christian theology only on condition that this claim of absoluteness can be established, and, on the other hand, Christianity demands a theology which can render this service. The two concepts, evolution and relativity, rule the thought of the present page. Both forbid the idea of absoluteness, even in the Christian religion, though both may admit that the highest religion and the highest morality known are those of Christianity. Hence the theologian must feel the force of the relativistic view, while at the same time he holds fast to the absoluteness of Christianity. To yield this point is to yield Christianity itself. The real grounds upon which we can continue to hold fast this high claim of Christianity are those of experience, which lends to the individual the assurance of salvation. Yet this experience is not merely the subjective, but rather in the recognition of the ground of experience. If one has really a Christian experience he finds himself a part of a great company, each of whom, like himself, discovers himself in possession of a good which consists of a communion with God that lifts him above the cares of this world, releases him from the pangs of a guilty conscience, and gives him the blessings of eternal life. Those who have this experience cannot conceive of a qualitative higher relation to God than that which they enjoy when they call him Father through Christ. They know that the divine influence on them is inseparable from the influence of Christ upon them. They cannot think him away and yet have the same God as

before, who alone is good in that he forgives sin. It is rightly said that the hunger for love pervades our agitated, restless age. This hunger can only be satisfied by the love of one whose love can be felt to be the love of God, strong enough to win and satisfy all.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Kaftan on Christianity and Philosophy. The second apologetic address delivered in Berlin under the auspices of the Evangelical Alliance was by Julius Kaftan, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Berlin University. He begins by quoting Justin Martyr as saying, in substance, that Christianity is itself the only true and really satisfying philosophy. From the standpoint of philosophy as an inquiry into the final questions of human knowledge this might not be clear. But Justin had in mind the philosophy of his time, which dealt rather with questions of practical life. He then takes up the two principal conceptions of philosophy which have controlled the thought of the world: first, Aristotle's, which makes it the science of the final causes or the first cause of all things, the central science, the queen in the realm of theoretical investigation; and second, Kant's, according to which philosophy is the doctrine of the highest good, a conception which makes it more internal than external, and rather a matter of practical life than of knowledge. But these two conceptions of philosophy are by no means mutually exclusive. In answer to the question how we can put ourselves in possession of God, the highest good, Plato said that it is by means of thought and knowledge. Long enough has the controversy between Christianity and philosophy consisted mainly in the emphasis by the former of the historical and positive and by the latter of the universal philosophical thoughts and conceptions. But to-day it is not possible to maintain the union of philosophy and Christianity which began with Justin and continued for so many centuries. This is the result of two historical phenomena, the Reformation and modern science. The Reformation is a protest against the doctrine that thinking and knowing is that by which we draw nigh to God and become united with him. But the doctrine has exercised a profound influence upon the development of Christianity and its dogmas. For that which is most Godlike in us and by which we come to God must without question claim the first place. If this is thought and cognition, then everything else, even the ethical, must retire into relative insignificance. But the rule of this principle and this ideal of life has been destroyed for the evangelical portion of Christianity by the Reformation, which has given the first place to simple ethical obedience. The difference is most distinct in the conception of God which each principle carries with it. When the theoretical is regarded as superior God appears as the infinite substance and at the same time as the thought of himself. When the practical-ethical is held superior God is regarded as the highest energy of personal will, in whom the infinite reason is subordinate to the will with its purpose. This latter is the doctrine

of the Reformation, which, however, being in advance of developments in all other departments, had to wait for its recognition until these made further progress. Modern science is thus the second historical phenomenon which makes the old union between Christianity and philosophy a present impossibility. The history of the positive sciences is the history of their emancipation from philosophy—from the philosophy which led up through investigation and knowledge to a knowledge of God. It can therefore be as truly designated the emancipation from theology. This change has brought with it some serious difficulties. But they are only temporary. We must learn that modern science does not lead us to God. This ought not to produce any alarm when we recall that the God whom we learned to know through nature is not the spiritual, personal God of the Christian faith, but a god of nature, a mere god of appearance. Two opposing tendencies of modern philosophy have grown out of the error of supposing that the results of natural science can be made directly tributary to a correct understanding of the world. The first is materialism, the second the doctrine of Fechner of the soul-life in all things. The most dangerous fact in connection with materialism is that as it is based on a false prejudice it cannot be answered, but only overcome as the prejudice is overcome. Fechner's doctrine is entirely incompatible with the Christian thought of creation, which places God superior to the world. The substance of spirit is not logical but ethical being. "Even if I were not a theologian and Christian I should be compelled to judge as I do." Materialism and naturalism are contradicted by means of the criticism of thought, traced to their psychological sources and declared to be mere prejudices. The attempt to reduce everything to spiritual processes goes to pieces on consideration of the fact that spirit and nature are entirely distinct. There is but one way left, that is, to find in that idea of the highest good which is ethically conditioned the real and final key to the understanding of the world. This leads us to the threshold of Christianity. It also affords us a new form in which science and Christianity can unite, namely, the ethical ends which both serve. But faith and philosophy are still, and will ever remain, separate and distinct. Philosophy is ever ready to change its tenets for good reasons. This very freedom, this ever-open ear, is its fame and glory; but it is also its weakness that it is to some extent hypothetical, never losing its character of a purely human opinion and never leading to true inner assurance and certainty. With faith it is the reverse. It grows in power by means of its lack of inner freedom; it becomes assured by means of obedience and free subjection to the divine revelation. For we cannot do without the revelation as we have it in Jesus Christ. In the confession that there is no other name under heaven whereby we may be saved but that of Jesus Christ, we confess that he is the way, the truth, and the life. The result is that Christianity is the true philosophy, because it assures of eternal life and grounds our certainty on divine revelation given in Jesus Christ. Philosophy may change; Christianity, because founded in God, is changeless as eternity.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January the first article is by Professor D. W. Simon, who endeavors to reconcile evolution with the fall of man, showing, as did Dr. A. J. Baker in our own *Review* in November, 1894, that the Scripture doctrine has a scientific basis. Under the caption "An Eighteenth Century Club," Professor R. T. Stevenson, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, writes of the Holy Club at Oxford, and what came of it for England and the world. His picture is not overdrawn. For background he fills in a strong and faithful description of England as it was when out from Oxford came Methodism, which Canon Taylor declares to be "the starting point of modern religious history;" just as Lecky says that the warming of Wesley's heart in the humble meeting in Aldersgate Street "forms an epoch in English history." We are glad to see this admirable article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. The biblical article of the number is on "The Predictive Element in Old Testament Prophecy." The theological articles are "The New Theology," by Jacob A. Biddle, rector of St. Mary's parish, South Manchester, Conn., and "The Reconstruction of Theology," by Dr. David N. Beach. The ninth paper, by Dr. N. W. Hillis, successor of David Swing in Central Church, Chicago, has for its text Professor R. T. Ely's book on *The Social Law of Service*, which is a study of the second great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Strength is a debtor to weakness; wealth has an obligation to poverty; wisdom is a trust in the interests of ignorance. The science of political economy is being entirely rewritten by our best economists in the light of the Sermon on the Mount. "Students of the problems of the market place are becoming preachers of righteousness, emphasizing increasingly the debt of strength to weakness, and the law of social sympathy and social liability." Dr. Hillis's article mostly traces and illustrates the working out of progress by the law of vicarious suffering. "Why is it that Curtis says there are three American orations that will live in history—Patrick Henry's, at Williamsburg, Abraham Lincoln's, at Gettysburg, and Wendell Phillips's, at Faneuil Hall? A thousand martyrs to liberty lent eloquence to Henry's lips; the hills of Gettysburg, all billowy with our noble dead, exhaled the memories that anointed Lincoln's lips; while Lovejoy's heart, newly martyred to Alton, poured over Wendell Phillips's nature the full tides of speech divine. Vicarious suffering explains each of these immortal scenes and utterances." The article closes by saying that if Christ's law of social service could be immediately incarnated in all our social and industrial institutions there would be "no more trusts, no more grinding monopolies, no more strikes and lockouts, no more bitter hunger, but each bearing another's burdens, and wisdom and wealth serving poverty in the noble effort to fulfill the law of Christ." Dr. Hillis puts one side of the case, the side which

greed and selfishness have left out of sight. Sympathy and assistance for the disabled and the helpless there must be; fairness toward all men, low or high, there must be; but the law will ever remain that the prizes and emoluments of life, great or small, are not gratuities to be distributed but wages to be earned; they must be gained by hard labor, austere self-denial and struggle, taxing every power of body and mind to the uttermost. No rosewater schemes can change that stern, just, and beneficent law; and if they could they would make a mush of human character and a maudlin mess of human society. As for unnecessary hardships inflicted by "man's inhumanity to man," and the harsh cruelty of unscrupulous power, let these be severely punished, and utterly abolished in the name of all men's great brother, Jesus Christ.

In the *New World* for December, George Batchelor writes forcibly of "The Infection of Pessimism." Speaking of struggle and competition as the universal condition of progress, he says: "Dreamers tell us of a world where competition will give place to cooperation," and "painful effort and suffering will cease." "This is not the dream of an optimist, but the subtle delusion of a pessimist who is kicking against the pricks of reality. When one tries to abolish this vast terrestrial experiment of producing all good things by competition and emulation he is simply fighting against the nature of things." It is folly to talk of doing away with the manly antagonisms and contests of the struggle in which we in common with all creatures live, and by which our powers are developed. The discontent of millions is stirred and needless bitterness brought into the struggle by what are nothing else than complaints against the nature of things. Relief will come, not through attempts to abolish competition and unchangeable laws of survival, but by bringing the rank and file of the great army of industry to temperance, economy, thrift, and by training them to have skillful hands, swift feet, active brains, the wisdom to plan and the ability to execute. The prizes of life must be won by intense struggle; they cannot be distributed. Achievement, attainment, acquirement come by striving and toiling and suffering. Professor Francis Brown in an article on "Religious Movements in England" quotes from the *British Weekly* the following comments on Dr. J. H. Rigg's view of the so-called Oxford movement: "We cannot understand how a man like Dr. Rigg can treat this whole movement so lightly and contemptuously. It has taken captive for religion some of the strongest and most serious minds of our time. Its influence in the country has been enormous; in many circles it has been the one dominating Christian force. Nor do we see any signs of its waning. . . . On the whole it is perhaps more vital at present than any other system." Professor Brown is sure that whatever may be the future of that powerful religious movement, the Salvation Army, it has influenced religion, especially in England, to a vital degree, and that something like its self-abnegation and its unflinching hand-to-hand work will abide in the Christian life which has

felt the contagion of its devotedness. An article on "Heretics" speaks of "the preaching of a gospel of divine love by Whitefield and the Wesleys to an England in which Paley regarded Christianity as utilitarianism stimulated by the hope of heaven and the fear of hell." An English college professor writes that only by observing the effect of physical environment can we account for the inveterate lasciviousness of the Polynesian, the ghastly cannibalism of the denizens of African forests, the callousness of the Chinaman, the subtlety of the Greek, the bounce of the American, the insolence of the Englishman. Shakespeare is called "a poet without a philosophy or a religion." A book notice takes exception to Professor George P. Fisher's characterization of Channing's Arian Christology as "one of the crudest notions which the history of speculation on this sublect has ever presented;" and also to his description of Carlyle's style as a "powerful jargon." A review of Dr. R. E. Thompson's *History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States* finds in it something of the obstinacy hinted at in the prayer of an old Presbyterian elder: "Grant that I may be always right, for thou knowest I am hard to turn;" but also recognizes a downright sincerity like that of the Welsh parson who, after listening in the synod to much liberal interpretation of good old texts, sprang to his feet and cried out, "He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned, and I axes no pardon." The manly candor of Dr. C. C. Tiffany is noticed in his recording concerning the Episcopalians that, during colonial times in Virginia, "the low state of morals, both of the clergy and of the laity, had caused a reaction in the community against them;" and that in Maryland "the Roman Catholics and Dissenters looked with contempt upon an establishment so profligate in some of its members that even the laity sought to purify it, and yet so weak in its discipline that neither clergy nor laity could purge it of offenders;" and also that, at the outbreak of the Revolution, "while other bodies were divided, Episcopal clergymen at the North were of one heart and mind," being all Tories.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church, South, for November–December has, 1. "New England in the South—George Denison Prentice," by Professor G. F. Mellen, Ph.D.; 2. "George Denison Prentice," by J. L. Kirby; 3. "The Educated Woman of To-day," by Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald; 4. "The Forces of Civilization, Whence are They?" by Professor J. R. Allen, D.D.; 5. "Divine Providence," by James Mudge, D.D.; 6. "The Special Obligation of American Christians to Missions," by Rev. J. A. Anderson; 7. "Vergil's Preeminence Among the Christian Fathers and in the Mediæval Church," by Professor E. W. Bowen, Ph.D.; 8. "Cyrus Hamlin," by Edward Barrass, D.D.; 9. "Our Senses—How We Use Them, and What They Tell Us," by J. J. Tigert, LL.D.

IN the *North American Review* for December ex-Senator J. F. Wilson writes in attractive reminiscence "Some Memories of Lincoln;" the

Hon. J. H. Eckels discusses the "Duty of the Coming Administration;" and Mrs. J. D. Townsend shows the pressing need, in the interests of the social life, of a "Curfew for City Children."——The *Missionary Review* for December has "The Permanent Basis of Missions," by A. T. Pierson, D.D.; "The Jewish Question—Notes of a Recent Mission Tour," by the Rev. David Baron; "Hannah Marshman, First Woman Missionary, 1767–1847," by Dr. George Smith; "Christian Education in China," by the Rev. G. S. Miner; and much important miscellaneous matter.——A pertinent article in the December number of the *Homiletic Review* is "The Date of Christ's Birth," by Cunningham Geikie, D.D. His helplessness in the face of the oft-asked question is in his opening sentence, "Anyone anxious to amuse himself by playing intellectual blindman's buff on the largest scale could not do better than try to prove to the satisfaction of all concerned the exact date of the birth of Christ." But his justification of the present practice is in his closing statement: "The Christians, from 'Thrace to Cadiz,' used the Roman calendar; and, as Nisan, the first Hebrew month, corresponded to our April, the ninth month was December, and the 25th of that month seemed pointed out as the right day."——Among its noticeable articles the *Nineteenth Century* for December has, "The Olney Doctrine and America's New Foreign Policy," by Sidney Low; "Total Abstinence," by the Rev. Harry Jones; "The World Beneath the Ocean," by A. P. Cronch; "Machiavelli and the English Reformation," by W. A. Phillips; "The Commercial War Between Germany and England," by B. H. Thwaite; "A Seventeenth Century Chesterfield," by the Hon. Sidney Peel; "A Shinto Funeral," by Mrs. Sannomiya; and "The Financial Grievance of Ireland," by J. J. Clancy, M. P.——The *Yale Review* for November opens with "Gold, and the Prices of the Products of the Farm," by L. G. Powers. "Varying harvests," he declares, "changing the supply of agricultural staples, change their prices, or, what is the same thing, the purchasing power of gold with reference to those staples." Other papers are: "Recent Economic and Social Legislation in the United States," by F. J. Stimson; "The Shifting of Taxes," by T. N. Carver; "Recent Legislation in England," by Edward Porritt; and "Half a Century of Improved Housing Effort by the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor," by W. H. Tolman.——The December number of the *Catholic World* has as its illustrated article, "In the Chime Tower," by Mary Boyle O'Reilly; "The Schafflertanz and Metzgersprung in Munich," by Alguien; "Where Southern Lilies are Trained," by Eliza Allen Starr; and "Holy Brittany," a poem, by J. J. O'Shea.——*Christian Literature* for December has, among its noticeable reprints, Professor A. H. Sayce's article on "The Biblical Critics on the Warpath." It was first published in the London *Contemporary* for November, and is a personal defense against their recent strictures. "The forefront of my offending," he says, "seems to be that I have spoken of 'the critics' as a body, without pointing out that whereas Professor X. is disposed to admit that the Israelites were in Egypt, Professor Y. refuses to make any such admission at all."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Gospel for an Age of Doubt. By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 457. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Most of what this book contains was delivered as one of the courses of Yale Lectures on Preaching on the Lyman Beecher Foundation. The eight chapters are entitled, "An Age of Doubt," "The Gospel of a Person," "The Unveiling of the Father," "The Human Life of God," "The Source of Authority," "Liberty," "Sovereignty," and "Service." The Appendix, containing much material of value, occupies 188 pages. The author's purpose is defined in his "Foreword:" "The deep question, the important question, the question of widest interest, is what to preach to men and women of to-day, to cheer them, to uplift them, to lead them back to faith, and through faith to a brave, full, noble life. This is the question for which I have tried, at least, to point the way to an answer. What is the word of spiritual life and power for the present age? Evidently it must be a real gospel, a word of gladness and a word of God. It will not do to teach for doctrines the commandments of men. Tradition is powerless. Dry systems of dogma cannot quicken the soul. The preacher's message must come to him from a heavenly source, and take hold upon him with the charm of a divine novelty. It must be so fresh, so vivid, so original to his own heart that he cannot help wanting to tell it to the world. This wonderful sense of newness in the Gospel is what makes men long to preach it and the world glad to hear it. But it is no less plain that the message in a certain sense must also be old. It cannot be out of touch with the past. It must be in line with the upward movement of humanity through the ages. It must be in reverent harmony with the faith, and hope, and love which have already cheered and purified and blessed the best of human lives. An altogether new religion can hardly be an altogether true religion. Now, the solution of this apparent difficulty—the reconciling of the old and the new—lies in a personal view of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The effort to get such a view for every age and for every man results in a thrilling and joyful sense of new discovery of an old and changeless truth. One way in which this feeling of newness comes is through the necessity of clearing away the human accretions which have gathered about the Gospel. Christianity always has been, and probably always will be, subject to obscuration and misunderstanding. It has been presented as a complete system of doctrine. In reality, it is a spiritual life. The arguments used to defend it have often become hindrances to its acceptance. The formulas framed to express it have often hidden Him who is its true and only center. Christ is Christianity. To find God in him, to trust and love God in him, is to be a Christian. To preach him, in the language of to-day, to the men of to-day, for the

needs of to-day, is to preach a gospel as new and as old as life itself. This is the thing in which Christianity differs from all other religions. It has a Person at the heart of it: a Person who is as real as we are; a Person who carries in himself the evidence of a spiritual world; a Person who has proved in myriads of souls his power to save men, not only from the evil of sin, but also from the gloom of doubt. . . . To see him is to be sure of God and immortality. Such a person could not have lived if the universe were a mere product of matter and force. It would be easier to think that the floating clouds of sunset could beget out of their vaporous bosoms a solid and eternal mountain peak than that the vain and vague dreams of spiritual life rising from a humanity born only of the dust, and fated to crumble altogether into dust again, could have produced such a firm and glorious reality as the character and life of Jesus of Nazareth." By quotations from many recent writers the author seeks, "First, to make it clear by the sorrowful and confused confessions of modern doubt how much the age needs a gospel; and, second, to show how many men of all classes are moving in the same direction—toward a renewal of faith." We recommend, without hesitation, to all ministers the purchase of Henry Van Dyke's *Gospel for an Age of Doubt* and John Watson's *Cure of Souls.* Put them alongside of Nathaniel J. Burton's *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, and you have a trio of stimulating, strengthening, and suggestive books.

The World for Christ. By A. J. F. BEHRENDS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 167. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

These six chapters are the lectures on missions delivered in 1896 at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation. A unique composite interest attaches to them as having been delivered by an eminent Congregational minister (whose personal religious and ministerial history is also composite) upon a foundation established by an honored member of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in a Methodist university. The author treats the subject under six heads: "The Authority to be Recognized," "The Field to be Won," "The Result to be Achieved," "The Resistance to be Overcome," "The Leaders to be Appointed," and "The Agencies to be Employed." He treats his theme "in the most general way, from the standpoint of a pastor who would create and foster an intelligent and generous sympathy among his people in the cause of Christian missions." These lectures were prepared on two months' notice, and are characterized by the author's rugged mental vigor and hearty sincerity. We cannot help wishing we now had before us what the sturdy mind and warm heart of Dr. Behrends would make of these lectures, with a year for their preparation. His introduction of himself to his audience is of suitable interest for quotation here: "I was never a Methodist. I was born and trained in the Dutch Reformed communion, and was early inoculated with the Calvinistic theology. But when eighteen years of age, while teaching in one of the rude schoolhouses of southern Ohio, I came under the influence of a Methodist circuit rider, who preached for a fortnight where I taught by day. As I listened to his pointed and fer-

vent appeals the religious impressions and convictions of many years came to a head, and one afternoon, as I tramped along the highway, I gave my heart to Christ because he had given his life for me. My theology had little to do with my conversion. In fact, I consciously ignored it. And it is more than probable that this early association has had much to do with the gradual, but steady, slackening of dogmatic bonds, until I have abandoned the profession of marching under the Calvinist banner. . . . So you will understand why I always feel at home in a Methodist crowd; and I enjoy their amens, provided they are put in the right place. The years seem to roll back, and I am once more in the primeval forest, the woods which were 'God's first temples.' I see the old sawmill and the limpid brook, over which a log served as a bridge, unless it was frozen in winter. I see the rude benches and ruder desk, with the stove in the center of the room. I see the primitive lamps under whose dim religious light the preacher addressed his audience, and the mourners' bench, at which many of them kneeled. And though the peace of God came to me during the silence of an evening walk I am afraid that I shouted more than once when that night I, the schoolmaster, told my story of deliverance. I have forgotten the name and face of the preacher, but the place has been indelibly photographed upon my mind and heart. It all happened thirty-eight years ago, and I have never visited the spot. I do not care to do it now, for I am sure the familiar landmarks are gone, and I should feel like one

> 'Who treads alone
> Some banquet hall deserted,
> Whose lights are fled,
> Whose garlands dead!'"

We transcribe here the lecturer's personal reminiscence, chiefly because in so doing we embalm with tender respect upon a page of this *Review* the sacred memory of an itinerant, only one of thousands like him, name unknown but deeds immortally famous, who in rude places preached the everlasting Gospel with prevailing power, laborious harvesters of much rich grain for heaven's eternal garners. If the man of God who conducted a revival in that Ohio schoolhouse nearly forty years ago had no other fruit of his fortnight's exhorting and praying but A. J. F. Behrends, the promise was to him fulfilled that he should not labor in vain. A fruitful fortnight indeed it was.

Outlines of Social Theology. By WILLIAM DE WITT HYDE, D.D., President of Bowdoin College. 12mo, pp. 260. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author's purpose is indicated in the Preface: "Idealism and theology, originally joined together in 'the Gospel according to St. John,' were put asunder through the estrangement of the Greek and Latin Churches. The Greek Church put a metaphysic in the place of religion, and paid the penalty in spiritual sterility. The Latin Church put authority in the place of reason, and paid the penalty in intellectual barrenness. Protestantism has inherited the Greek formulas without the philosophy which gave them meaning, and the Latin distrust of reason without the

authority which makes dogmatism effective. The remedy lies in a reunion of vital religion with rational theology. The time has not come for writing this new theology. The returns from psychology and sociology, on which it will depend, are not yet in. A man, however, may blaze a path, even though he lacks the materials and the capacity to build a road. This little book aims to point out the logical relations in which the doctrines of theology will stand to each other when the time shall come again for seeing Christian truth in the light of reason and Christian life as the embodiment of love. I have called it *Social Theology*, because the Christianity of Christ and his disciples was preeminently a social movement, and because we are looking at everything to-day from the social rather than the individualistic point of view. In ethics, in economics, in sociology, in politics, we no longer treat man as capable of isolation. *Unus homo, nullus homo.* Man is what he is by virtue of his relations to what he is not. In these special sciences we try to solve the problem of the individual by putting him into right relations with the forces and persons about him. Christ came to place man in right relations with God, with nature, and with his fellow-men. The modern man translates the Greek ψυχή by life rather than soul. The preservation and enrichment of life, not the mere insuring and saving of the soul, is the function of religion which appeals to men to-day. And at this period of transition the adjective 'social' serves to call attention to the shifting of emphasis from the abstract and formal relation of the isolated individual to an external Ruler, over to man's concrete and essential relations to the divine life manifested in nature, history, and human society." Dr. Hyde's book is divided into three parts. Part I is theological, and considers "The World and the Self—The Father;" "The Real and the Ideal—The Son;" and "The Natural and the Spiritual—The Holy Spirit." Part II is anthropological, and deals with "Sin and Law—Judgment;" "Repentance and Faith—Salvation;" and "Regeneration and Growth—Life." Part III is sociological, and discusses "Possession and Confession—The Church;" "Enjoyment and Service—The Redemption of the World;" and "Abstraction and Aggregation—The Organization of the Kingdom." One of the deepening and widening joys of the Christian thinker to-day is in seeing how, from all directions and in the consideration of all subjects and problems, there arise more clearly and undeniably both warrant and need for calling Christ our Master, and, as Browning says, "the illimitable God:"

> The very God! Think Abib; dost thou think?
> So the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
> So through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power nor may'st conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And thou must love me who have died for thee."

The Gospel and teachings and spirit of Jesus Christ, our adorable Lord and Saviour, furnish the only solvent of all human difficulties and problems. With him all things are possible; without him we can do nothing.

The Cure of Souls. Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at Yale University, 1896. By JOHN WATSON, M.A., D.D. 12mo, pp. 301. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A sudden fame, popularity as wide as the English-speaking race, and extraordinary success in books of fiction and books of theology, in lectures to divinity schools and to miscellaneous audiences—all this rich, varied, and extensive harvest "Ian Maclaren," the author of *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush, The Days of Auld Lang Syne, The Mind of the Master, Kate Carnegie,* and *A Doctor of the Old School,* is now loading upon his wains and stowing in his barns. These lectures on preaching are fitly dedicated to that eminent, broad-minded, and well-balanced scholar, Dr. George P. Fisher, Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Yale University. The author says that he was compelled to enter on the ministry without having received from any lecturer any "account of the difficulties and dangers which were likely to beset the path of one who, like himself, represented the average man. As he paid his bitter premiums to experience, it came to him that some day he would write a little book in which he might be able to save some brother minister from humiliation and suffering, and this he has now tried to do." The nine lectures are on "The Genesis of a Sermon;" "The Technique of a Sermon;" "Problems of Preaching;" "Theology the Theory of Religion;" "The New Dogma;" "The Machinery of a Congregation;" "The Work of a Pastor;" "The Public Worship of God;" "The Minister's Care of Himself." The book is full of manliness, godliness, and "sanctifigumption." It was a good thing to bring a stalwart, healthy, hearty, brainy, breezy, whole-souled Highlander over the sea to face and fill with his own strong mental and spiritual life a school of theological students in some danger of drying up. This book will be read; it will make a tenderer and truer minister of every preacher who reads it. From its pages a quickening spirit breathes.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Moral Evolution. By GEORGE HARRIS, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Crown 8vo, pp. 416. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

The purpose of this book, as explained by the author, is to establish the harmony of personal and social morality with the facts of evolution. He thinks there is a unity in the entire process of development, even in respect to tendencies which seem to conflict. He has not gone into the technicalities of science, nor into the abstractions of philosophy, but has tried to set forth his "conclusions and reasons with as much clearness, directness, and concreteness as possible." The distinctiveness of the book is claimed to be "the recovery of self from the mistaken neglect, into which it has fallen at the hands of many philosophers, to its proper value. Self-preservation, with all its incident evils of struggle, waste, and cruelty, is shown to be in the line of progress, and an essential condition of progress. The social, sympathetic, altruistic feelings are not forced to bear all the mighty burden of human advancement. Social regeneration is not allowed,

with the author's consent, to overbalance personal good. The two values, the personal and the social, are carried along together from the beginning to the end of the volume, even as they are inseparable from the beginning to the end of moral evolution." We have not space to discuss this volume, but must notice a singular mistake for Dr. Harris to make, which occurs on page 204 in this sentence: "John Stuart Mill put feeling into mathematics when he said that if he must believe on pain of going to hell that two and two make five in any part of the universe, to hell he would go rather than admit it." We suppose that among the things oftenest quoted from Stuart Mill two are conspicuous. One is his saying, in accordance with the empirical philosophy, that for aught we know two and two may make five in some other planet. The other is his saying that he would call no Being good who was not what he meant by that term as applied to men; and if such Being should send him to hell for not so calling him, to hell he would go. But those two sayings, now widely familiar through being frequently quoted, are in no way connected in Mill's writings, and, indeed, his peculiar philosophical position makes it impossible that he could connect them in the manner in which Dr. Harris says he did. A willingness to go to perdition was never connected by Mill with the possibility of two and two making five, but rather with his being required to call some Being good when he did not so regard him. How the confusion seen in Dr. Harris's sentence could happen in a scholar's recollection is hard to understand, although we are assisted somewhat by remembering that Homer is reported to have nodded; and popes, declared infallible by world-wide councils, make prodigious and atrocious blunders; and even editors sometimes fall a trifle short of omniscience and unerring recollection. On page 443 the author says with reference to one of the conclusions reached in his volume: "To find myself mistaken in this matter would be a sad surprise which would make me doubtful of my mental and moral sanity." The mistake we have noticed is not sufficient to impeach the author's sanity or competency, mental or moral. The volume closes its reasonings with the following expression of confidence: "At a slow rate indeed mankind advances, but it does advance. And so optimism is more than a hope for the future. It is based on the possession and enjoyment of present value. Science, culture, art, friendship, love, country, religion, are actual possessions. Pessimism cannot gainsay these, although they have not yet reclaimed all outlying provinces. The friendship which is true, in spite of faults and affronts, the love which binds hearts together, and the aspiration to be worthy of friendship and love are human and spiritual values which the pessimistic materialist cannot take away. After two friends whom Stevenson introduces as principal characters in *Prince Otto* had composed a quarrel and reaffirmed their affection, one of them says to the other, "What matters it how bad we are, if others can still love us and we can still love others?" "Ay," replied the doctor, "it is very well said. It is the true answer to the pessimist and the standing miracle of mankind." The very genius of Christianity is the present realization of the ideal. Now are we the sons of God. The

kingdom of God is among you. The kingdom comes on earth because the will is done by his children. And such a present is the prophecy of a greater future.

> I answer, Have ye yet to argue out
> The very primal thesis, plainest law,—
> Man is not God but hath God's end to serve,
> A master to obey, a course to take,
> Somewhat to cast off, somewhat to become?
> Grant this, then man must pass from old to new,
> From vain to real, from mistake to fact,
> From what once seemed good to what now proves best,
> How could man have progression otherwise?
> . . . . . .
> While man knows partly, but conceives besides,
> Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact,
> And in this striving, this converting air
> Into a solid he may grasp and use,
> Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
> Not God's, and not the beasts'; God is, they are,
> Man partly is and wholly hopes to be.*

The Condition of Women in the United States. A Traveler's Notes. By MADAME BLANC (TH. BENTZON). Translated by ABBY LANGDON ALGER. 12mo, pp. 285. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

A strong, well-balanced, self-possessed French woman, of no mean repute as a writer in her own country, the author of a dozen books, as well as a critic of English and American literature, visited our country in 1893 and studied American life from the standpoint of woman's condition here. She made a study of woman's status and activities as exhibited in the World's Fair at Chicago, in women's clubs, in women's colleges, in coeducational institutions, in university extension, in homes and clubs for working-women, in industrial schools, in prisons and asylums, and in domestic and social life. Her methods of investigation put her in direct contact with facts, and her book shows her to be a woman of experience, with clear penetration and excellent practical judgment. It is not often that a foreign observer writes more discerningly of American life. Much would be interesting to quote had we room. She notes "the brutal distinctions established by the greater or less amount of dollars." She observes our Anglomaniac dudes, "Americans whose compatriots declare that they turn up their trousers on Broadway in fine weather because it happens to be raining in London." Certain New England damsels remind her of "Greek statues retouched by the hand of an æsthete." She saw in Chicago the funeral of Mayor Harrison, murdered on the eve of his marriage; she says, "Harrison was a politician of much popularity among the lovers of that sort of liberty which consists in keeping bars, theaters, and gambling houses open on Sunday. A sympathetic mob accordingly flocked to his obsequies. I never saw so many evil faces." Hull House and Jane Addams receive careful study and description. Of Chautauqua and its founder she has this to say: "In Bishop Vincent there is something of the apostle, and also of the seer who lives in the contemplation of an almost celestial Chautauqua, whither—thanks to

* From Robert Browning's "A Death in the Desert."

electricity—coming generations shall be borne in the twinkling of an eye to behold the perfected wonders of the telephone, the phonograph, the microphone, etc.; where the changing hues of luminous fountains shall mingle with the living waters of the lake; where all tongues shall be taught by natural methods, visitors being free to travel at will through the German, French, and Italian quarters, as well as through other foreign regions which shall make of this university a world. So, too, all may enter one common church, sacred to the spirit of charity which brings all Christian sects together, and where the liturgies of all ages will find a place, without prejudice to spontaneous products. Bishop Vincent's hopes, as we see, do not stop at a 'local and literal Chautauqua;' they include a 'Chautauqua of ideas and inspirations' so lofty that it is scarcely of the earth. This artless and generous enthusiast might well vie with Peter the Hermit, and it is indeed a modern crusade that he preaches. Chautauqua now has branches in all directions; also summer residences whose various advantages are indiscriminately boasted—culture, religion, music, walks, and restaurants. The impulse given by Bishop Vincent is in reality the same which once produced revivals, spiritual awakenings; and they took place under the same Methodist influences, although they now extend to all Churches as well as to all branches of human knowledge. . . . It cannot be denied that this encampment of a whole nation round about knowledge has elements of greatness." After Madame Blanc's travels through our Western States, she received from a proud and uncompromising native of the prairies, a talented writer, the following letter written from a Wisconsin farm: "Come again and stay longer. As my mother says to her visitors, 'Come again and bring your knitting.' What pleased me in your visit was your determination to see the *people* of America and not its snobs. The true American is not to be found in drawing rooms. It is only in the little towns and villages, in the country, that the democratic ways which characterize him still exist. How long will this resist the rising tide of money and its insolent privileges? I cannot say; but it exists in our homestead, where I spend the summer, eating at the same table with the hired girl, and where the gardener calls me by my Christian name, my top name, as Walt Whitman would say." She made quite a visit at Knox College, Galesburg, Ill., and writes: "I left Galesburg with regret; I still think of it with sympathy and respect. It would be a great pleasure for me to go again and 'take my knitting,' as I was invited to do in the frank parlance of the West."

Aspects of Fiction, and Other Ventures in Criticism. By BRANDER MATTHEWS. 12mo, pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author says that no book has yet been written which can serve as a text-book or even as a reference-book for the study of fiction, or of the art of story-telling, but one critic believes that this volume will surely go far toward filling the void. The opening chapter, on "American Literature," is clear, concise, and patriotic, and contains much inspiration and encouragement for young writers. For writers and readers as well there

is much of interest in the discussion of "Pleasing the Taste of the Public." Students of the art of story-telling will find the essay on "Text-books of Fiction" very suggestive. The other subjects treated in this volume are: "Two Studies of the South" (a criticism of Professor William P. Trent's biography of William Gilmore Simms and of Thomas Nelson Page's essays on *The Old South*); "The Penalty of Humor;" "On Certain Parallelisms Between the Ancient Drama and the Modern;" "Two Scotsmen of Letters —Andrew Lang and Robert Louis Stevenson;" "The Gift of Story-telling;" "Cervantes, Zola, Kipling & Co.;" "The Prose Tales of M. François Coppée;" "The Short Stories of M. Ludovic Halévy;" and "Charles Dudley Warner as a Writer of Fiction." Of Stevenson these true words are written: "Whether it is a tale he is telling, or a drama, with its swift, sharp dialogue, or an essay rambling and ambling skillfully to its unseen end, the style is always the style of a man who has learnt how to make words bend to his bidding. He writes as one whom the parts of speech must needs obey. He had a picked vocabulary at his command, and he was ever on the watch for the unexpected phrase. He strove incessantly to escape from the hackneyed form of words and cut-and-dried commonplaces of speech; and, no doubt, the effort is evident sometimes, although the instances are rare enough. There is at times, it is true, more than a hint of preciousness, but he never fell into the self-consciousness which marred many of Walter Pater's periods." The following comparison is true in its general direction, but not quite fair to Stevenson: "Andrew Lang and the late Robert Louis Stevenson were for a while the two Scottish chiefs of literature. Both lived out of Scotland, yet both were loyal to the land of their birth, and loved it with all the robust ardor of a good son's love. Neither was in robust health, but there was no taint of invalidism in the writings of either, no hint of morbid complaint or of unwholesome self-compassion. Both were resolutely optimistic, as becomes Scotchmen. Both were critics, with sharp eyes for valuing, and with a faculty of enthusiastic and appetizing enjoyment of what is best. They had both attempted fiction, and both belong to the romantic school. In differing degrees each was a poet, and each was master of a prose than which no better is written in our language nowadays. Mr. Lang's style has not the tortured felicity of Stevenson's; its happiness is easier and less willful. The author of *Letters to Dead Authors* is not an artificer of cunning phrase, like the author of *Memories and Portraits;* his style is not hand-made nor the result of taking thought; it grows more of its own accord. The style of each is transparent, but while Stevenson's is as hard as crystal Lang's is fluid like water; it flows, and sometimes it sings as it flows, like the beautiful brooks he longs to linger beside, changing with the sky and the rocks and the trees, but always limpid and delightful." Robert Louis Stevenson was a man of rare genius and of exquisite ideals, a worshiper of that which is perfect, with a firm, resolute, patient heroism to inflict on himself any measure of severity necessary to the utmost possible approach toward his lofty ideals. This makes our respect for him deep and tender.

Modern Greek Mastery. A Short Road to Ancient Greek. By THOMAS L. STEDMAN, A.M., M.D. 12mo, pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

It is well known that Dr. Schliemann, the famous explorer of buried cities, began his Greek studies by learning the language of modern Greece, and that when he had learned to speak and think in the speech of to-day he found little difficulty in mastering the speech of twenty-five centuries ago. Says the author of this book in his Preface: "Greek of our times has a closer relation to the language of these works [the ancient authors] than English and the other modern tongues of Europe have to their early classics. . . . Any unprejudiced student acquainted with classical Greek needs but to glance through a modern Greek newspaper to become convinced of the practical identity of the two forms of speech. Modern Greek is, as Geldart has so happily phrased it, simply ancient Greek made easy. The conjugation of the ancient Greek verb is shorn of its terrors to one who is already familiar with the simpler forms of the modern verb. And in that, if we except the slightly different arrangement of words in the sentence, and a vocabulary modified to meet the necessities of modern thought, lies practically the only difference between the language of Demosthenes or Herodotus and that of Coraës or Bikelas." Dr. Stedman proposes, then, to simplify the study of the ancient language by first studying the language of modern times, and to this end has prepared this text-book on modern Greek. Its plan is an eclectic one, combining the most prominent features of the natural method with those usually found in the ordinary *delectus*. The book deserves the candid consideration of all classical teachers. We notice, however, other differences besides those mentioned above by the author. The dative case has practically disappeared from the language as it is used in modern conversation. Many nouns originally in the third declension have been popularly transferred to the first or second. The form *elvai*, from being infinitive, has become third person indicative; and we cite it as an example of similar changes. Dr. Stedman's plan seems feasible, and has the support of some eminent authorities, probably of all who have seriously tried it. We quote one more sentence from the author's Preface: "It is difficult to understand how the latter [the New Testament] can be studied with profit by anyone ignorant of the modern idiom, so replete is it with nonclassical and even present-day phraseology."

The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets. By VIDA D. SCUDDER. 12mo, pp. 349. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The number of persons now alive who could have written this book is not large. It requires one in whom the life of the spirit is full and fresh and sensitive to appreciate and interpret the meaning and message of poetry in this fashion. An intellect and a soul not unequal to the task are at work in Miss Scudder's book. Her Introduction begins thus: "A great poetry has accompanied our century of swift development in thought and deed. Only within the last decade has it sunk into silence, with the death of Tennyson and Browning. Swinburne and Morris, our only sur-

viving poets, have nothing new to say; no younger men are rising to take the vacant places. So far as we can tell, the story of our modern English song is ended." Yet she does not doubt that the hush which has fallen upon us precedes a new creation. Remarking that the movement of modern song has been guided by great powers—science, democracy, and the power of the historic past—she passes from the Introduction on into her book with these words: "Let us study, then, the influence of science in all our poets; the new democracy, especially in Wordsworth; the early religious and social ideas, especially in Shelley; the power of the past in the poetry of reversion; the power of the present in the ironic art of Browning; the poetry of religious inquiry in its various phases; and finally the outlook of faith. So studying we shall come to feel that the poetry of our age has a vital unity, and witnesses to an advance of the spirit, straight as the logic of experience, from doubt to faith and cheer." We are loath to let this book pass with so brief a notice; but want of space compels us. Our quotations have given no idea of the quality of the book. We must add the lines from Browning's "Bishop Blougram's Apology," which the author quotes at the opening of her section on "The Faith of the Victorian Poets:"

> No, when the fight begins within himself,
> A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head,
> Satan looks up between his feet. Both tug;
> He's left, himself, in the middle. The soul wakes
> And grows. Prolong that battle through his life!

Mere Literature, and Other Essays. By WOODROW WILSON. 12mo, pp. 247. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Professor Wilson is one of the younger men whose presence in the faculty brings distinction to Princeton University, and whose books, lectures, magazine articles, and addresses are in wide and increasing demand. Perhaps no other reputation so recent as his is so strong. All the essays in this volume appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Century Magazine*, or the *Forum*, except that on Edmund Burke, entitled "The Interpreter of English Liberty." The other essays, besides the one which gives its title to the volume, are on "The Author Himself," "An Author's Choice of Company," "A Literary Politician," "The Truth of the Matter," "The Course of American History," and "A Calendar of Great Americans." The book will add to the interest and value of any library.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

History, Prophecy, and the Monuments; or, Israel and the Nations. By JAMES FREDERICK MCCURDY, Ph.D., LL.D. Vol. II. To the Fall of Nineveh. 8vo, pp. xxi and 433. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $3.

When the first volume of this work was published, in 1894, we believed that the title hardly described the exact character of the whole. The first volume was a history of Israel and, in a subordinate degree, of the nations which influenced or were influenced by God's people. In other words, the book was in a minor sense less than its title demanded, and in another and

better sense it was greater than its title promised. In this second volume we have as a second title the words, "Israel and the Nations," and this really is descriptive of the actual contents of the volume. In this case, as in many others, the book has grown in the author's hands, and what was once to be completed in two volumes will now require a third for its finishing. The first volume carried the story of Israel's life down to the fall of Samaria. It was a story well told, in the light of all the fresh learning of the past decade by the discoveries in Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt. In no other popular book was the history of Israel and of Israel's neighbors so well set forth. The story was, however, in so far defective that it gave almost exclusively the political, the external history of all these great peoples. This defect, if defect it was, is more than remedied in the second volume, which begins with Book VII, to which no less than two hundred and thirty-six pages are devoted. This book is entitled the "Inner Development of Israel," and the scope of its discussion is indicated in the titles of some of its chapters, such as "Elements and Character of Hebrew Society," "The Hebrews as Nomads and Semi-Nomads," "Society, Morals, and Religion." Under such titles as these Professor McCurdy writes rather as a sociologist than as an orientalist. Perhaps the very first thing that strikes the reader of Book VII is the curious list of books to which reference is had upon page after page. Here are Tylor's *Anthropology*, Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Hearn's *Aryan Household*, and others of similar classes. The use of these books as authorities or even as storehouses of illustration for the illumination of the inner development of Israel suggests at once a doubt as to whether the author had not fallen into the camp of theorists who have attempted to explain Semitic customs by Indo-European models. There are several places in the sprightly and highly colored text where this fault is apparent. But it would be a great injustice to imply that these places are numerous, or the fault flagrant. Professor McCurdy is too widely and deeply read in the earliest literature of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians to be easily given over to this learned madness. It is, however, just to say that he plainly does not know the Arab as well as he knows the Assyrian, or we should have found the references to Daughty more frequent than those to Hearn. The Arabic poets also would have furnished many a side-light upon early Semitic family and social ties. But these are small things. The great fact remains that an American scholar trained as an oriental philologist has in this Book VII given a clear, strong portrayal of all that inner development of Israel not explicitly connected with religion. And just here there was need, for almost all that is written of the people of Israel is concerned chiefly, if not wholly, with religion. He who reads of Israel in the literature of even this critical age might often ask if indeed Israel ever thought of common affairs, ever lived a social life similar to the other Semitic peoples of western Asia. It is fitting and proper that distinct emphasis should be laid upon Israel's religion in every portrayal of Israel's career, but it is well not to devote all of one's attention to this only. The student of

Israel who has studied Israel's history in these later days, and has heard of prophetism, and only that, may be safely urged to read Book VII of this second volume as a partial corrective of the biased point of view. After this discussion of the inner development Professor McCurdy returns to the external history. The narrative begins, where Volume I had ended, at the fall of Samaria, and continues to the fall of Nineveh. It is praise judiciously bestowed to say that this sketch of the history of Israel and her neighbors is for this period by far the best now existing in English. We cannot agree with Professor McCurdy in very many points. We believe, for example, that some of the translations of Assyrian texts are too free for accuracy, even where their rendering of the main trend of thought is unobjectionable (see Sennacherib's inscription, page 427). Again, we find ourselves unable to agree with sundry statements concerning the date of biblical books or passages. There is, for example, no easily found reason for locating the prophecies of Nahum as late as 610 B. C. Strack locates them "certainly" before 620 B. C., Cornill at 625, while König would place them at 650 B. C. This is a small matter, it is true, for even the date 610 B. C., late though it seems to us to be, is nevertheless violative of no important synchronisms in Israel's history. But laying aside these differences as to translations here and there, or dates of biblical books, or even of doubts of chronology, we are moved to recur heartily to praise of the entire book. It is all well done, creditable to cis-Atlantic scholarship, readable and eminently instructive. We shall await the third and concluding volume with impatience.

Constitutional History of the United States. From their Declaration of Independence to the Close of their Civil War. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. In two volumes. Vol. II. Edited by JOSEPH CULBERTSON CLAYTON. 8vo, pp. x, 780. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.

In 1854 Mr. Curtis published his *History of the Origin, Formation, and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States*, which, after a thorough revision, appeared thirty-five years later as the first volume of the present work. At the time of his death, nearly three years ago, he had prepared much of the manuscript for the second volume; and this is now published, practically in the shape in which he left it. Some of his proposed chapters, such as that on the "Impeachment of President Johnson," and others on matters growing out of the Civil War, were never written; others were not fully finished; but, says the editor, "the merit of the author will excuse the incompleteness of some of the chapters—thirteen of them are complete as far as they go; in two or three some announced topics were not reached when the manuscript abruptly ended." Even in its partially unfinished state the work is a contribution of great value to our political and constitutional history. It is the work of a ripe, clear, and singularly unprejudiced mind; a mind in which facts and details, almost of their own accord, fell into appropriate and regulated order; a mind where the white light of reason and of truth dissipated all passion and irrational partisanship. Mr. Curtis was a constitutional lawyer of the first rank, and his work is the result of profound

legal learning, of unusual familiarity with great affairs, of conscientious diligence and unquestioned competency. It is not a chronological history. He discusses the great fundamental ideas and the formative and crucial events of our national life, arranging them in a topical order. Some of the topics discussed are, the nature of the Constitution—a history of opinion regarding it; the Constitution in operation and the first measures found necessary to its proper working; the power of amendment; the first revenue law, and economic and financial policies; extension of territory and nature of the Union; the question of slavery; causes and effects of the Civil War; reconstruction; negro suffrage; the presidential election of 1876; and the Electoral Commission. These are the great questions which have riven the nation into contending parties, and underlie all our political development; and it is profitable for instruction to have them treated by so acknowledged an authority. Not the least interesting feature of the book is the large number of public documents inserted. On pp. 47, 48 is the text of South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession. An Appendix of over three hundred pages contains such papers as these: Declaration of Independence; Articles of Confederation; the Constitution, with a comprehensive digest of judicial decisions interpreting its several sections; the text of the great slavery compromises; the tariff act of 1789 in full; the text of the provisional and final Constitutions of the Confederate States; the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, and the supplementary act of March 23; and various presidential proclamations. The work does not need our commendation. Its own intrinsic merit will cause it to live.

The Letters of Victor Hugo: To his Family, to Sainte-Beuve, and Others. Edited by PAUL MEURICE. 8vo, pp. 277. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $3.

There is no reason for extended notice of a very disappointing book. One wonders that such letters as many of these were counted worth the trouble of translation and publication. They diminish the fame of their author, and they vex the reader who comes to them with expectations inspired by and proportioned to the brilliant genius of Victor Hugo. However, as the letters of this volume come down only to 1845, our disappointment takes refuge in the hope that later periods may give us in the next volume letters more commensurate with the great Frenchman's fame. The letters to his father and mother, his wife and his children, are full of affection, expressed in a Frenchy way with great exuberance of language, incessant iteration, and kisses thick as autumn leaves in Vallombrosa. Those to Sainte-Beuve show a great and patient loyalty of heart in Victor Hugo, albeit he is hysterical at times, but give us vague glimpses of unpleasant chapters in the history of their friendship, which seems to have been nursed along with difficulty and sometimes under some heavy strain, Victor Hugo being nobly determined to save it if possible. It is a pity some of these letters did not see the light once for all in the kitchen fire, rather than for all time on the printed page. *Cui bono?* A peep at Hugo in his early years of struggle is in the following sentences. In 1830 he writes: "Born to fortune under the empire, both empire and fortune have failed

me. At the age of twenty I found myself a married man, a father of a family, with no resource but my labor, and living from hand to mouth like a workman, while Ferdinand VII had sequestrated and was spending my property." Forced by poverty to be at his desk by five o'clock in the morning, he frequently breaks under the strain: "Hardly had you left when that wretched internal inflammation which you know I suffer from begins, ascends into my head, and settles in my eyes. So there I am, blind; shut up for whole days in my study, with blinds down, shutters fastened, doors closed, unable to work or read or write." This he writes in 1828 to a friend in England about Westminster Abbey: "I am distressed at what you say about the *restorations* at Westminster. The English have a mania for combining the *fashionable* with the Gothic." Here are characteristic sentiments: "The greatest happiness on earth is to help a friend; the next greatest is to be helped by him." "Thinking of an absent friend is one of the most solemn and tranquillizing pleasures of life." Apropos of which we note in passing that the definition of "friend" which took the prize lately offered by a London paper is this: "The first person who comes in when the whole world has gone out." This is the way Victor Hugo in 1822 makes an important announcement to the Abbé De Lamennais: "I am about to be happy. I am going to be married. I wish you were in Paris to make the acquaintance of the angel who is about to convert all my dreams of virtue and bliss into reality. I have not ventured to speak to you before now of what absorbs my existence. I was afraid of shocking your lofty austerity by the avowal of an uncontrollable passion, although a pure and innocent one. But now that everything conspires to bestow on me a happiness after my own heart I do not doubt all your tender feelings will be interested in an attachment as old as myself, born in early childhood and fastened by the first affliction of youth." Our last impression of the volume as we close it is better than our first, received from its earlier pages.

History of the German Struggle for Liberty. By POULTNEY BIGELOW, B.A. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 250, 263. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $5.

The author in his Preface says: "These pages go to the printer at a moment when Germany is celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the great war which culminated in a German empire, manhood suffrage, and a free parliament. These were the ideals of the patriots who roused the German nation against the tyranny of Napoleon, and for these their descendants cheerfully became rebels in the stormy days of 1848. It has been my purpose to tell in simple language the story of this struggle—a story addressed to people of English speech and tradition, who believe that the strength of government is in the vigor and virtue of the individual citizen." The history begins at the execution, by order of Napoleon, of John Palm, the bookseller. Then comes a rehearsal of the causes which in twenty years destroyed the power of the army of Frederick the Great; then the story of the battle of Jena. The author exposes the utter incompetence of Frederick William III, explains the part Queen Luise played in rousing a national feeling in the Prussian people,

gives the history of the defense of Colberg and of the work of Gneisenau Nettelbeck, Schill, and Scharnhorst in creating a new army out of th people, shows the effect on Germany of the revolt against Napoleon und Andreas Hofer, describes the first Prussian parliament and its work, e plains the effect on the people of the Gymnasia founded by Jahn, and th first volume ends with the founding of the Iron Cross. The secon volume brings the history down to the unsatisfactory peace of 181 of which Gneisenau at once said: "This peace is no more than a truc Nothing is settled except Napoleon. The *national* matter between Ge many and France is not yet fought out, and we shall return on more upon the field of battle." Old Blücher also wrote a little late "God knows if there is to be another quarrel soon again; but don't like the looks of things. Our opportunities were not properly use in Paris; France is already doing a great deal of bragging; her win should have been better trimmed." The war had to be fought over agai in part upon the field of Waterloo, and later in our time about the wal of Metz and Sedan, when the French received a lesson which would ha satisfied even Blücher. William I, in 1871, received upon his head th well-earned imperial crown and realized for the German people their lon cherished dream of a great German empire. He, with his son, "Uns Fritz," known now as Frederick the Noble, "completed the work Stein, of Blücher, of Scharnhorst, of Gneisenau, reaping at last wh was sown in the sorrowful years between Jena and Waterloo." The volumes are fully illustrated and indexed, and issued in the style of perfe workmanship for which the name of Harper & Brothers is a guarantee.

Chapters from a Life. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 279. Bo ton and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author of twenty-five previous books, running through thirty yea of authorship, adds this to her entertaining and ennobling list. A gift and gracious woman, intellectually and religiously high-born, writes one familiar with life's great problems, aware of the dignity and signi cance of existence, experienced in things deep and high. The daught of Austin Phelps, the great Andover professor, whose published volum are a unique treasure to ministers, she inherits genius and nobility soul. The reader beginning this book will go through it to the en It is her own life, with its relationships, experiences, and environmen that furnishes these chapters, which give inside views of Andover hom life and school-life, and tell of war time, and the fall of the Pembert mill, and *Gates Ajar*, and Mrs. Stowe, and James T. Fields, and Lon fellow, and Whittier, and Holmes, and Celia Thaxter, and Lucy Larco and Lydia Maria Child, and Phillips Brooks, and Edward R. Sill, a many other people and events and places. No home or heart could he being bettered by the presence in it of the writings of Elizabeth Stua Phelps. Hardly any work of fiction to-day is having a larger sale th her book entitled *A Singular Life*, which she herself seems to value mc than her others. The public not only acquits but thanks her for all th she tells about herself in these Chapters from a Life.

Alone in China, and Other Stories. By JULIAN RALPH. 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $2.

The author, who had previously written eyewitness descriptions of our great West, our great South, the Canada borders, and the Chicago World's Fair, now gives us life in China in his peculiarly picturesque and brilliant manner. One third of the book is occupied with an account of his trip in a house-boat on the great rivers and canals of Central China. In the rest of the volume the author has woven together his experiences and observations of characters and customs in a series of ingenious romances. The story of "The Boss of Ling-foo" exhibits the rottenness existing in the Chinese system of government. Many lifelike glimpses of the Flowery Kingdom are given, especially in the descriptions of the garden of China, the captain of the house-boat, the cook on the house-boat, Chinese girls, a kickaway boat, the cormorant fishermen, Chinese women, a curio shop, a mandarin's house-boat, and a mandarin's court. The book is finely and generously illustrated. The stories are entitled "Plumblossom Bèebe's Adventures," "The Story of Miss Pi," "Little Fairy's Constancy," "The Love Letters of Superfine Gold."

Literary Landmarks of Jerusalem. By LAURENCE HUTTON. 12mo, pp. 74. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The well-known essayist and author, who has written in larger books of the literary landmarks of London and Edinburgh, renders a service to tourists in this thin little directory to the chief landmarks of Jerusalem. It is purposely made small enough to go easily into one's pocket. The author, when visiting Jerusalem, felt the want of a small book which would tell him on the spot exactly what he wanted to know, and he here endeavors to supply that want for others. It is illustrated with photographs of the principal landmarks. The book begins thus: "Those who go to Jerusalem with faith are likely to have their faith strengthened; those who go to Jerusalem without faith are apt to bring something very like faith away. The Christian Messiah, to the ordinary mind the world over, is an idea, a myth, a sentiment, or a religion. In Jerusalem he becomes a reality."

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Ship's Company, and Other Sea People. By J. D. JERROLD KELLEY, Lieutenant-Commander, U. S. N. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 222. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $2.50.

"The Ship's Company," "The Squadron Cruise," "Midshipmen Old and New," "Superstitions of the Sailor," "The Basket of the Sea," "The Rigor of the Game," "The Spirit of Libogen," and "Queer Pets of Sailor Jack"—these are the chapter headings under which much knowledge is given in a lifelike way of those who go down to the sea in ships. The book is profusely illustrated with actual scenes of ship life on the great Atlantic liners, on yachts, and on men-of-war. This naval officer, writing of the island of Tahiti, refers as follows to the early missionaries and their work: "The first missionaries were, as a rule, men of humble origin,

who could handle the jackplane and the hammer more deftly than the in tricacies of the moral law. It was a time when the new regions coming to man's knowledge were opening fields for an extension of the charit and humanity of the world's greatest religion. It was a season whe many earnest but untrained men felt compelled to quit the guilds wherei they were adepts for the higher mission of teaching the heathen; to leav work in which they were skilled for more difficult labor to which the brought no other qualities than honest hearts, sound bodies, and grea intentions. Men of this class, stirred to their hearts by the bidding o the gentle Master, were apt from biased thought and half-awakened per ceptions to behold a mission, and perhaps deluded by their wordy gift o 'wagging a pow i' the pulpit' to believe themselves foreordained to con vert the heathen. The fallow field was waiting, and often the missionar societies demanded little more than fixed religious principles, zeal, and ready obedience. Burning with noble desire, these early missionaries sacri ficed much for their work, and after trials and hardships—for ships wer slow and voyages long—reached a land where everything was new and crud and amorphous. They found a race just startled from the dream that th arch spanning their horizon was the only world, that they were the onl people, and that beyond them and theirs was nothing. This people, pla tic for the molding, saw in the white man, with his superior intelligenc as manifested in material things, a sort of demigod, linked to their islan and its gods by scarce-remembered traditions and dimly shadowed in pr dictions which had come from all time with the softened angles and blurre faces folklore acquires in rolling toward us." After saying that intell gent men long resident in Polynesia differ in opinion as the amount of goo accomplished under "the stern paternalism of the early missionary rule, Commander Kelley writes that it is certain that in many ways the nativ were taught to lead better and purer lives; chastity was preached an modesty inculcated; marriage ties were made firmer and divorce more di ficult; and in various directions the heathen mind was turned from cu toms sanctioned more by their ignorance and the example of their for fathers than by the rules of right and wrong. Sacrifices were abolishe polygamy was forbidden, and woman raised to a higher place in the d mestic scale. The natives learned honesty, built better houses, attende to drainage, and gave up a slavish dependence upon multitudinous god These were some of the results of the labors of humble missionaries, vi ible even to the passing voyager, ashore for a few hours while his ship w at anchor. The book is informing and enlivening, full of a vivid variet and issued in handsome form.

Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York. (1816 to 1860.) By CHARL H. HASWELL. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 561. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, clot ornamental, $3.

For those who would know about old New York, its buildings, its cu toms, its men, and its notable events, this book is said to be a ver treasure house of interesting facts. It is not a history, but a book brief contemporary comments, as of a citizen who kept a journal of th

days, illuminated by various reminiscences. The author deplores the lack of civic pride shown by the inhabitants of the city of New York, remarking, by way of contrast, that "smaller cities of the New World have wisely cherished their inheritance from a fruitful past and communicated it to successive generations;" and he cites Boston as a city properly proud of its history, traditions, and influence, and cherishing them all. He wishes to assist in the preservation of the history of his own dear city, in which through so long a life he dwelt in peace. We cannot quote, except a few lines about the administration of James Harper, who was mayor of New York city in 1844 and 1845: "Mayor Harper signalized his administration by active service in the improvement of Madison Square and in improving the organization of the Police Department. His administration partook of the purity of those of his early predecessors in the office. . . . The police officers were few in number, without effective organization, and ununiformed. Mr. Harper . . . proceeded to remedy this, and succeeded in effecting an organization that became initiatory to the present one. He also succeeded, despite opposition, in establishing a uniform for the members of the force."

Pioneers of Science in America. Reprinted from *Popular Science Monthly*, and edited by W. J. YOUMANS. Crown 8vo, pp. 500. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

During recent decades America has been developing scientists quite rapidly, and at the present time American science is beginning to stand on a par with that of any other country. It is hardly to be expected that our early years could have seen large scientific attainment or contributed much to the world's scientific knowledge. This would scarcely be looked for in a new nation, subduing a wild continent and settling its political status. In reading through this work one receives a very favorable impression of American science, and is perhaps surprised that this country has been able to accomplish so much in the fields of science. The book includes fifty honorable and goodly names. Not all of the fifty have attained a world-wide reputation, nor do we find among them men who, like Newton, have revolutionized scientific thought. But here are not a few names that may well make us proud of America. We find here Franklin, Audubon, Wilson, Silliman, Morse, Hitchcock, Dana, Torrey, Henry, Ericcson, Agassiz, and many others, and cannot but take pride in the fact that America has contributed so much to the scientific knowledge of the world. This list of fifty includes students in all departments of science. The sketches of their life and work are brief but interesting. One cannot do better than to go to the pages of this publication if he desires to learn of the activity of the American mind in the early decades of our history. Whoever enjoys the study of biography or takes an interest in America will find here many a fact of interest, and cannot fail to become impressed with the intellectual vigor of American students. Our country has reason to be proud of her pioneers in science, and if her future shall show as large a proportionate array of men of world-wide attainments American science will hold rank with that of any other nation in the world.

Famous Givers and Their Gifts. By SARAH KNOWLES BOLTON. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Mrs. Bolton is the author of a famous lot of books about poor boys and girls who became famous, *Famous American Authors*, *Famous American Statesmen*, *Famous Men of Science*, *Famous European Artists*, *Famous Types of Womanhood*, *Famous English Authors*, *Famous Voyagers*, and so on through nearly all the ranks of fame. This volume tells about "Stephen Girard and His College for Orphans;" "Andrew Carnegie and His Library;" "Charles Pratt and His Institute;" "Thomas Guy and His Hospital;" "Sophia Smith and Her College for Women;" "James Lick and His Telescope;" "Leland Stanford and His University;" "James Smithson and the Smithsonian Institute;" and the various notable charities and benefactions of John Lowell, Jr., Thomas Holloway, Captain Thomas Coram, Henry Shaw, Lenox, Astor, Newberry, Crerar, Reynolds, Frederick H. Rindge, A. J. Drexel, Philip D. Armour, Leonard Case, Asa Packer, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Baron De Hirsch, Isaac Rich, D. B. Fayerweather, Catharine L. Wolfe, Mary Elizabeth Garrett, John F. Slater, Daniel Hand, W. W. Corcoran, John D. Rockefeller, and others. We wonder that Peter Cooper is not in the list.

Talks on Writing English. By ARLO BATES. Crown 8vo, pp. 322. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These talks were given to advanced classes in English composition. The author endeavored to make them as practical as possible, putting into them the things which he thinks would have been helpful to him as a writer had they been taught him twenty years ago. The lectures are as entertaining as they are practical. They treat of "The Art of Writing," "Methods of Study," "Principles of Structure," "Details of Diction," "Principles of Quality," "Means and Effects," "Classification," "Exposition," "Argument," "Description," "Narration," "Character and Purpose," "Translation," "Criticism," "Style," and more besides. The book is critical, capable, and wise, valuable to young and even to more experienced writers, worthy of commendation to students and teachers of English composition.

Gray Days and Gold, in England and Scotland. By WILLIAM WINTER. Crown 8vo, pp. 323. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is a new and revised edition, profusely and beautifully illustrated. The book "relates to the gray days of an American wanderer in the British Islands, and to the gold of thought and fancy that can be found there." The author hopes that his volume may contribute something to the refinement of civilization in America, and says: "The supreme need of this age in America is a practical conviction that progress does not consist in material prosperity but in spiritual advancement." Mr. Winter is a devotee of the beautiful in nature, literature, architecture, and art in general, as will be seen in these twenty-four chapters about "Classic Shrines of England," "Haunted Glens and Houses," "The Haunts of Moore," "The Land of Wordsworth," "Historic Nooks of Warwickshire," "Up and Down the Avon," "Into the Highlands," "High-

land Beauties," "The Heart of Scotland," "The Land of Marmion," and many other places. The book is finely reproduced in this edition. We chanced to open first to the pictures of Matthew Arnold and of All Saints ivy-covered church at Laleham, and of the grave in the churchyard where he sleeps with his children underneath the words, "There is sprung up a light for the righteous and joyful gladness for such as are true-hearted."

Katharine's Experiment. By FELICIA BUTTZ CLARK. 12mo, pp. 279. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

It is not strange that a woman born among books, living with piles of them around her "upstairs, and downstairs, and in my lady's chamber," hearing them talked about always as among the most important things in life, the daughter of Dr. Henry A. Buttz of Drew Seminary, at Madison, N. J., and the wife of Professor N. W. Clark, of our Italian Theological School, at Rome, should herself turn out to be a bookmaker; nor that she should know how to make a good one. It is the story of an American girl who goes to study music in Germany for a year on a prize she has won; a capital book for homes, especially for the girls in them. Its entertaining pages make for all that is pure and sweet and strong in character. One critic "regrets when it is all over that the young German baron doesn't go back to America with Katharine, or for her." How does the critic know he doesn't go? We incline to think he goes; he becomes a Christian and she marries him. Mrs. Clark's book, like some good sermons, stops just when everybody wants it to go on. The last thing she tells us is that as the train moved out of the Frankfort station there was in Katharine's mind a picture of a handsome, glowing face; in her hands a cluster of fragrant roses; and in her ears an echo of "*Aufwiedersehen.*" Yes, the baron's farewell was, "A pleasant summer to you! AUFWIEDERSEHEN!" We think his adieu had a purpose in it as well as a wish, and we advise the critic to write to Mrs. Clark and learn where the Baroness Katharine von Bernstein now resides.

Legends of the Virgin and Christ. By H. A. GUERBER. 12mo, pp. 277. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

The legends chosen are those most referred to in literature and art. Art galleries in all lands are full of pictures of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Middle Age legends are the basis of many of those pictures. A knowledge of the legends is necessary to a comprehension of the artist's idea. The mother and her divine Babe have made for centuries a favorite theme for artists many and great; and still the sacred subject fascinates the men of palette and brush who are now alive and at work. The numerous illustrations which adorn the book are copies of pictures by such masters as Guido Reni, Raphael, Murillo, Van Dyck, Hoffman, Holman Hunt, Titian, Mignard, and Müller. The stories relate to the youth of the Virgin, the annunciation, the nativity, the flight, the sojourn in Egypt, boyhood of Christ, ministry of Christ, passion week, the crucifixion, Christ's death, burial, and resurrection, the descent into Hades, the Virgin's assumption and coronation, the mother and Son in art.

The book reminds one of Mrs. Jameson's writings on similar subjects; but Miss Guerber gives us the legends succinctly and gracefully.

Impressions and Experiences. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 283. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

This is the latest in book form from the author of *The Quality of Mercy*, *A Traveler from Altruria*, *The World of Chance*, *The Day of their Wedding*, *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, and near a score of other works. The essays number eight, and are on "The Country Printer;" "Police Report;" "I Talk of Dreams;" "An Eastside Ramble;" "Tribulations of a Cheerful Giver;" "The Closing of the Hotel;" "Glimpses of Central Park;" "New York Streets." To say that this book is by Howells is to describe it sufficiently to those familiar with his extraordinary ability to make the ordinary and the familiar extraordinarily interesting. It is the realism of everyday contemporary life.

The Mystery of Sleep. By JOHN BIGELOW. 12mo, pp. 139. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, deckel edges, gilt top, $1.50. (In a box.)

Spending one third of our lives in sleep, this study of sleep in eight chapters is more than interesting. That it is not undertaken with a frivolous purpose is indicated in Mr. Bigelow's own words: "What I have aimed to do is, first, to unsettle, if not dispel, the popular delusion that sleep is merely a state of rest, of practical inertia of soul and body, or, at most, a periodical provision for the reparation of physical waste, in the sense that a well exhausted during the day fills up in the hours of the night. Second, to set forth some of my reasons for the conviction that no part of our lives is consecrated to nobler or more important uses than that usually spent in sleep; none which contributes more, if so much, to differentiate us from the beasts that perish; that we are developed spiritually during our waking hours; and finally, that it is as much the part of wisdom to order our lives so as to avoid everything apt to interfere with or impair either the quality or quantity of our sleep, as in our waking hours it is to avoid whatever tends to interfere with the growth or the health or perfection of our bodies."

J. Cole. By EMMA GELLIBRAND. 8vo, 86 pp. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

"J. Cole" is the diminutive page of a wealthy English lady; an honest, outspoken, brave, clever, faithful little fellow who is not a bit like, and yet recalls, Dickens's "Tiny Tim." It is just now being passed from house to house and from hand to hand by all who read it, as *Fishin' Jimmy* was a few years ago. It is good for young and old, for holidays, birthdays, or any other days.

A Story of the Heavenly Camp Fires. By One with a New Name. 16mo, pp. 218. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is a book which will interest those who incline to speculations on the future life. Whether it will distinctly profit them is another matter. The author writes as a "newcomer" in the heavenly regions, and relates supposed experiences of the redeemed.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1897.

ART. I.—THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN ITS RELATION TO THEOLOGY.

As we read the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles it seems to us strange that, when the Church was born, the first sermon needed to begin by repelling the charge that the assembled Christians were drunk with wine. Yet no discourse can be more closely logical than Peter's, which immediately followed. Scripture and reasoning are closely linked together to make a proof which no force of prejudice can break. While Peter preaches his rational faculties are in their highest exercise. While under the power of the Spirit his self-poise is not disturbed, and, though intensely earnest, he is perfectly himself. He affirms that the sign of the reign of the Messiah was to be the bestowal of the prophetic gift on all classes of mankind. The sons, the daughters, the young men, the old men, the bondmen and bondwomen should all alike receive the gift of God. Whatever we may define the gift of prophecy to be, it is for all men; whatever the gift of the Spirit may be, none are in the purpose of God excluded from its possession. Whatever else it may do, it brings man into direct fellowship with God. Interpreting Joel's prophecy by the effects which followed that Pentecostal day, we may say that the divine gift assured those who believed, of God's fatherhood, of their redemption in Christ, and of their fellowship in love with all who like themselves believed on him. "And day by day, continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and

singleness of heart, praising God, and having favor with all the people."

That this lovely vision of the scope and power of the Gospel has been clouded, over and over again, in the past ages of the Church, everyone who has read the Church's history well knows. Yet it comes back to us not only with its ancient beauty, but with something of its original quickening force. The Gospel which to so many is a dead letter becomes again a life. A new apprehension of the realness of Christianity possesses the minds of the bearers of its message. The two worlds, usually so far apart in our efforts to conceive them, come near together; they who call upon God have an assured conviction that he does hear prayer; the power of the unseen once more gains ascendency over the conscience; and, though the outer world may pass on as before, with the busy men in it, as busy men are always in it, yet it is controlled by another spirit. Men ask as never before, "Who is my neighbor? And what do I owe to him?" Life after a divine pattern is to thousands a hope, and to some a realization. The world feels that powerful influences have come into its life, and in a confused way tries to make clear to itself what they are. The ancient mockery, too, repeats itself, "These men are full of new wine." They are fools, idiots, madmen, but, as always, "Wisdom is justified of her children."

We cannot say that world-wide visitations of the power of the divine come to us often, but we will all agree that the evangelical revival which began in the last century, and of which we are the children, was one of these. But, though we are the children of that revival, it seems to us that we do not usually see the fact in its breadth or discover the full force of its effects. One of the reasons of our failure of discernment is the habit we Methodists have of appropriating the revival as our own, and of speaking and acting as if it were our own special possession. It is no more ours than the Spirit, its heavenly force, is ours. In fact, it is world-wide; and, if we are faithful to its lessons, its effects in the century to come may be as great as they have been in the century past. It may yet add to its work in philanthropy the reconstruction of theology, the reorganization of Church polity, and the entire method of contemplating Christianity itself. If so, it will be felt in all the-

ologies, creeds, Churches, and social conditions of men. Let us, then, in order to prove this broad proposition, sketch the history and nature of the movement.

We will not tarry to dwell on its philanthropic history. This is "known and read of all men." The interest in the welfare of the poor which distinguishes our age; the revival of Christian missions; the abolition of the slave trade by England followed by the abolition of slavery in the English colonies, and that followed by the abolition of slavery throughout the Christian world; the reforms of prison management and discipline; the efforts made everywhere to help the helpless, originated in or have been stimulated by the evangelical revival of which we speak. It has created a century unlike any other in history, and has given both new meaning and new emphasis to the term "humanity." For a time, under the appeals of Wilberforce and Hannah More, it changed for the better the manners of the nominal Christians among the titled and ruling classes of English society. On these facts we shall not dwell. Taken together they make a history of self-sacrifice and devotion to human welfare paralleled only by the missionary labors of the Middle Ages and the apostolic days. We prefer to dwell on features little noticed, and will select two: (1) It created a new conception of subjective Christianity; and (2) It established a new ground of conviction of the truth of Christianity. By both of these it increased the practical power of Christianity many fold.

1. It created a new conception of subjective Christianity. We emphasize the word "subjective," for the evangelical revival accepted cordially the objective truths of our faith. It was not a dogmatic revival. Nor did it in the precise sense create the first apprehension of the truths with which it busied itself. It did, however, create them anew for that age. They were the truths which Luther had found in the New Testament Scriptures, but which afterward had been wholly lost. The proclamation of these truths grated upon the ears of the men—the Christians—of the eighteenth century. Hunt tells us, in his *History of Religious Thought in England*, that the Holy Spirit was believed by some Church of England men to have been in the world in the apostolic age, but after that to have practically quitted it; others, that the Spirit dwells in the Bible as the source of inspiration; others, in the sacraments of the Church,

without explaining clearly in what mode. Warburton, t greatest scholar among the bishops, in his treatise on *The D trine of Grace*, maintained that miraculous gifts were necess for the establishment of Christianity, "but that the operatic of the Spirit ceased with the apostolic age." "Without the g of tongues," he writes, "and the power to work miracles, t heathen would never have been converted. But, when t canon of Scripture was complete, the office of the Spirit was part transferred to the rule of faith. It may not be possible fix the time when the miraculous operations of the Spirit cease but to talk of the Spirit being in the world now, and mirac lously changing men's hearts, is pure fanaticism."* It w however, admitted that the Spirit occasionally assisted t faithful. But his constant abode and supreme illuminati was in the Scriptures.- Of the same purport is the conver tion between John Wesley and Bishop Butler. "Sir," sa the bishop, "what do you mean by faith?" "My lord," W ley answered, "by justifying faith I mean a conviction wroug in a man by the Holy Ghost, that Christ hath loved him a given himself for him, and that through Christ his sins are f given." The bishop said that some good men might have th kind of faith, but not all Christians. "Mr. Wesley," said Bu ler, "making short of the matter, I once thought you and M Whitefield well-meaning men, but I cannot think so no Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelation and gifts of tl Holy Ghost is a horrid thing, a very horrid thing." †

If England held that day within her borders two better me than Joseph Butler and John Wesley we have never hea them named; and yet how far apart in their beliefs! Barrin ton, Bishop of Durham in that century, wrote a treatise c *The Teaching and Witness of the Holy Spirit.* He clain that the witness of the Spirit was given only for the purpose miraculously establishing Christianity in its first age. In son sense he believes the Spirit to operate in every age, but he ca not tell how, and curtly dismisses this branch of his subject. At this point the great divines of the English Church we agreed with the deists, for Bolingbroke considered it to b blasphemy to suppose that man partakes in the divine natur

* Hunt, *History of Religious Thought in England*, vol. iii, p. 279.
† *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 289. ‡ Quoted by Overton, vol. i, p. 550.

and that God breathes upon our spirits.* And so, for that matter, did the English bishops.

One need not go far to find the causes of this limited view of Christianity. It was the age of the rational. England had been convulsed by two political revolutions. Of these, the first, the great rebellion, had aimed at a more complete reformation in religion. It had ended in the overthrow of the monarchy and of the established Church. The fervid energy of the Puritan was not satisfied with less than the reconstitution of civil society according to his ideal. His zeal was less the zeal of Paul than the zeal of Joshua. The restoration of the Stuarts had been followed by the futile attempts of one of them, James II, to bring in the Roman Catholic faith again. If Puritans overthrew the monarchy, Church of England men overthrew the dynasty and changed the succession to the crown. Thus, moving from Calvin almost to Rome, and from the edge of Rome to a middle position, the English people craved rest. The thought most present to them was the danger of strong emotion on any subject. The reasonableness of the Christian religion was the only aspect of it tolerated. To abjure enthusiasm was the duty of every man. And, under the limited view of the reasonableness of Christianity and of the danger of any claim of a direct communication between God and the human spirit, the English nation sank down into brutality. The pulpit became ineffective, and deists mocked the Gospel of Christ as being no better than their own.

Against this conception of Christianity as being coldly rational John Wesley proclaimed the truth of the day of Pentecost. Religion is a divine life in the human soul; man does have fellowship with God through the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit does renew man in the likeness of Christ, and attests the fact of the renewal by a divine witness. Man is not dependent on a priestly body for his access to Christ or his fellowship with Christ. He may go himself to God for the pardon of his sins, and may have the witness of that pardon within. For faith freely justifies and brings man into peace with God. This was the enthusiasm against which the age protested, but it was scriptural; it was a new type of subjective religion for the English-speaking world.

* Overton, vol. 1, p. 552.

2. The evangelical revival which we here discuss established a new ground of conviction of the truth of Christianity. The age was the age of the evidence writers, and a mighty defense of Christianity they made. Lardner, Butler, Paley—what immortal names! But with all their labors England remained as irreligious as ever. Butler's confession of the state of the nation at the time of the publication of the *Analogy* has often been quoted: "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." Observe his language, "discovered to be fictitious"—all confidence in the truth of Christianity gone. Here are the foremost men laboring with the resources of a great learning to convince, yet the English people were left just as they had been. The reasonableness of Christianity, the historical truth of Christianity, the harmony of Christianity with the constitution and course of nature, all shown, and yet no reform. How could there be reform? Paley had declared that the object of the advent of Christ was to give mankind a more convincing proof of immortality; for him this was the whole of the Christian religion. The most important faculties of our nature on its Godward side were left untouched.

Wesley boldly asserted that Christianity shines by its own light, and witnesses to its truth in the soul of everyone who believes. The effect of this proclamation was instantaneous. Says Overton: "The arguments both of deists and evidence-writers rapidly became obsolete, when it was felt that both one and the other had omitted from their reasonings faculties which might prove to be the most important of which human nature is capable, but which had been contemptuously given over to the speculations of so-called mystics and enthusiasts."* Lecky speaks of the theology of the time as "the cold, passionless theology of the eighteenth century"—a theology which regarded Christianity as an admirable auxiliary to the police force and a principle of decorum and cohesion in society, but which carefully banished from it all enthusiasm; veiled or attenuated all its mysteries; and virtually reduced it to an authoritative system of moral philosophy.† When Conyers Middle-

* Abbey and Overton, vol. i. p. 606.
† *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i. p. 167.

ton published his *Introductory Discourse*, he in fact unsettled the evidence of all Christian miracles. John Wesley perceived its bearing and opened his reply to Middleton thus: "In your late *Inquiry* you endeavor to prove, first, that there were no miracles wrought in the primitive Church; secondly, that all the primitive fathers were fools or knaves, and most of them both one and the other. And it is easy to observe the whole tenor of your argument tends to prove, thirdly, that no miracles were wrought by Christ or his apostles; and, fourthly, that those, too, were fools or knaves, or both." Here was a trying situation for the apologists for Christianity. Either the fathers of the postapostolic period were credulous simpletons, who believed all the stories of miracles wrought in their day, or they helped to maintain a pious fraud. In his reply to Middleton, Wesley brought forward what he conceived to be the convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity, namely, the witness which Christianity gives of itself in the soul of everyone who trusts in Christ for redemption. He then adds:

> And this I conceive to be the strongest evidence of the truth of Christianity. I do not undervalue traditional evidence. Let it have its place and its due honor. It is highly serviceable in its kind and in its degree. And yet I cannot set it on a level with this.
>
> It is generally supposed that traditional evidence is weakened by length of time, as it must necessarily pass through so many hands, in a continued succession of ages. But no length of time can possibly affect the strength of this internal evidence. It is equally strong, equally new, through the course of seventeen hundred years. It passes now, even as it has done from the beginning, directly from God into the believing soul. . . .
>
> Traditional evidence is of an extremely complicated nature, necessarily including so many and so various considerations that only men of a strong and clear understanding can be sensible of its full force. On the contrary, how plain and simple is this! And how level to the lowest capacity! Is not this the sum, "One thing I know: I was blind, but now I see?" An argument so plain that a peasant, a woman, a child, may feel all its force.
>
> The traditional evidence of Christianity stands as it were a great way off; and, therefore, although it speaks loud and clear, yet makes a less lively impression. It gives us an account of what was transacted long ago, in far distant times as well as places; whereas, the inward evidence is intimately present to all persons, at all times, and in all places. "It is nigh thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, if thou believest in the Lord Jesus Christ." This, then, is the record, this is the evidence,

emphatically so called, "that God hath given to us eternal life; and th life is in his Son."

If, then, it were possible (which I conceive it is not) to shake the tr ditional evidence of Christianity, still he that has the internal evidenc (and every true believer hath the witness or evidence in himself) woul stand firm and unshaken. Still he could say to those who were strikin at the external evidence, "Beat on the sack of Anaxagoras." But yo can no more hurt *my* evidence of Christianity than the tyrant could hu the spirit of that wise man.

I have sometimes been almost inclined to believe that the wisdom God has, in most later ages, permitted the external evidence of Chri tianity to be more or less clogged and encumbered for this very end, th men (of reflection especially) might not altogether rest there, but be co strained to look into themselves also, and attend to the light shining i their hearts.

Nay, it seems (if it be allowed for us to pry so far into the reasons the divine dispensations) that, particularly in this age, God suffers a kinds of objections to be raised against the traditional evidence of Chri tianity, that men of understanding, though unwilling to give it up, ye at the same time they defend this evidence, may not rest the whol strength of their cause thereon, but seek a deeper and firmer suppo for it.

Without this I cannot but doubt whether they can long maintain the cause; whether, if they do not obey the loud call of God, and lay f more stress than they have hitherto done on this internal evidence Christianity, they will not, one after another, give up the external an (in heart at least) go over to those whom they are now contending witl so that, in a century or two, the people of England will be fairly divide into real deists and real Christians. And I apprehend this would be n loss at all, but rather an advantage to the Christian cause; nay, perha it would be the speediest, yea, the only effectual way of bringing all re sonable deists to be Christians.

May I be permitted to speak freely? May I, without offense, ask you that are called Christians, what real loss would you sustain in givin up your present opinion, that the Christian system is of God? . . . Do not the main of your Christianity lie in your opinions? Decked with few outward observances? For, as to morality, even honest heathen m rality (O, let me utter a melancholy truth), many of those whom yc style deists, there is reason to fear, have far more of it than you.

Go on, gentlemen, and prosper. Shame these nominal Christians o of that poor superstition which they call Christianity. Reason, rall laugh them out of their dead, empty forms, void of spirit, of faith, love. Convince them that such mean pageantry . . . is absolutely u worthy, you need not say of God, but even of any man that is endue with common understanding. Show them that, while they are endeavo ing to please God thus, they are only beating the air. Know your tim press on; push your victories till you have conquered all that know n

God. And then he, whom neither they nor you know now, shall rise and gird himself with strength, and go forth in his almighty love and sweetly conquer you all together.*

Thus did John Wesley affirm that the Christianity of opinion is no Christianity at all, and that to constitute a man a Christian there must be faith in a personal Redeemer. "A string of opinions," he told Middleton, "is no more Christian faith than a string of beads is Christian holiness." In declaring the inward testimony for Christianity the most important for mankind generally, he laid a new foundation for Christian confidence, or, to speak more accurately, relaid an old foundation, and in so doing brought in a new era. The first effect, therefore, of the evangelical revival upon theology was to terminate the deistical controversy. Both sides agreed that the strongest evidence of the truth of Christianity was a genuine Christian, and as the revival produced examples, almost innumerable, of men turned from the coarsest vices to purity of life, the deists had to confess that the Christian was something more than a republication of natural religion, and the evidence-writers that they had missed an entire side of their subject. From that time to this the evidences of Christianity have been handled in a different spirit. We need only refer, as one of many proofs, to the magnificent closing passage of Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*, in which the internal evidence receives its due honor.

A great force is, at all times, likely to evoke a counter force, and in this respect the evangelical revival has followed the precedents of history. At the close of the eighteenth century it seemed likely to take possession of all England. That it has not done so is due to the counter movement known as the Tractarian revival. The objects of Tractarianism were: (1) To set up a barrier against the spread of political liberalism; (2) To revive priestly authority, and thereby to save English Church principles from being wholly undermined. In order to see this reaction in clear light it is necessary to premise a few facts.

The evangelical revival was a revival within the Church of England. When John Wesley formed his societies he was still in the Establishment, though his followers did not necessarily

* *Works of Wesley*, vol. ix, pp. 63, 64.

so reckon themselves. Such as had been churchmen might, and usually did, remain churchmen; but many of the Methodists cared little for the Church because the Church had cared little for them. Wesley himself, though a lover of all men, was not specially fond of dissenters as such. He was all the time guilty of what was then considered a grave offense against ecclesiastical order; he entered into other men's parishes without the permission of rectors or curates. But he had fellow-workers, men of like spirit with himself, who remained in their parishes and preached the Gospel so dear to him. Fletcher of Madeley was a Church rector, and so were Grimshaw, Berridge, Perronet, Romaine; there grew up an evangelical company in the Church itself, composed of these and of such men as Newton, Venn, Thomas Scott, Simeon, the Milners, of such laymen as Wilberforce and the Thorntons, and of such ladies as Hannah More. By the end of the last, or the beginning of the present, century the evangelicals had become the dominant party in the Church. And they effected, as already stated, a change which, in the nature of the case, Methodists could not, a reformation of the manners of those members of polite society who claimed to be Christians.

The second fact to be premised is that the English reformation differed from the Continental in the reverence cherished by the English reformers for the early fathers and their theology. Luther cared for one father only, Augustine, and drew his doctrine mainly from Paul. Calvin had no more respect for the ancient fathers than for his own contemporaries, from whom he differed. But the English reformers drew doctrine from two sources, we should almost say equally, the New Testament and the patristic writings. Hence they affirmed (*a*) baptismal regeneration, (*b*) apostolic succession, and (*c*) the priestly character of the clergy. The old divines of the seventeenth century were steeped in patristic learning. But with the decline of the sense of the supernatural, which was characteristic of the eighteenth century, and with the increase of the disposition to exhibit Christianity as reasonable, the practice of appealing to the fathers fell into disuse. The patristic view of Christianity, which was one of intense faith, and the eighteenth century view were wholly alien the one from the other. But the reverence for patristic authority was not dead, it was only

sleeping. It was, as we see the history now, natural that this reverence should revive, and that when revived it should find its chief antagonist in evangelicalism.

It was quite supposable, therefore, that the distinctive position of the English Church—that of postapostolic Christianity—would be asserted; the occasion alone was required. Such an occasion in time was supplied. Evangelicalism removed the barriers which separated dissenters and churchmen. In fact, evangelicalism led to an increase of dissent. Says Overton, Henry Venn was at one time in the habit of attending a dissenting meeting. John Newton at first thought of joining a dissenting communion. William Wilberforce sometimes attended other places of worship than the Church. William Grimshaw actually built a Methodist chapel and a house for the preacher in his own parish, and within a stone's throw of the parish church. In short, the evangelicals, like the Methodists, regarded the Church of England simply as one out of many Protestant bodies, "and as this was the dissenting, not the Church, view, their principles obviously led to the increase of dissent."* The Church was in danger of losing the distinctive position which has separated it from other Protestant bodies. Evangelicalism was making all the real Christians of England one brotherhood.

For old-fashioned churchmen this prospect was intolerable. The occasion for revolt came in time, in the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832. The Anglo-Catholic reaction, it must not be forgotten, was on one side political and on the other theological. For both its theology and its politics found in the dogma of apostolic succession a sufficient principle. This is much to say, and all that is here said must be thoroughly proved. The great leaders of the Tractarian movement have left the world, but some of them have before death traced its history, and others have provided materials for a record of their part in its progress. On its political side the Oxford movement was an effort to stem the progress of democracy; on its theological side it was an effort to stem the evangelical revival. Substantially it was Toryism in gown and surplice. Dean Church in his history says: "What is called the Oxford, or Tractarian, movement be-

* *The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 154.

gan in a vigorous effort for the immediate defense of the Church against serious dangers arising from the violent and threatening temper of the days of the Reform Bill. The Church was really imperiled amid the crude, revolutionary projects of the Reform epoch."* This author also says of John Keble: "He was a strong Tory, and by conviction and religious temper a thorough high churchman." Of Froude the dean says: "The break-up of parties caused by the Roman Catholic emancipation was followed by the French and Belgian revolutions of 1830, and these changes gave a fresh stimulus to all the reforming parties in England—Whigs, Radicals, and liberal religionists. They stirred in him [Froude] the fiercest disgust and indignation, and as soon as the necessity of battle became evident to save the Church he threw himself into it with all his heart, and his attitude was thenceforth that of a determined and uncompromising combatant."† All this is confirmed by Newman's language in his *Apologia.*

On its theological side the Oxford movement was, as already said, a reaction against evangelicalism. No headway could be made against political liberalism without the force of a theological dogma. Mr. Newman confesses this in his article in the *British Critic* for 1839. "I have already said," he writes, "that though the object of the movement was to withstand the liberalism of the day I found and felt that this could not be done by negatives. It was necessary for me to have a positive basis. This took me to the great Anglican divines."‡ This dogma was the dogma of apostolic succession, with its consequences, a mediating priesthood and the conveyance of the grace of the Holy Spirit by such a priesthood in the sacraments. Evangelicalism had affirmed the priesthood of all believers, as against the priesthood of a class or distinct body in the Church. It told every penitent to go directly to God for an immediate pardon, and taught him to expect the divine assurance of forgiveness. Its theology necessarily set aside a mediating priest as necessary to the creation of fellowship between the sinner and God.

Evangelicalism and apostolic succession were and are incompatible with each other. Thus, the Preface to the first volume of the *Tracts for the Times*, published in 1834, says: "Meth-

* *The Oxford Movement*, p. 1. † *Ibid.*, p. 49. ‡ Dean Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 173.

odism and popery are in different ways the refuge of those whom the Church stints of the gifts of grace; they are the foster-mothers of abandoned children." Church also says of Keble that "he looked with great and intelligent dislike at the teaching and the working of the more practical system, which, under the name of evangelical Christianity, was aspiring to dominate religious opinion, and which, after combining some of the most questionable features of Methodism and Calvinism, denounced with fierce intolerance everything that deviated from its formula and watchwords." * And again: "Froude learned from him [Keble] to be anti-Erastian, anti-Methodistical, anti-sentimental, and as strong in his hatred of the world, as contemptuous of popular approval, as any Methodist." † And so Isaac Williams reports Froude as saying to him: "Isaac, we must make a row in the world. Why should we not? Only consider what the peculiars, that is, the evangelicals, have done with a few half-truths to work upon. . . . We must have short tracts and get people to preach on the apostolic succession and the like." ‡ All this is abundantly confirmed in the life of Newman. He had been an evangelical, and had begun his work as a clergyman of that school. "He had," says his biographer, Miss Mozley, "been converted by it to a spiritual life, and so far his experience bore witness to its truth. He ever felt grateful to the good clergyman who introduced them [evangelical principles], and to the books, such as Scott's *Force of Truth*, Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*, and Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, which insist upon them." § In his *Apologia* he says of himself: "The vital question was how men are to keep the Church from being liberalized; the true principles of Church worship seemed so radically decayed, and there was such distraction in the councils of the clergy. The Bishop of London of the day had been for years engaged in diluting the high orthodoxy of the Church by the introduction of the evangelical body into places of influence and trust. He had deeply offended men who agreed with himself by an offhand saying to the effect that belief in apostolical succession had gone out with the nonjurors. I felt affection for my own Church, but not tenderness. I thought that, if liberalism once got footing within

* *Oxford Movement*, p. 24. † *Ibid.*, p. 22.
‡ *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, pp. 63, 64.
§ Miss Mozley, *Life of Newman*, vol. i, p. 122.

her, it was sure of the victory in the event." * He was sailing on the Mediterranean in the summer of 1830. He says of his feelings: "It was the success of the liberal cause which fretted me inwardly. On my return, though forced to stop a day at Paris [it was just after the revolution of 1830], I kept indoors all the time, and all that I saw of that beautiful city was what I saw from the *diligence*." † And once more: "I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded away out of the land through the political changes of the last one hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst and the rescue might come too late." ‡

Still farther is our assertion—to wit, that the Oxford movement is a reaction against the evangelical revival—confirmed from the language of the *Tracts for the Times*. Tract 80, on "Reserve in the Communication of Religious Knowledge," has some remarkable statements. Thus, it says it is necessary "that we inquire more at length into that system which has claimed for itself the inmost sanctuary of religion, and at once predisposes men so strongly to be thoroughly opposed to all that we can urge. . . . The system of which I speak is characterized by these circumstances, an opinion that it is necessary to obtrude and bring forward prominently and explicitly the doctrine of the atonement. This one thing it puts in the place of all the principles held by the Church catholic, dropping all proportion of the faith. It disparages, comparatively, nay, in some cases has even blasphemed, the most blessed sacraments." § In the same manner "eloquent preaching and delivery" are criticised: "If people in general were now asked what was the most powerful means of advancing the cause of religion in the world, we should be told that it was eloquence of speech or preaching; and the excellency of speech, we know, consists in delivery; that is the first, the second, and the third requisite. Whereas, if we were to judge from Holy Scripture

* *Apologia*, pp. 79, 80. † *Ibid.*, p. 82. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 96.
§ *Tracts for the Times*, vol. v, p. 43.

of what were the best means of promoting Christianity in the world, we would say, obedience; and if we were to be asked the second, we should say, obedience; and if we were to be asked the third, we should say, obedience. And it is evident that if the spirit of obedience exists simple and calm statement will go far. Not that we would be thought entirely to depreciate preaching as a means of doing good; it may be necessary in a weak and languishing state; but it is a characteristic of this system, as opposed to that of the Church, and we fear the undue exaltation of an instrument which Scripture, to say the least, has never much recommended." *

It will be observed that in all these passages from the tracts the evangelicals are not named; but they are certainly meant. It is plain that the ground of objection to the evangelical revival here is that it destroys obedience to a divinely ordained clergy. It is assumed that if there be the spirit of obedience to a clergy coming to the people with the authority of an apostolical succession there will be no need of persuasiveness of speech; the authoritative word of the priest will suffice. Note, too, that the distinctive feature of the evangelical preaching—the laying of emphasis on the doctrine of atonement—is condemned as setting forth one part of Scripture at the expense of other parts. Our proposition, that the Oxford movement was such a reaction as we have described, is abundantly proved.

The success of the reaction has been, within the Church of England, complete. Evangelicalism in that Church has almost disappeared. While the power of the revival of the eighteenth century has been felt in other Protestant Churches, in this it has ceased to be felt as a power in any sense. In the Church which in the United States represents the English Church, the Protestant Episcopal, this reaction has been felt in the same way, but not to the same degree. Bishop McLaren, of Chicago, in the *Church Club Lectures*, gives as the three antagonists of the Church of England, heretofore and now, Lollardism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. The same divine conceives the ministry to be "*media*" through which the Holy Ghost "effectuates God's grace upon men's souls and bodies, and by which regenerated men may worship God and maintain visible communion with him and with all who are in him."

* *Tracts for the Times*, vol. v, p. 73, *ff*.

Space fails us for speaking of another result of the evangelical revival, which may be called a perversion of its fundamental principle, namely, the change of the inward witness to the truth of Christianity to the position of a judgeship over Scripture itself. To Schleiermacher is ascribed the creation of the phrase, "the Christian consciousness." Both he and Wesley took their lessons in the nature of subjective religion from the Moravians. What the one described as the Christian consciousness the other called the "witness of our own spirit" to the divine power of the Gospel. But the followers of the great German theologian have made the agreement of the contents of the canonical writings with the Christian consciousness the criterion of inspiration. Thereby they have reduced revealed truth to a state of uncertainty, for it must always be asked, "Whose consciousness must be taken as the test of truth?" The school of theology which, in our own country, represents this attitude of the mind toward the Scripture is well known; but the fact is not so well known that it owes its origin to the action of the evangelical revival. Wesley abode within the limits of the written word. "Let me be," he said, "a man of one book." All thoughts and opinions of men were brought by him to this one test: Do they agree with Scripture? If not, they are without authority. How much he safeguarded his people, by laying down this principle, is seen in the theological sobriety of Methodism amid all its manifestations of a burning enthusiasm.

Nor have we in this article left ourselves sufficient space wherein to describe adequately the agency of the evangelical movement in spreading the Arminian view of the salvability of all men. Wesley found Arminianism a dogma of the schools; he made it the burden of an energetic propagandism. His moral feeling decided for him between a particular and a universal redemption; and with all the energy of an aroused moral feeling he inveighed against particularism. "The moment," says Fairbairn, "the idea of equity was admitted to a place in the relations of God to man, the old, absolute unconditionalism became untenable." * Evangelicalism has made the old unconditionalism untenable, and has thereby become the leader of the theological progress of this century. It is the

* *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 171.

inspirer of the call for theological reconstruction, and without its view of the divine equity toward man theological reconstruction is impossible.

We could wish, too, for more space wherein to consider the element of weakness in the evangelical revival; we must speak tenderly here, but even tenderness does not forbid the speaking of the truth. That weakness is the smallness of its contributions to theological and general literature. It has been a working, not a writing, force. Its philanthropic triumphs are not balanced by like triumphs in the realm of thought. The rich intellectual resources of the Puritans of the seventeenth century cannot be claimed for the evangelicals and Methodists of the eighteenth. Indeed, some of the evangelical churchmen depreciated culture. Even William Romaine, the scholar and preacher, asks: "Were dying sinners ever converted by the spots on the moon? Was ever miser reclaimed from avarice by Jupiter's belt? Or did Saturn's ring ever make a lascivious female chaste? The modern divinity brings you no nearer than 121,000,000 miles short of heaven." * The great awakening has but one name in general literature, and that belongs to the eighteenth century, the name of William Cowper. Hannah More espoused the evangelical cause and made evangelicalism acceptable to the great of England, but she is little read now. Canon Overton says on this point, with entire truth: "The revivalists had other, and what they deemed more important, work to do; but, as a matter of fact, the intellectual work had to be done, and it was not they who did it. It is curious to observe how John Wesley felt this; for, in reference to the books which he read, in his *Journal* there is hardly one allusion to any book that came from the Methodist or evangelical school, but a great number to those written by old-fashioned churchmen." †

For ourselves, we consider the contemptuous tone adopted against evangelicalism by critics as unjust; yet we must confess that what literature it has to show is scanty. But there is still another reason for its scantiness and for its lack of power to interest many. Evangelical books are the prolongation of evangelical sermons. They aim, as the sermons do, at immediate, practical results. Yet how few volumes of readable

* Overton, *Evangelical Revival*, p. 66. † *Ibid.*, p. 122.

sermons has evangelicalism produced! When the growth in numbers is considered, the intellectual product of the nineteenth century is still less than that of the eighteenth. The university-trained men with whom Methodism originated gave it an outfit; they have had few successors. We still point to their works with a reverence and affection which speak well for our loyalty to them, but at the same time speak little for our intellectual originality. "Man liveth not by bread alone;" he lives not by the spoken word alone; the written word abideth. Life and literature are related to one another as root and flower. Ideas which touch the intellect and sensibilities must blossom in literary forms; but our blossoming seems to be slow. When we consider how many of the foremost young men of England have, after being trained in evangelicalism, rejected it, we are compelled to ask if one reason of the rejection be not its intellectual poverty. We have named some of these young men who were driven over to High Church principles by their Toryism; but Frederick W. Robertson was a Liberal, not a Tory; he remained liberal in politics, and was broad in theological ideas, but all the same evangelicalism lost him. It is well for us in the United States that Church history has come to us in the person of Neander, imbued with evangelical feeling, and showing how the theology of the heart and the profoundest learning can be combined together. We have in him all the wealth of German scholarship without its noxious elements. His writings and the writings of his American successors are a lesson to our young men. Evangelicalism is not necessarily shallow; neither will it, as Leslie Stephen declares it will, "die of inanition." A great work opens before us who are the heirs of this precious visitation, a work which may well employ our energies during the coming century.

George R Crooks

ART. II.—A NON-RESIDENT SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY.

THE CURRICULUM.

[**For Matriculation.** Examination on *Elementary English Branches:* Grammar, Geography, etc.; *Literature:* English and American—Great Masters of Prose and Poetry in England and America; *Historical:* Biblical History, History of the English People, History of America, History of American Methodism; *Doctrinal and Denominational:* The Larger Catechism, Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Doctrinal Aspects of Christian Experience, Life of John Wesley, Wesley's Sermons, Volume I; *Social and Practical:* Social Aspects of Christianity, The Revival and the Pastor; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

First Year. *Academic:* Ancient and Mediæval History, Principles of Rhetoric; *Biblical:* 1. Introduction—Inspiration, Canon, Hebrew and Cognate Tongues, Hebrew Manuscripts, Ancient Versions, The Pentateuch, The Historical Books, The Poetical Books, The Prophetical Books; 2. *Exegesis*—Studies in the Four Gospels, The Study of the English New Testament, A Study in the Acts of the Apostles (William Arthur); *Systematic Theology:* Sources, Scientific Basis, Systemization, Theism, Theology, God, Trinity, Son of God, Holy Spirit, Creation, Providence, Anthropology, Primitive Man, Primitive Holiness, Sin, Wesleyan Theology as set forth in Wesley's Sermons and in his "Plain Account;" *Ecclesiastical:* Development of Ecclesiastical Authority in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Ecclesiastical Architecture; *Social and Homiletical:* Problem of Religious Progress, Theory and Practice of Extemporaneous Preaching; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

Second Year. *Academic:* Modern History, Logic; *Biblical:* 1. Introduction—The New Testament, The Greek Language at the Christian Epoch, New Testament Greek, Manuscripts, Ancient Versions and Editions, Canon, Genuineness, Contents of the Four Gospels, The Acts of the Apostles, The Pauline Epistles, The Catholic Epistles, The Apocalypse; 2. *Exegesis:* Studies in the Pauline Epistles, The Study of the English New Testament Continued; *Systematic Theology:* Christology, The Person of Christ, Divine Incarnation, Soteriology, Theories of the Atonement, The Salvation in Christ, The Arminian Treatment of Original Sin, Justification, Regeneration, Assurance, Sanctification, Eschatology, Inspiration, Angels; *Ecclesiastical*: The Church, The Sacraments, Christian Archæology, History of Methodism, The General Conference and the Episcopacy, The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Digest of Methodist Law; *Practical and Aggressive Christian Life:* Missions and the Missionary Society, The Sunday School; *Written Sermon and Essay.*

Third Year. *Academic:* Elements of Psychology; *Christian Evidences:* "The Supernatural Book;" *Biblical:* 1. Hermeneutics: Introduction, Criticism, Exegesis, Qualifications of an Interpreter, History of Herme-

neutics, Methods of Interpretation, General Hermeneutics—Princi
Special—Hebrew Poetry, Figurative Language, Parables, Allego
Proverbs, Types, Symbols, Prophecy, Apocalyptics, Quotations in S
ture, Discrepancies, Progress of Doctrine, Analogy of Faith, Doct
and Practical Use of Scriptures; 2. The Higher Criticism; 3. I
Geography—Palestine; *Exegesis:* Studies in the Pentateuch; *Eccl
tical:* Church History—The Early Church A. D. 30–768; Medi
Church 768–1517; The Reformation 1517–1545; History of the Me
dist Episcopal Church, The Historic Episcopate—Investigation of
glican Orders, The Ordinal of Edward VI, High Church Anglican
Methodist Episcopal Orders; *Social and Practical Life:* Introductio
Political Economy, The Epworth League; *Written Sermon and Essay*

Fourth Year. *Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology:* Definiti
The Church, Theology, Religion, Theological Schools, The Univer
Doubt and Belief, General Encyclopedia—Theology Considered as a
tive Science, Historical Outline of Theology, Special Theological E
clopedia—Exegetical, Historical, Systematic, Practical Theology;
gesis: Studies in Isaiah, The Life and Letters of St. Paul; *Evide*
Butler's Analogy, Row's Christian Evidences, History of Rational
Church History: Modern Church in Europe 1558–1892, in the Ur
States 1492–1892, Protestant Foreign Missions; *Homiletics:* Prepar
and Delivery of Sermons; *Practical and Aggressive Christian Life:* C
tian Ethics, The Call and Qualifications of Missionaries; *Written Se
and Essay.*

Courses of study, in addition to the above, are provided for local
traveling preachers in the following languages: *German, Norwegian
Danish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish.*]

THE earliest preachers of the Gospel were not men from schools, nor were they students of what in these days we "science." They were oarsmen, netweavers, and fishern tax collectors, and men of the field. There was no real sci to study in their time. Classic literature they might have —the works of Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, and the literary leaders of the best Greek civilization; but bey a reference by Paul to one poet we find almost nothing in New Testament to indicate even a slight knowledge of wha call the Greek Literature. The writers of the New Testan times, however, did have a literature, and they were well ve in it. It was in every respect better than the pagan best. is our best to-day—the law and the prophets and the Psa full of sublime thoughts on the most important themes— history of the race, the holiness and righteousness of the of Israel, and the moral and spiritual possibilities of man.

this the early apostles were trained from boyhood. Then, too, they had the greatest Teacher of the ages—greater far than Socrates and Plato, more simple, wiser, speaking with greater authority, and with a certain penetrating power which he only can have who knows that he deals with absolute truth. With such a Teacher the apostles enjoyed a course of training which was to serve them well in the building of the Church, the beginning of a new civilization, and the transformation of humanity.

These earliest ministers of Christ were makers of literature. They witnessed the most remarkable transactions of all history. It is of these they made record; and from these they received a measure of their inspiration. That which makes an author is not the fact or the mode of his writing. It is not merely the knowledge which he gets at second hand. It is the world of reality which he comes to know; and his power is largely from the reality itself about which he writes. Moses, Matthew, and the other evangelists wrote of events they witnessed. This gave them greater advantage than any endowment of what we call genius. The apostles were the pioneers of a new civilization which was destined to reach the ends of the earth and the end of the ages. They had a story to tell. They told it. Their story was a Gospel. Having it in hand and heart, they "persuaded men" and built up society on a new theory and with a new aim. Their literary work was a very small part of their lifework. They not only wrote—they wrought; and they wrought before they wrote. They knew their own old book, and they knew the new Man who interpreted it anew. They received the living Spirit which their ascended Lord gave at Pentecost. These men, because of the times in which they lived—new times, wonderful times, days of great deeds, the "days of the Son of man"—were builders of character, artists with magnificent ideals, workers with regenerative forces at their command, themselves possessors of a personal experience which lifted them far above the realms of doubt and clothed them with divine authority. They *knew*, and they *were*. They had resources, and they were able to adapt themselves to the age in which they lived.

Here we see the elements of power possessed by the first preachers of the Gospel. The processes by which they were

prepared hold the radical pedagogic elements. The greatest force in education is in the profound personal conviction of reality and the surrender of one's whole being to it. Scholarship does not make a man; nor does scholarship impress people. The scholar, to be of any use to men, must himself be a man, and must have the strength, the wisdom, the consistency, and the sympathy which belong to a true manhood. Schools cannot make men. Some of the most signal failures in the Christian ministry are men who have had "educational" advantage without stint or limit. The minister is sent to show forth, and not merely to write and talk about, the inner world of righteousness and love. The electrician sets forth God's wisdom through the wonders he is able to work by electricity; the astronomer, God's infinitude and power through the sweep of intelligent vision he is able to command; and the Christian minister must be able to show forth God's love and grace by the life that he is able to live. These first apostles were men who lived in a new horizon and were adjusted to it. They had ideas. These ideas were based on reality. Being impressed by irresistible fact, being possessed by new truth, being inflamed by love, they must be students. What they did have was the highest result of a thorough education. For such men as these to exist, under such conditions, was to be all the while seeing, developing, preparing, adapting, adjusting, accomplishing. These men, unlike the rabbis and leaders in the Jewish schools, had a vital knowledge of Old Testament history. They understood the old records from a new point of vision and from a new experience. They interpreted by power of spiritual insight the external and historic teachings of the book.

We do not wish unduly to exalt, or make sectarian boast of, the early leaders of Methodism in England and America; but no student of Church history can fail to see that under the spell of a new life, with a new experience, under a new commission, the Methodist preachers of one hundred and fifty years ago were not unlike the early apostles in their preparation, their power, and their effectiveness. After Wesley had completed his educational course, and had acquired his rare scholarship, he entered into the subjective life which for the first time prepared him to preach with power. Many of John Wesley's

coadjutors and followers without his scholastic training also became powerful preachers. Being men who *were* and who *knew*, they were men of power. Of course they were students. Intellectual impulse that springs from spiritual experience has never been sufficiently emphasized. The early preachers of Methodism did not gain their power by being students, but because of power they became students. Sometimes, indeed, they may have shocked oversensitive ears by their rude vernacular, but they commanded respect by their freshness and originality; and by processes of out-of-school training many of them became scholars worthy of the name. To-day there are Methodist ministers who, in pursuance of the policy instituted in the first century and adopted by Mr. Wesley in the last century, without college and seminary training have become devout Christians, intelligent students, able preachers, and successful pastors.

The element of power is often the source of peril. The conditions of an age of necessity modify the standards of preparation for a given work in that age. The apostolic and early Methodistic method has been perverted, and there are young men in the ministry of the Church who have come from farm and shop with little or no knowledge of the English language as to its construction, its value as a vehicle of thought, and the enlarging and refining contents of its literature. Such men are neither readers nor thinkers. Under the pressure of a "revival," through an ambition to be ministers, and to be at once in the field "saving souls," they drop plow or plane and seek, by the shortest possible route, professional recognition. Because of what is called by a certain class of men "success in the work" the claims of the candidate are urged upon the Annual Conference, and through the old reiterations—"not by might, nor by power," "the glory of Methodism in the beginning," the importance of having "men consecrated to the work," and the like—these men are admitted on trial, and a little later by very much the same process become full members. Once in the Annual Conference they are in for life, to receive to the day of death something toward personal support —not much, but often too much, in view of what they are, and of what they do, and of what they have failed to do. This low standard in the Conference results in the filling up by these "pastors" of official boards with men of their own com-

paratively low type, who as stewards, class leaders, and t
tees degrade the church by their lack of taste, unwor
ideals, narrow prejudices, and parsimonious spirit. We can
expect cultured men and women, nor even the schoolboys
schoolgirls of the day, to be interested in a church wh
boors pretend to preach and where such laymen as we h
indicated have official place and control; where sensational
vices are resorted to for filling up and building up the chur
where sentimentality of a very weak sort is substituted
spirituality; and where ecclesiastical authority becomes a
miliating tyranny.

The most discouraging feature of this superficial proces
introducing men into the Christian ministry is to be foun
the demoralizing effect of superficial and sometimes fraudu
examinations. That Annual Conference committees sho
allow such superficiality is discouraging. But the Confere
that consents to this careless process, even though inspired
personal sympathy, is guilty of complicity with crime. It
only dishonors the Church, but it degrades the individual w
consents to it. The fact that the candidate can sit still
without the protest of even a manly blush allow his case to
"passed" by the Conference, is sufficient in itself to show t
he has not moral fiber enough to constitute an ordinary teac
in ethics for a public school. Men to be ministers in our
must be educated men, holy men, of course, men with the vis
of the Lord and the consciousness of his presence; yet th
must be educated, in the school or out of the school, but s
educated. There is no other true education. The presid
of one of our oldest theological schools has issued a stirr
appeal to the Church, asking a most important question
making a statement which should be repeated with emph
to every young candidate for the ministry. He says:

> The present situation calls for serious thought. Our Conferences
> crowded, and the doors thereof are besieged with applicants. Su
> there is no lack of unskilled labor. Yet men of trained intelligence
> ample knowledge are not too plenty. Why not urge and help young
> who feel called to the ministry to an immediate education? Why sho
> they wait until they lose the power of mental acquisition and then
> tempt the impossible? He learns most who learns earliest, and he lea
> best who acquires soonest the right and rapid mental movements. Th
> fore send our future ministers to school at once.

It is a fact that Methodist Episcopal ministers serve churches from ten to fifteen years longer than ministers of any other denomination. This is because of the peculiar economy of Methodism and its appointing power. Men too old for other Churches, and who would not be chosen by committees or congregations, are appointed by bishops because of the theory and the law of the ministry in our Church. There is an evil side to this. All men are not equally sensitive. Many "good men" do not know their own limitations, or they are through self-interest blind to them. They must have a support, and some men are willing to accept support from a church even when they know that they cannot render such service as the church and community demand. There is a good side to this system of "appointment" and this continued use of old men. Men of experience are valuable as counselors and pastors. Many men are at their best after sixty years of age, as scholars, as members of society, as preachers, as administrators of law, and as sympathetic and expert overseers of the flock. With an incentive to continued freshness and study, old men who in other Churches might be excused because of their age are still permitted to exercise their functions. If ministers would be studious and sprightly; if they would read widely, preach short, stirring, thoughtful sermons, be sweet in temper, be faithful in service, live near to God, and draw the people in the same direction by the power of personal fervor, lifting people rather than adjusting themselves to the same people on the lower levels; if they would cultivate a love for the Bible, for general literature, for science and art, age would be an advantage to them and to the churches they serve. But there are men who are eager to become traveling preachers and members of the Annual Conference who should serve all their days as local or lay preachers and as temporary "supplies" or as assistants. Conference membership should be the prerogative of men who are thoroughly qualified by preparation, whether in the school or out of it, for the varied functions of this holy profession. There is no earthly reason why every man who is qualified to exhort, to discharge the functions of an evangelist, or temporarily to look after the interests of a church should be made a full member of a Conference.

Far be it from us to assert that men are to be educated only

through the seminary, or through the college and semin
but we must make a special plea for the training of candid
for the ministry in the college, whether they are to enjoy s
inary opportunities or not. A man in these days who re
has the elements in him to make the able minister can, if
will, secure both collegiate and professional training; but wh
he can have but one of these by all means let it be that of
college. There is an increased respect for college men in s
ety. The college has become of late years more practical.
ciety has therefore come to respect the college as never bef
The modern college sympathizes with the people at large,
its *curricula* embrace social, political, and practical topics wh
bear directly upon the well-being of the people. This s
pathy between the college and the people is increasing, and
that reason it is highly important that ministers should c
to the people from the college. Then there is a vague
among certain classes of people that there is something
modern science which contradicts the teachings of Christian
Every minister should, through college training, know just w
science does teach; and he should know by personal acqua
ance the men who as students and professors are foremos
the one hand in the denial, and on the other in the defe
of the faith. From this broad knowledge he should be
to discuss the harmony between true science and true relig
In view of the variety of the work which a minister must
form in a wisely organized and active church he should him
be familiar with the varied fields of thought, research, and
tivity in which the people to whom he ministers are becom
more and more interested. That he may inspire the yout
his congregations to pursue educational courses, and to pro
them while pursuing these courses from the intervention o
dangerous doubt, he should himself be a college man in s
pathy and by experience. Why should there not be in ev
church a class of "intending collegians," that young men,
der wise and experienced pastoral supervision, may, in adv
of their exposure, encounter and overcome the doubts and
ficulties which await them?

There is also a type of manhood fostered by college train
which the ministry needs for the sake of its greatest social
fluence. Why is it that in so many universities students in

theological department are looked down upon, sometimes with ill-concealed contempt, by the academic students? Making all due allowance for the prejudices which spring from what is called "the natural heart" against the spiritual kingdom and its representatives, there is too often something in the typical minister and in the "theologue" which repels strong, stalwart, genuine men in college and in society. The theological student is often a dependent, educated by charity. This itself is not at all a ground for his disparagement; but there are a few ministers who were once theological students supported in this way, by individuals or by societies, who up to this day have never paid even the interest on the loan by which they were able to take their theological course. What is still worse, they seem to have no conscience about it. They marry, they have children, they buy books, they ride bicycles, they take summer vacations, but seem to have no ethical sense which makes imperative the restoration of the funds by which they were educated for their profession. There is among a certain class of ministers and of candidates for the ministry a tone of servility which perhaps these processes of professional education promote; a readiness to accept gifts of money; the habit of soliciting discounts because of their office; and consequently the cultivation of the tramp spirit and habit among men whose office stands for the highest, most independent, most manly type of manhood. Life in the modern college tends to prevent this false and unfortunate estimate of the ministry.

The theological student who has never taken a college course is always at a disadvantage. The foundations of his culture have been neglected. He is all the while in danger of building on the sand. He is doubly in danger of overemphasizing certain branches or departments of truth. The man of limited education is, other things being equal, in greatest danger of being a crank and hobbyist. He sees in part the world of learning. He studies a little New Testament Greek, but he knows nothing about Greek as Greek. He studies Hebrew a little, but he knows nothing about the Semitic languages in general, their relations to history, and the underlying forces in the Semitic civilization which have affected the historic development of the world at large. Men thus hurried into the ministry too often marry in haste. They lack the power of

wise discrimination. Their wives, picked up in the immature years, are in many cases unqualified to fill the parsonage and help the pastor.

We plead, therefore, for a symmetrical training of the men who are to represent the Christian Church in this enlightened age, and who are to impress society with the nobility of Christian manhood. Let men wait before entering the ministry. There is plenty of time. Jesus at twelve years of age astonished the leaders in the temple. In our time, if we could, we would have made him a "boy preacher" and sent him through the land as a flaming herald. He, with divine wisdom, retired to Nazareth and remained in its quiet for eighteen years "subject" to his parents, a student of nature and of the Holy Scriptures, and waiting for the ripening of character which should prepare him at thirty years of age to go forth on his mission. The ministry of the age may learn wisdom from his example. It is true that young men say, "We cannot wait to secure an education before fulfilling our mission to save souls." Wise men well know that if they would "save souls," as the phrase goes, they will find no place with such opportunity for saving souls as the average college and theological seminary. To live a calm, strong, pure, unselfish, studious, godly life as a student among other students, and in the presence of professors, for a term of years, will save more souls in a true sense than all the superficial, sentimental, sensational devices too often adopted by men who lose sight of the divine preparation by which men are best fitted for their divine work.

Our Church provides, and has always provided, non-resident courses of study. Men of other denominations who are in the habit of speaking lightly concerning the standards of education in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the processes of preparation for that ministry, are surprised when they open the Discipline of the Church to find how full and varied is the *curriculum* which the Church has appointed. Let us confess that it has been handled too carelessly and superficially. We depend upon the study of books, rather than upon the mastery of subjects. There is too much "preparing for an examination," rather than the acquisition of knowledge and power to be used in ministerial service. But a brighter day is dawning. Helps are now being provided for our candidates. The "Itin-

erants' Club" and other organizations for ministerial study and examinations have achieved large success. In almost every Conference we discover marked improvement. One reads with delight the report of all the recent "Fall Examinations with Lectures and Discussions," in five sessions appointed and conducted by the Board of Examiners of the New York East Conference. "The Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, Auxiliary to the Itinerant Club Movement," is the largest and strongest of the late expressions in behalf of ministerial education in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the Saint Louis Conference the provision of "Memoranda of Examinations on the Course of Study" indicates another forward step. Chautauqua has been for twenty-three years a non-resident school of theology, with lectures—theological, philosophical, and practical—*conversazioni*, and other devices for the benefit of the Christian ministry. It is a meeting place of ministers representing fifteen or twenty different schools of theological thought, and its "Ministerial Conferences," especially in the department of practical theology, are always stimulating and broadening. The action of the last General Conference in providing for a "Board of Examiners" in each Annual Conference is already bearing good fruit. The writer hopes we shall continue to multiply "Clubs," "Congresses," and "Ministerial Conferences" at summer assemblies and elsewhere, through which our ministers, old and young, may be stimulated to greater diligence and be guided in their attempt to acquire more thorough scholarship. When shall we have two or three "Conference Study Sessions" in local colleges and other literary institutions under the care of the Church, to which especially our young ministers may go for personal and professional improvement? Will the time ever come when we shall have a "president, faculty, and correspondence bureau," manned by a body of competent professors who shall prepare annual test papers, which, having been submitted by each Annual Conference to its candidates, shall again be referred for final examination to this bureau, so that when a man is announced in an Annual Conference as having reached "the grade of eight," or "eight and a half," it will mean something and everybody will know what it means? May we not provide a traveling library of books in every Conference or district for distribution, and two or three important meetings

—Conferences or Seminars—for summer work with judicious directors?

There are still greater possibilities in this non-resident feature of theological training. We know men who, lacking the advantages of formal collegiate instruction before entering the ministry, have set themselves at work systematically and persistently to turn life itself into a school. They have engaged private tutors in Greek or Hebrew, in literature, science, or theology, giving an hour a day to one of these studies. A wise young minister may so arrange his work as to make his pulpit, prayer meeting, teachers' meeting, normal class, the higher grades of the Epworth League, pastoral visitation, or casual or prearranged conversations contribute to his personal power as student, preacher, and pastor. Suppose, for example, that a man with strong will, intent upon achievement, should devote himself in one year to four great subjects, giving to these in turn two hours a day for four days in the week. In thirty weeks he will have spent on these four themes two hundred and forty hours. He prepares forty new sermons a year, giving an average of two hours a day for four days in the week for forty weeks. This adds three hundred and twenty hours a year. He gives two hours a week for forty weeks to exegetical studies adapted to the prayer meeting. These add eighty hours. Thus in biblical and theological study the active minister spends at least six hundred and forty hours a year. The devotion of this time to these subjects, with a view to public discourses, will have very much the effect of a student's work in preparation for the recitation hours. Let him add to this personal work carefully conducted conversations and debate with thoughtful men of the community—skeptics, believers, inquirers, busy people, and the "shut-in"—finding out "difficulties," "objections," "arguments," and what material must accumulate under such wisely ordered pastoral interviews for pulpit discussion! Then there is the actual work of pastoral visitation, with the constant desire and effort to learn the opinions, mental states, spiritual difficulties, social limitations, hindrances, and all the things which the pastor must know in order wisely to feed and to tend his flock. Let a man give five hours a week for forty weeks to this kind of pastoral work, and he has spent in addition to all the rest, two hundred hours a year

in the wisest kind of study. This plan may be adopted by any undergraduate, he taking as his topic the subject-matter on which he is to be examined at the next Annual Conference. Having preached or lectured on every subject in his course, he could have little anxiety about his "examination" by the Conference Board. With the thoughtful reading of current news, classic literature, topics of the day at the rate of ten hours a week for fifty weeks, the aggregate of all this prearranged and persistent study of men and books will show nearly fourteen hundred hours a year of professional study. And while it may seem impracticable for any man to order so many hours each day, it is a very easy thing for a man who has a minimum of will power to devote fourteen hundred hours a year to pastoral service, social studies, pulpit and other preparations—all of which are parts of his non-resident theological seminary. The student in the regular institution gives little more time than that.

The secret of a minister's power, however, must lie in his personal consciousness of oneness with God, and of the fact that he is a representative of the things of God and his kingdom. A minister must remember—and it must be very real to him—that in the most humble community and in the lowliest church he is the representative in that place of truth and righteousness, of progress, of reform, of all high ideals, of all that Jesus taught, of all that Jesus is; that in a sense he represents all Christian Churches and the Holy Catholic Church throughout the universe. His field may be a small one, but the realm he represents is boundless. He is a type of the best society—refined, courteous, pure in speech, a man of guarded lips, a master of the art of discreet silence—a gentleman of the class to which Jesus belonged, who was, as Thomas Dekker sang:

> A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit,
> The first true gentleman that ever breathed.

The minister in the lowest sphere is the representative of the realm of spirit, of spiritual phenomena, of spiritual forces, of spiritual laws. This large consciousness must make him a student; it will inspire him, save him from littleness, impart to him personal dignity, give him large vision, kindle his imagination, strengthen his judgment, warm his sympathy, develop his

intellect, and beget within him a ceaseless, irresistible passion to know, to love, to be, and to do.

A man of this type can never find himself in a place "too small" for him. He will *be*, and his sermons will be the fruit of his personality. For the man is always the soul of his sermon. In the sermon his own ideals will appear, whether he purposely intends to set them forth or not. He may not often preach what are called "great sermons," but he will always be a "great preacher." It is one thing to preach a "great sermon;" it is entirely a different thing, a more radical and more important thing, to be a "great preacher."

When John on Patmos saw Christ standing with the seven stars in his right hand he fell to the earth in terror; but at once he felt the pressure of that right hand of Christ upon his head. Did the stars which the Son of man held form a coronet of glory about the apostle's brow? What a symbol is this of the relation which the divinely appointed minister and the churches sustain to each other! The burden of responsibility is a crown of glory. And it is a symbol, too, of the relation which the minister sustains to Christ. The hand that rested with divine authority upon the apostle's brow held firmly the stars which adorned it. O, Thou who holdest the seven stars in thy right hand, place upon our heads thy hand, that our strength and our glory may be not ours but thine!

John H. Vincent.

ART. III.—PREACHING THE GOSPEL FOR A WITNESS.

FROM an early date in Church history there have been two views of the future triumph of Christianity. Both comprise the final victory of Christ on the earth, but by processes radically different. A majority of Christians hold that Christ set up his kingdom at his first coming; that, not later than Pentecost, he "opened the kingdom of heaven to all believers;" that, from his throne above, he administers it through the Holy Spirit, whose dispensation is the last era of Christianity on earth; that, through human agency, the Gospel like the leaven is to assimilate all human society, and like the mustard seed is to grow till it shall overshadow all other institutions; and that, in the fullness of time, Christ will descend on his judgment throne, raise the dead, both the just and the unjust, at the same time, and sentence the two classes to changeless and eternal destinies, thus terminating the earthly history of mankind. All the great creeds, from the so-called apostolic creed down to the present time, assert that Christ will come, not to set up a visible kingdom on the earth, but "to judge the quick and the dead."

But the Millenarians, Premillenarians, or Chiliasts teach that the kingdom is to be established in the future by the King in visible human form reigning on the earth a thousand years, suddenly converting the Jews, as he did Saul of Tarsus, by the majesty of his glorious presence; and that through their preaching the Gentiles are to be discipled; that the Spirit is not intended to secure the ultimate triumph of the kingdom through preaching, which was never designed to convert the world, but is to be a witness to all nations, and is to take out of them a people for his name, a bride for the descending King. After the millennial age the prison of Satan will be opened and he will deceive the nations for a season, to be conquered at last with fire out of heaven. Then the rest of the dead will be judged—called the judgment of the wicked—and will be cast into the lake of fire.

These are the two theories. The latter, proceeding as it does on a false interpretation and impossible literalism inconsistent with the scriptural purpose and concomitants of Christ's second advent, we are constrained to reject for the following reasons:

1. We search in vain the entire New Testament for a text to prove that one sinner will be converted after Christ's second coming. Yet the Premillenarians are eager to hasten his coming because he will convert Jews and Gentiles in a wholesale way, totally unlike the slow and generally ineffective method of the Holy Ghost. Not only are proof-texts for conversions after the second coming of Christ absent, but there are numerous texts which contradict this doctrine, such as Matt. xiii, 37–43, containing the parable of the tares and the wheat. At the time of the harvest the tares are bound first and burned. In the parable of the dragnet (verses 47–50) the bad fishes are cast away. The foolish virgins (Matt. xxv, 1–13) are excluded from the marriage feast. The wicked servant (Luke xix, 22) at the return of his lord is not forgiven, but is condemned.

2. The adherents of this erroneous doctrine have no way of disposing of the superseded Paraclete, who undertook to convict the world of sin, and then to show them the Saviour and to induce them to believe in him, but failed. The Bible always speaks of his dispensation as "the last days." Dr. A. J. Gordon, in his *Ministry of the Spirit*, has a chapter entitled "The Ascent of the Spirit"—a phrase entirely foreign to the diction of the New Testament. How men are to be born of the Spirit in his absence does not appear.

3. The events coincident with Christ's second advent not only cannot be harmonized with premillennialism, but they plainly contradict it. (1) Instead of a thousand years between the resurrection of the just and that of the unjust, Jesus said, "The hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation." In the same hour they all hear the same voice. See also Dan. xii, 2. Paul also, in Acts xxiv, 15, says, "There shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust"—one resurrection. (2) Instead of beginning his kingdom at his second advent, the Son delivers the completed kingdom to his Father at the resurrection of the dead, that is, at his second coming (1 Cor. xv, 24). (3) Instead of coming to fulfill the prophets, to convert the Jews, and to bring in the Gentiles, Peter, in Acts iii, 21, teaches that he will stay in heaven "until the times of restitution of all things,"

that is, the fulfillment of all the Messianic prophecies. Says Meyer: "Before such times set in Christ comes not from heaven. He continues until the moral corruption of the people of God is removed. Only such times are meant as shall *precede* the Parousia, and by the emergence of which it is *conditioned* that the Parousia shall ensue." (4) Instead of saving sinners, when Christ comes again he will condemn and punish them. (5) In Rom. xi, 25, 26, the Gentiles in their totality are converted before the Jews (Matt. xxv, 31–46; 2 Thess. i, 6–10). (6) Instead of the human race continuing on the earth in probation, the earth will be burned up and human history on this planet will have ended, the righteous being in heaven and the wicked in hell (1 Thess. iv, 17; 2 Peter iii, 10–12).

4. The only millennial text in the Bible is misunderstood. It is a vision of the souls of those martyrs who had been beheaded. It is not a vision of the descent of Christ, but of an angel with a chain. Nothing is said of Christ's bodily presence on the earth and of the martyrs reigning there. From what precedes we infer that the scene is in heaven. According to Rev. iv, 10 (Revised Version), all believers do now "reign upon the earth" through the presence of their invisible King.

5. Knowing that the successive dispensations of the patriarchs, the Israelites, John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and the Paraclete have all been progressive, we cannot accept as a true climax a dispensation of inferior privileges. That is inferior which affords lower conditions for spiritual development. Jesus said to his disciples, "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you." The Spirit's coming would be an upward step of progress. His presence and work would be in an important sense superior to the bodily presence of their Master. Can Christ's return and the withdrawal of the Paraclete be other than a retrograde in spiritual privilege? Does not the dispensation of the Paraclete supply to faith a stronger tonic? Said Jesus to Thomas, "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." We are now in a far better school of faith than we would be if we were gazing on the visible Christ enthroned on the earth. "Whom having not seen, ye love; in whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory."

It is certainly true that as probationers we are now in the best possible condition for developing the Christian virtues. When probation has been ended and Christian character has been tested and approved we can without detriment or loss be introduced into new conditions, where we shall see his glorified humanity and walk with him in white. This will be a part of our reward. We cannot accept the idea of a visible Christ, enthroned among men in probation, as an advance in the discipline of life and a promotion in the school of faith. This world, as it is now, is a better place for the demonstration of loyalty to Christ than it would be if it were filled with the glory of his visible presence. Repentance and faith mean more now than they would then.

6. Chiliasm is not in sympathy with human progress. God, from his very perfection, is incapable of progress. Man, by his depravity, is disinclined to upward progress. But God and man yoked together can advance the interests of mankind from age to age. The rate of the forward movement may be greatly diminished by God's coworker. Hence, where men are selfish and wicked, God's great and beneficent purposes are thwarted or delayed. Yet it is an unspeakable blessing to man to be associated with God in drawing the car of progress. Christianity reveals man's golden age, not in the past, but in the future, to be attained by free agents acting in harmony with the divine will for the renovation of society through love and truth. This is man's highest honor and greatest stimulus to aspire after likeness to God—to be a coworker with God in the establishment of his kingdom through slowly rolling ages. But the Premillenarian would rob man of his ennobling share in this work. He would destroy the cooperation of effort by dissociating the workers, and by his doctrine of the establishment of Christ's kingdom through the sheer almightiness of God. Hence, this idea of a sudden miraculous setting up the visible throne of the Son of God alone, attended and helped, not by men, but by angels, despoils and belittles humanity, whose agency is discarded. Hence it is that the Chiliast has no place in his vocabulary for such words as progress, improvement, Christian civilization, and the elevation of the human race. This system gives men no chance, in the establishment of the kingdom and afterward, to be truly educated

through Christian work developing a robust spiritual manhood in sympathy with all that affects the welfare of the race. It discourages all efforts to reform and elevate society by treating them as inevitable failures.

7. We cannot accept any doctrine which weakens the motives to immediate repentance. Premillennialism does this for both Jews and Gentiles. Should a Jew be urged to immediate repentance and submission to Christ, because he is soon to set up his throne at Jerusalem, he would reply: "I shall be bitterly persecuted by my Hebrew brother. But if I wait till Jesus ascends the throne of David—when, as you say, the Israelites, overawed by the majesty of their King, will receive him as their Messiah—I can become a Christian and escape persecution." The son of Abraham would be logical in his reasoning. The Gentile, convicted of sin, will say to the preacher: "I would like to become a Christian to-day, but you say there are three foes standing in battle array before the strait gate—the world, the flesh, and the devil. If I wait a year or two till, as you say, Jesus will come and shut up Satan a thousand years, so that I shall not be exposed to his temptations, and Christ in person will completely dominate the world, remedying its evils, making society right, business life right, and governments right, then I will find the spiritual life very much easier, since two of the three enemies will be removed, and I will have only the flesh to fight and conquer. I think I will gain by waiting, especially in view of the fact that Christ's work will be more effectual than that of the Spirit." No such logical sequence can follow the doctrine that Christ will come to judge, not to save; that his advent will end probation, close the door of salvation, and fix eternal destinies.

8. Our last objection to this doctrine is that it is impossible to harmonize it with the moral attributes of God. There can be no theodicy on the basis of chiliasm. The premillenarian proposition can never be harmonized in vindication of God's goodness: (1) From the birth of Christ the world has steadily deteriorated. (2) He did not expect or intend that the Paraclete, working through the Church, would arrest this downward progress. (3) He intended to supersede the Paraclete and human agency in the establishment of his kingdom, and to establish it himself in his visible bodily presence, after the hope-

less world had sunken to the lowest point. (4) Before his second coming the purpose of preaching was for a witness to all nations, not to convert the world, but to take out of the Gentiles the elect, his bride.

If Christ saw the failure of his appointed agents from the beginning, before many scores or hundreds of wicked generations had gone to perdition who might have been converted and saved by his earlier coming, how can his long delay be consistent with his goodness? The Chiliast has no tolerable answer. All others can say that pessimism is not true. The world is slowly improving, as our submerged western continent slowly emerged from the sea, perhaps only an inch in a century; that redemption involving human cooperation can realize its blessed results only through the foreseen ages of human history. Hence it follows that redeeming love will encounter many failures because of the human agency which it must employ, till at last, after numberless tribulations and seeming defeats, the kingdom of Christ possesses the earth. In this divine program there is nothing that calls for a theodicy. The most wonderful part of it is the infinite patience of God with his weak and sometimes balky yokefellow, through so many generations. Since the world is growing worse and worse, and "its only hope is in the coming of earth's true King," it indisputably follows that "preaching the Gospel for a witness" is not designed to convert the pagan nations and lift them to the high altitudes of a Christian civilization. Such a result would spoil the argument for the speedy coming of "the true King," one sign of whose near advent is this very pessimism which the Chiliasts are perpetually bewailing, "the apostasy of the latter days." There is something morally wrong in that attitude of mind in which the hope of the world's evangelization by Christian missions is antagonistic to the hope of the immediate coming of the Head of the Church. With this deadlock of motives how can the preaching for a witness be done in sincerity and faith, in the converting power of the Holy Spirit? The logical attitude of the Premillenarian is either to abstain from all attempts to convert the heathen or to preach as others do, to save the pagan world, abandoning preaching for a witness an effort whose ultimate purpose is not the salvation of the greatest number of souls, but to hasten the coming of "the true King." Hence we

are not surprised to learn that quite a number of the Christian Alliance preachers for a witness have become disgusted with a work so unsatisfactory, and have resigned their commission and returned to their native land. It is something new in the annals of Christian missions to have consecrated men and women abandon their fields of labor because of their dissatisfaction with the purpose and method of their work. The purpose determines the superficial method—hastening from village to village, delivering a brief message half an hour in length, and moving on with the feeling that that village or city has had the Gospel preached as a witness. One woman writes that her husband has three hundred and fifty villages in India which they are to visit twice in a year, and then advance to another district. Another missionary says that he sometimes preached in eight villages in a day. The success of this kind of preaching is not in the number of souls translated out of darkness into the marvelous light, but in the number of hundreds of square miles of pagan territory traversed.

The contents of "the fourfold Gospel" now being preached for a witness are: (1) Justification, (2) sanctification, (3) divine healing on the basis of the atonement, (4) the near coming of the King to set up his kingdom. The first and second contain the essence of Christianity. The third and fourth are speculative theories, disputed by the vast majority of Christians and unworthy of any place higher than that of private opinion. To treat them as cardinal doctrines, as is done by associating them with the first and second, is misleading. To preach them with a "Thus saith the Lord," as veritable truths of revelation, is a grave mistake. Respecting the fourth we have already spoken. The third cannot be preached anywhere, especially in pagan lands, without evil consequences. When pagans are told that the healing of the sick and the pardon of sinners are included in the atonement, both resting on the same grounds and available on the same condition of faith; when they see the funeral procession come out of the missionary's house with the coffined body of one of its inmates; and when they see the preacher himself quitting his field and returning to his home beyond the sea because of ill health, they naturally infer, not only that the God of the Christians cannot heal the body, but also that he cannot pardon and purify the sinner.

Thus, the doctrine of "divine healing" becomes obstructive of saving faith in Jesus Christ, and leads some excellent Christians into delusions which damage their influence.

So strong a man as Dr. A. J. Gordon was so warped by his favorite themes, faith healing and the immediate manifestation of the Lord Jesus in the clouds, that he confidently expected to live till he should be caught up to meet him. He often exclaimed, "No winding sheet for me, nor house of sod."

In proof of the assertion that all Premillennialists sooner or later fall into despair respecting the success of the Gospel under the dispensation of the Holy Spirit, we quote from the last Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the International Missionary Alliance:

> The year is closing amid the deepening shadows of the gathering night. Distress of nations with perplexity is convulsing human society in our own as well as other lands. Only three years more of the nineteenth century. Its latest chapters are being written in human blood and tears, and illustrated by spectacles of monstrous wickedness, cruelty, and crime that outshadow the horrible records of the French Revolution a hundred years ago. The policies and diplomacies of men have failed. In the zenith of its culture and its power the century stands helpless and aghast. *Its only hope is the coming of earth's true King, the blessed Son of God.*

We italicize the last sentence because it implies the total failure of Christianity to save our race through the preaching of love and truth as it is in Jesus, attended by the Holy Spirit. The great commission, with its promise of the invisible presence of Christ to the end of the world, is totally inadequate and must be supplemented by the bodily "coming of earth's true King." What a reflection is this on the wisdom of the Son of God, of whom Isaiah predicted, "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law;" and what a low valuation of his invisible presence, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world!"

The report continues thus: "But how shall we hasten his appearing? How but by praying and helping to prepare and complete the bride of the Lamb, and send the Gospel as a witness to the lost of the unevangelized nations that the end may come?" The phrase, "preaching the Gospel for a witness," is found only in Matt. xxiv, 14, in the description of the immi-

nent destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Hebrew commonwealth. All exegetes agree in this interpretation of the first part of this chapter, but they differ on the question of the point of transition from this judgment of the Jewish nation to the final judgment of the world. Some able scholars, such as John Lightfoot, Adam Clarke, and Moses Stuart, insist that the entire chapter applies to the impending doom of political Judaism, and that the transition to the day of general judgment is not found till we reach Matt. xxv, 31. Others place it at the close of Matt. xxiv, 28, and still others at verse 24. Even strong Premillennialists admit that preaching the Gospel for a witness—whatever this may mean—was to be before Jerusalem was destroyed. Thus write Bengel and Alford. The latter says: "The Gospel had been preached through the whole *orbis terrarum*, and every nation had received its testimony before the destruction of Jerusalem. (See Col. i, 6, 23; 2 Tim. iv, 17.) This was necessary, not only as regarded the Gentiles, but to give to God's people, the Jews, who were scattered among all these nations, the opportunity of receiving or rejecting the preaching of Christ." Since the primitive preaching of the Gospel consisted in narrating the facts in Christ's life and a repetition of his words the Gospel could not be preached to the Gentiles without incidentally criminating the Jews for rejecting their Messiah. Hence, says Adam Clarke, "God would have the iniquity of the Jews published everywhere, before the heavy strokes of his judgments should fall upon them; that all mankind, as it were, might be brought as witnesses against their cruelty and obstinacy in crucifying and rejecting the Lord Jesus." The "end" that should come, after preaching in all the world, is not the second coming of Christ nor the termination of human history on the earth, but the end of the Hebrew polity, the end of the Jewish "age" (Matt. xxiv, 3, Revised Version, margin). Says Bengel, "Before that end Peter, Paul, and others alluded to in verse 9 had concluded their apostolate." To found in the nineteenth century a missionary movement whose purpose and methods are determined by the words of Christ, which were local in their application and limited to the lifetime of the generation in which he lived (verse 34), seems to many thoughtful seekers for divine truth to be a very unwise and unpromising enterprise.

The phrase, "to complete the bride of the Lamb," has a very strange and unscriptural sound. We detect in it a distinct predestinarian note which grates on our ear. We understand the words, "to prepare the bride," as relating to her cleansing, that she may be presented to the Bridegroom "not having spot, or wrinkle." By the "completion" of the bride we understand, what some plainly express, the special call of the definite number of souls unconditionally elected to this honor before the foundation of the world. We still believe "there is no respect of persons with God." Hence, we are not laboring to "complete the bride" or Church, but to "prepare" her and to make her as perfect as possible.

It is not wonderful that large missionary contributions should be given to send missionaries to preach the Gospel for a witness when we consider:

1. That the givers are thoroughly consecrated and filled with the Holy Spirit, who enters and abides wherever there is an all-surrendering faith in Christ, whatever the theory of eschatology within the sphere of orthodoxy.

2. That a strong faith in the very near coming of Christ frequently produces large gifts, since the giver's future on earth is viewed as so short that half the deposit in the savings bank, or less, is regarded as sufficient. We observe that great pains are taken to keep before the mind the immediate descent of "the true King." We quote again from the last report:

> The greatest missionary society in the world is commencing a three years' enterprise to close the century with the boldest advance movement ever planned by missionary faith, hope, and love. Shall not we, the youngest of the missionary bands, join our older English sister by a similar enterprise in this western hemisphere, and signalize the blessings of the past . . . by some new endeavor of faith and love which may give the Gospel at least to all the unreached lands, and bring three years nearer the glorious return of our waiting King?

This constant presentation of a limited number of years before the second advent has characterized the movement from the beginning, when it was thought that the Gospel could be preached in all the world in a single decade and thus make it necessary for Christ to come. It seems there are only three years of the decade left. It requires quite a stretch of faith to grasp the idea that the Gospel may in this short period be

given to "all the unreached lands." But this natural impossibility is presented, apparently, with the utmost confidence, and by many is believed. This magnificent program strikes the imagination and calls forth munificent gifts.

3. Another consideration influential with some Christian philanthropists of a visionary cast of mind is the thought that after three years the nations, Jew and Gentile, are sure of being converted by Christ himself, in a supernatural way, after he has been crowned and enthroned at Jerusalem. To hasten the coming of this heavenly reaper to thrust his sickle into the ripe harvest of the earth, it is worth the while of the weary and discouraged human harvesters to make large contributions. Many a farmer has given a large sum of money to substitute a mowing machine for his scythe. The writers of the report cannot be reproached for their little faith. It closes thus with a conception large enough almost to take our breath away: "O, it would be glorious if the last days of the nineteenth century should report the evangelization of earth's last tribe and tongue! O, it would be glory itself if the first convention of the twentieth century should be at the feet of Jesus in the air, and amid the raptures of the advent morning and the millennial day!" It has been said that faith is contagious. If the audiences of the Christian Alliance missionary meetings are pervaded by the faith of their leaders the secret of their large contributions is divulged.

Why do not other missionary boards create a similar enthusiasm in liberal giving? It is because they cannot see any ground for asserting the premillennial coming of Christ. Hence they cannot focalize the gifts of their people upon the next three years. They must use such arguments as they find in the Bible, arguments which will be good a century or ten centuries hence, if there are still on the earth unevangelized souls. They fear the evil effects of preaching the immediate coming of Christ and of reading this doctrine into the Holy Scriptures. Some of them heard William Miller in 1843 confidently prove from the Bible in seven different ways that Christ would come as Judge of the world in the autumn of that year. They have a vivid memory of the painful reaction which followed, in the total eclipse of faith in the Holy Scriptures, from which some of his disciples never emerged. It is a theme on which a man

may easily become a fanatic, especially when associated with the tenet that all sickness is covered by the atonement as surely as all sin.

In view of this examination of premillennialism, which we have weighed and found wanting a basis in Scripture and in reason, we would advise all Christians to bestow their gifts for the world's evangelization upon their own denominational missions, which proceed upon methods tried and approved by experience and by that book styled by Gladstone "the impregnable Rock of God's Word."

Since Christ uttered the great commission, "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations," no man has been called to preach the Gospel for a witness, or for any other purpose. The kingdom of Christ is come, and the King is now, and will be, invisibly present with his heralds "alway, even unto the end of the world," having abolished forever the former distinction of places and made the whole world a temple for spiritual worship. There is now "one flock" (Revised Version) and "one shepherd," who has gathered "together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad," putting "no difference between the Jew and the Greek," having "broken down the middle wall of partition between us." That wall Christ will never rebuild. He takes no backward steps. We "who are Christ's are Abraham's seed, whose circumcision is that of the heart in the Holy Spirit." Our desired city is not the Jerusalem "which now is, and is in bondage with her children," but the free Jerusalem "which is above, . . . the mother of us all." Toward this heavenly city all believers in Christ are setting their faces, and on the tombstone of every one may Dean Alford's epitaph be appropriately chiseled, slightly improved, *Diversorium Viatoris Hierosolymam Novam Proficiscentis*—The Wayside Inn of a Traveler Journeying to the New Jerusalem.

Daniel Steele

Art. IV.—ANTE-AGAMEMNONA.

If one were sailing with Raleigh where a stream freshened far out the salt and surging sea he would wish to know whence the goodly water came. If he turned against its flow until his prow was stopped by some ledge athwart the stream, or by the tangled luxuriance of a tropical forest, his thought would not end with the arrest of his voyage. The river need not be one "whose foam is amber and whose gravel gold," but from his enforced anchorage he might see it fling life and verdure over the savannas below. He might see as flotsam and jetsam on its current, drifting rich and rare from mysterious regions, choice products of men's skill and toil, whether ministering to common needs or to the higher sensibilities. Dull would he be who did not long to pass to the upper stretches of the stream and see under what cliffs and forests, by what fields and towns, this water had for long leagues been flowing.

With feeling like this one finds himself at Homer, barred from the beyond. "Ye may not enter," as carved on the Homeric pillars, provokes entrance rather than forbids it, and the heart leaps up to require that which is past, as if the past, like the present and the future, were in our appointed dominion. This feeling haunts one like an agony as he travels the Homeric lands. At the Heraion, where the kings swore fealty to Agamemnon, he wonders who were the kings before Agamemnon. At Mycenæ he swings the iron wicket beneath those lions that are the oldest sculpture in Europe and enters the solemn precinct of the bygone. At his right in that Agora, "making men illustrious," sat a hundred councilors; at his left were vaults for kingly treasures, and the massive walls looked down on marbles covering royal dust. Beyond are gray fields and the white-surfed, wine-hued sea. "Eternal summer gilds them yet." What manifold stir of life, what strong-armed energy, what speech and song, what "fair women and brave men" must once have filled this town! Musing there alone, one's dream, which is "not all a dream," takes a dim, historic form.

The unhistoric realm of Hellenic life is on its near side bounded by the Troica; on the far, by the coming of the Aryans into "Javan and the isles." Its breadth may be that of Ba-

laam's vision when, "in a trance with his eyes open," he looked down a thousand years and saw in the horizon the ships of Chittim and brought Greece into the sacred record. A long, long darkness, but under this far-floating gloom great work was done by unseen workers.

And first, the development of language. The mystery of speech was solved and simplified. The shaping of the short-hand of Tyrian merchants into the Greek alphabet was a deed skillful and beneficent. Still better was the modification of the language itself. Assuming Schleicher's Alt-Indien as the primitive Aryan speech, and the Sanskrit as the oldest branch, the type of the earliest Greek may easily be outlined. If one traces our English from Beowulf to Shakespeare through what struggles does he find it passing, under what complication of energies, what agonies of mutilation and assimilation! Its case system, its ugliness of compounding, where are they? How clear and simple in structure, how vigorous in movement, as it now proceeds in majestic march for the conquest of the world! This a thousand years did for the English, and the like was in a commensurate period done for the Greek. Compared with the Sanskrit, its stationary sister, or the Latin, older but unmanipulated, the Greek issues from demiurgic darkness into historic day, "a crystalline delight," complete in every linguistic quality, tuneful now as ever beneath its sapphire skies, fit for gods and godlike men.

In this unhistoric millennium the Greek, like his Aryan kinsmen, "knew not God;" but his was a lively growth in the apprehension of the divine. The powers of nature become persons. Thus Erem, "the greyhound," had in India been applied to the wind. "The greyhound of the gods," said one, when the clouds of the monsoon began tossing wildly in the sky, "is driving up their cows." This crude conception the Greeks refined into Hermes, Ἑρμείας, "young hound," a person lithe and graceful, the messenger of the gods, the gatherer of souls to Hades, the patron of pursuits calling for ingenuity, as art, trade, and literature, and gymnastics. Or, take Athena, *Ahanâ* (Sanskrit), "the dawn." In the freshness of the early world the dayspring was counted the most wondrous and affecting of all phenomena, but on the plains of India the beholder viewed it only as a phenomenon pure and simple. "The daughter of

the sky," divine indeed, is a very vague personality, "wearing her brilliant garment." "She rises up, moving everyone, leader of the days, gold-colored, lovely to behold." "Shine for us, thou who lengthenest our days, thou highborn dawn, give us riches far and wide!" Not unlike that might any poet of our day write, in our usual rhetorical personification. Athena, emerging from the unregistered Hellenic spaces, is no longer a phase or a power of nature. She is a person sprung from the mighty forehead of the morning sky; she calls the world to life; she scatters the monsters of the dark; she gathers to herself those attributes, the sum of which made her the entrancing patroness of "Athens, the eye of Greece," fit resident of the Parthenon, "the brightest gem Greece wore on all her zone." In like manner one might trace the other personages of the Olympian and find each by transformation brought from something rude, gross, and material to something refined, cultured, and personal, and the air of Greece untainted by human sacrifices. This movement in historic times went on making for theistic truth, and the interchangeable θεοί and θεός of Socrates are but thinly apart from the only true God. Thus, untraced Greek thought was "a schoolmaster" leading toward theism. The traceable movement of idolatry is toward the coarse and clumsy. By what energy of conception was the process here reversed and the natural made intellectual and spiritual? It was not one man's work; it was "one man's wit and many men's wisdom," the thought of generations set to speech and music at last by one great master.

Or, we may look at the political outcome of these cloud-wrapped centuries. In India one sees the primitive system of patriarchal headship early degenerating into absolutism. The masses, even when arrived at some intellectual development, have that scared look in the face, that shrinking acquiescence in temper, that to this day so marks oriental peoples. Not so in the Hellenic sphere. There is a headship, but it is filled by a hero whose qualities fit him for the place, who is first in war and in peace alike. There is a senate of high-souled venerable men; there is an assembly where even Thersites, if he will but be other than impudent in his babbling, may, as of ancient right, speak his mind before kings and those who are in authority, and even intimate "the exploded theory" that rulers derive their

just powers from the consent of the governed. The political instinct came to be a fixed law of life, and when history opens the man has already come to be a citizen, a character now for the first time found on earth. The man is completed in the state, as the Christian is completed in the Church. He is in it as a part of a living organism; to him life, society, and state are terms nearly interchangeable. This took a clearer form in the republics of historic times, but at the dawn of history the idea of citizenship is already fully developed; the compromise between freedom and authority, between will and law, is thoroughly understood and accepted, and each member of a community is habituated to be at the same time ἄρχων and ἀρχόμενος. It is not to be said that the Greek ideal of government was complete; it favored the strong and did little for the feeble. It was charged against the Homeric usages that they approved of the misuse of the poor; and evidently the value and the claims of simple human personality had not become well defined. The Jews, better than the Greeks, understood the rights of the helpless; but who would not choose the rudest Greek state before the despotism of Pharaoh or Nebuchadnezzar? The history of France shows how difficult it is, even with the modern heritage of ideas, to form a free and sovereign body of citizens. By what struggles of change, each doing its share, must Hellas have reached that condition of orderly political thought and usage by which each community became a state and the πόλις, the δῆμος, ruled not merely the conduct but the hopes, the affections of the individual. This conception of an interlacing political fabric, sufficient unto itself, grew unseen by historic eyes; but it was not, like the prophet's gourd, the hasty product of one hot night, nor did it perish by one sting of sharp hostility. It was the fertile breeder of many later constitutions, one feature of which we in fact sorely need today, that which declares the citizen not zealous of the public welfare to be not merely useless but positively harmful and traitorous.

Of art it would be strange if we did not find in this period some preliminary work already achieved. This was the time of joyous, exuberant youth, whose overflow of energy and passion finds its consummation in the typical young man, Achilles. All art originates in surplus—surplus of spirits, of leisure, and

of resource. It is the soul rising above the pressure of necessity into free, spontaneous activity. Our first glimpse of this activity is—and most naturally—in the rhythmic movement of the dance and the rhythm of both time and tone in the utterance of the song. Hence came, in historic days, the drama and the poem. The useful arts, to a creature that enters the world unshod, unclad, and unarmed, who must devise his own appliances for food and shelter, demand the first attention. He must learn from digestion—"cooking within the body"—to supply the deficiencies of nature by previous cooking outside. His shortness of arm, his slowness of foot, his weakness of muscle must be supplemented by such devices as his brain suggests. But, in Hellas, the useful arts, when their products—as utensils, furniture, and the like—first appear, are already assuming the beautiful. Cups, cloths, and armor show that ornament has become decoration. The fine ideal is now ages before Plato becoming dominant in the Hellenic mind, and with sovereign touch it begins to beautify things of common utility. Of all arts architecture alone remains disregarded. Nothing is traceable that shows promise or potency of its coming splendor. The house, the temple, was a shelter, and hardly more. But where did that millennial sun look down on any architecture made with hands? History shows art to be, like the century plant, slow of growth and then swiftly bursting into bloom, as in the fifth century before our era, or the fifteenth after it. In prehistoric Greece the growth was slow and the verdure simple, but beneath its shade the people gained the sure taste, the sense of proportion, the keen relish, the longing, and the aspiration that made possible the glory of their later achievements. The artistic character was assured.

Close akin to art is literature; for poetry is a fine art, and a Greek oration was no less so, "vital in every part" like the human body, and complete in symmetry and perspective. If by literature we mean intellectual products, formal, published, and permanent, our period has nothing to show. If by it we mean all intellectual products of a given people, we must pause and consider. The intellectual products of a generation, as the producing generation itself, are like the leaves of trees, mostly of swift decay. In our own day—this just gone year, this soon gone century—books, like the leaves in Vallombrosa,

have been strewn upon the sod, wind-drifting to decay, or stored in stately uselessness in vast libraries, to be lost in the atmospheric dust. They might cheerfully be given to the man of the bottomless, if only their flavor and essence might unembodied pass on to cheer and strengthen the next generation. This last was the fate of the pre-Homeric literature, and not an unhappy fate. Some exult over the cartouch of Menotoph and the unspeakable mummy of Rameses. *Forma mentis eterna.* If that survive we can spare the rest. There is reasonable presumption that Homer, like Chaucer, felt himself to be at the close, rather than at the beginning, of an era of literary productiveness. The lively Grecian, in a land of "song, dust, and sunshine," had not been of idle mind. Certain forms of intellectual activity now familiar and valuable our race had not yet reached, but the poet and the minstrel were already the teachers of the youth. The intellect was clearly and fearlessly devoted to the solving of life's problems; and the free discussion of affairs, of which one detects many a trace, led, as time went on, to that marvelous power, "the applause of listening senates to command." "To discern the deathless and ageless order of nature, whence it arose, the how, the why," never came into the range of their childlike aspirations; but, as surely as the boy is the father of the man, the later rule for the entrance upon philosophic attainment, "Know thyself," and the formula for its prosecution, "Let us follow the argument whithersoever it leads," are already felt, though not yet by long ages stated.

Forma mentis eterna. Life's chief product, after all, whether in the nation or the individual, is character. For this to each are given his seventy years, more or less, of changeful experience, of struggles in the stream of mortal tendency with or against the divine order of the world. For this communities and kingdoms rise, develop, clash, and fall. The individual withers, his works crumble, but his character endures and enters upon the world that is to come. At the close of our heavy mantled period the Greek character has assumed its defining features. "When should the education of a child begin?" asked a mother, addressing Oliver Wendell Holmes. "A hundred years before it is born," was the answer. A time still longer is needed to educate a nation. Mark how long and

varied was the training of the Hebrew people; and as a result, how is their character, like their features, permanent. The typical Englishman comes from a thousand stirring years of strife and change, of trade and conquest, of law and government. The American, after three centuries, is still "on the make;" and, though a Lincoln has already been achieved, we watch the formative process and wonder what the coming man will be. Of how many generations "hasting stormfully across the earth" was the product Odysseus, that complex man whose traits reappear in Solon and Themistocles and Tricoupis? He tells of the unrecorded life in preexistent Hellas, as a mountain park tells of geological vicissitudes. "O earth, what changes hast thou seen!" With restless desire for the widest knowledge he saw the manners and cities of many men, and learned their minds. He bore hardship with fortitude unshrinking, and devised relief with ingenuity unhesitating. He sees before other men the drift of an argument or the result of a policy, and "his words, like wintry snowflakes," copious and gentle, none can equal in persuasion. Complete in self-control, he can suffer and be strong. His courage rises with the occasion. He subjects every movement to the test of reason, and the response of reason he bends his whole energy to execute. He is no embodiment of goodness. The Greek character was human and had faults enough; its Odyssean versatility could adroitly turn to treachery and falsehood. Odysseus may be a fictitious personage, yet the hand of the master would not have framed him upon the wall but as a reality of his time, as real as John of Gaunt in Shakespeare. This Greek character, with its features good and ill, such as it emerged from "the days whereof no man knew," so remained through the well-known days thereafter. The Cephissus, already a full river, comes into the sunlight from the marble heart of Pentelicus, to flow through gardens, vineyards, and olive orchards. So the Greek Ἔθος issues from the deep natal gloom, and goes forth to enliven the whole Hellenic life of later days. Nor has time brought serious change and decay. The character is still in the old home and identifiable. The selfsame mold produces the selfsame men, graceful, inquisitive, and eager, passionate and versatile, capable of the ancient glory and of the ancient shame.

How easily we come to look upon the remoter past as uneventful, a flat surface, as in marine perspective the billows bounding and breaking near the horizon's verge look smooth. Those unseen Greeks lived as we live. Above them the sun shone out and the silent stars, and for them the seasons walked their splendid round. They ate, they drank, they planted, they builded, they married, they were given in marriage. They had hopes and fears and passions and pangs like ours. *Carent vates sacros.* Could we have of them a word, as the great Teacher's word of the antediluvians, or could one cut a section of their routine of life, as men have done at Pompeii, we might by the processes of comparative anatomy recover much. *Omnes una nocte tenentur.* We can but reason inductively upon a fascinating, an important, because a molding, period in which a people developed those traits that later gave them the lordship of the human mind. In Dante's words: "Here vision fails, but yet the will rolls onward like a wheel." If only, where our bark must stop, some cliff rose skyward from whose summit the far-away vision would satisfy!

Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific, and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

A. B. Hyde

Art. V.—THE GROWTH OF JESUS—PHYSICAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND SPIRITUAL.

In the Gospel according to St. Luke ii, 52, we read, *Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις.**

I. In this passage there is clearly indicated the physical, intellectual, and spiritual growth of Jesus. Hence it may be inferred, without hesitation, that he was limited by the laws of time and space; and also that he was subject to the laws of human development, and that, therefore, he was in every respect a perfect man.

II. In the second chapter of St. Luke's gospel there are described, (1) the birth of Jesus and the circumstances connected therewith (verses 1–20); (2) his circumcision and presentation in the temple, together with the circumstances connected therewith (verses 21–40); (3) his first conscious visit to Jerusalem at the age of twelve years as a "son of the law" † (verses 41–52); (4) the consciousness of his duty to his heavenly Father (verse 49); (5) his subjection and obedience to his earthly parents (verse 51); and (6) his physical, intellectual, and spiritual growth and development, which is positively indicated as having begun to be recognized by himself and others at that period, and which continued from the time of his return from Jerusalem to Nazareth till the time of his first public appearance (chap. iii, 1–20).

III. During these eighteen years, that is, from his twelfth to his thirtieth year, Jesus accomplished a part of the work which his heavenly Father had given him to do (John xvii, 4). But it was a work pertaining principally to himself, and involving

* These are the words of the *Textus Receptus*, as, also, those of the text adopted by the revisers; but in Tischendorf's *Editio Octava Critica Maior* of the Greek New Testament, as well as in his edition of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the words *ἐν τῇ* are inserted before *σοφίᾳ*; while in Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek New Testament the verb *προέκοπτε* ends with the letter *ν*, followed by the article *τῇ*; in Tregelles's edition the verb ends with the letter *ν*, followed by the words *ἡλικίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ*; and in Tischendorf's edition of the *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum* the verb terminates with the letter *ν*, and is followed by the article *τῇ*; and in the *Codex Alexandrinus* the verb ends with the letter *ν*. But all these various readings make no change in the meaning of verse 52. They were no doubt unintentionally made by copyists; and happily the differences between the various readings are for the most part so minute that they do not affect the substance of the teachings of our Lord and his Apostles and of the Evangelists. They are the results of the common risks of misapprehension and inadvertence to which all copyists were liable.

† Among the ancient Jews a boy at the age of twelve or thirteen years was called בֶּן הַתּוֹרָה, Son of the Law.

three separate and distinct parts, the first being of a physical, the second of an intellectual, and the third of a spiritual, character.

IV. As to the physical part of his work, it is said, Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε ... ἐν ἡλικίᾳ. The verb προκόπτειν signifies, primarily, *to be forwarded, to advance, to thrive, to beat out* or *to stretch* by hammering (Liddell and Scott); that is, *to lengthen, to increase, to grow; to beat forward, to lengthen out* by hammering, *to advance, to increase* (Thayer); *to out one's way forward, to advance, to prosper* (Jones); *strecken, ausdehnen* (*to stretch, to extend*), *zunehmen* (*to increase, to grow*, Rost); and it may, therefore, be rightly translated, "And Jesus increased, or grew, in stature." The substantive ἡλικία signifies both *stature* and *age*. Liddell and Scott, with Thayer, give *age* first; whereas John Jones's lexicon translates it *stature, size, age*. There can be no question that the word ἡλικία in our passage is to be taken in the same sense in which it must be understood in Luke xix, 3, where it can have no other meaning than *stature*. Increase in stature implies of necessity increase in age; but increase in age does not always imply increase in stature. Luke describes in chap. ii, 40 and 52, the physical, as well as the mental and spiritual, development of Jesus. This bodily growth through infancy and boyhood up to manhood was a part of the work his Father had given him to do (John xvii, 4); for it implied eating and drinking, indoor and out-of-door bodily exercise, probably the running of errands, work at the carpenter's trade, subjection to the orders of his parents, exposure to the inclemency of the weather, and unpleasant accidents, all of which presuppose also physical weariness and pain, hunger and thirst, and humiliation. For when it is said of him that it "became him ... to make the captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings" (Heb. ii, 10), there can be no doubt that these sufferings, παθήματα, included physical pain; and to endure this pain and the things that produce it was a part of his work, to say nothing of his self-humiliation in voluntarily subjecting himself to the commands and reproofs* of his earthly parents (Luke ii, 48). His physical growth and development were, like those of any

* That Jesus considered his mother's question, "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us?" as a reproof appears evident from his answer, which possesses the character of a justification of his conduct in remaining behind in the temple for the purpose of learning what were his duties, not only to his earthly parents, but more especially to his heavenly Father.

other infant and youth, normal and gradual. This is implied in the words, "and Jesus increased in . . . stature" and "he went down with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them" (verse 51). His physical growth was also of a twofold nature, active and passive—active in that he did during the eighteen years of his retirement what we have already mentioned, and passive in that he endured hunger and thirst, fatigue and pain, even before his great fast immediately preceding his great temptation (Matt. iv, 1–11).

V. As to his intellectual growth our passage says, Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε (ἐν τῇ) σοφίᾳ; while in verse 40 it is also said, Τὸ δὲ παιδίον . . . πληρούμενον σοφίας. Here the Evangelist does not less distinctly describe the intellectual development of Jesus than he has done his physical. The infancy and boyhood of Jesus were no mere pretense, as is clearly evident from what is said of him in verses 40–52; for his divine-human personality passed, or had to pass, through these states of physical weakness and mental inexperience or ignorance.* He appears here in the temple as a learner, as a student of the word of God, asking for and receiving instruction, and comprehending the things communicated to him. He went through a regular process of intellectual culture, sitting in the midst of Jewish teachers, not teaching, but hearing and asking questions, thus actually learning from them, but also astonishing them by his understanding (comprehension) and answers. "There is nothing premature, forced, or unbecoming his age, and yet a degree of wisdom and an intensity of interest in religion is manifested which rises far above a purely human youth."† We see here his intellectual growth and development to have been as real, as unchecked, as normal, and as much effected by means as his physical. When the apostle John says of the incarnate Logos that he was "full of grace and truth," and when St. Luke says that the child Jesus was "filled with wisdom," and that after his return to Nazareth he "increased in wisdom," they mean to indicate thereby that Jesus, during the various stages of his earthly life, came into possession of objective truth and of wisdom, that is, of knowledge and the capacity of making the best use of it, by the ordinary process of learning, by study and oral instruction and

* Van Oosterzee, in his *Commentary on Luke*, rightly calls attention to the anti-Docetic character of this whole narrative, for the reality of the human nature and personality of Jesus is apparent in it. † Dr. Schaff, *Character of Jesus.*

experience, as well as by divine intuition. There is no unnatural exaggeration in the Evangelist's description of the boyhood of Jesus, but only the gradual acquisition of knowledge and the dawning upon his consciousness of his peculiar relation to his heavenly Father, together with a sense of duty to his earthly parents. His heart drew him to the temple—his (heavenly) Father's house—while the voice of filial duty called him back to Nazareth. Here we see the blossom of his inner life unfolding and ripening into the perfect fruit of obedience, shedding its fragrance around both in the temple at Jerusalem and in Galilee. His reply to his mother's question may be regarded as the program of his whole life, while his subjection to his earthly parents, his obedience, his self-denial and retirement in the privacy of the domestic circle, are an ever-present, perfect example for all children and youths to imitate. We see, then, that the two representations of Christ's intellectual status are not in conflict with each other, for St. Luke's statement refers to his boyhood and young manhood, during which he was a learner, while St. John's statement refers abstractly to his full manhood as he moved among men during his public ministry. If we contemplate these two statements together, may we not regard them, says Liddon, as "a special instance of that tender condescension by which our Lord willed to place himself in a relation of real sympathy with the various experiences of our finite existence?"

But, in whatever light we may view these two statements, one thing we must not lose sight of, namely, that, as we have already intimated, the intellectual development of Jesus was both normal and effected by the ordinary means. While he probably had no great scholastic advantages—such as regular and continued instruction from Jewish doctors, like Hillel, Gamaliel, or others; or from Alexandrian scholars, like Philo and others—yet he had the ordinary home training from a religious mother and foster-father, as well as that derived from attending the synagogue, where he heard the reading and exposition of the "Law and the Prophets," while in all probability he annually went up to Jerusalem to the "feast," where he saw and heard a good deal that intellectually benefited him, and thus learned much of the "business" or "the things" pertaining to his heavenly Father. In addition to all these things

he, no doubt, early practiced that intimate communion, by prayer and meditation, with his heavenly Father which, in itself, is one of the highest means of intellectual culture, to say nothing of its being the chief means of religious or spiritual growth. It was during these eighteen years of retirement that he physically and intellectually grew and developed into perfect manhood, to say here nothing of his moral or spiritual development. By the strict observance of the laws of health, by living in a pure and healthy atmosphere, by being surrounded with the beauty and grandeur of natural scenery, and by hearing weekly the reading and exposition of the "Law and Prophets," he no doubt grew into an ideally perfect youth and manhood. Sin touched not his pure nature. As a child and youth he was ignorant of many things which he had to learn by the ordinary process of study and observation; for why, if during this period he knew all things, did he ask questions in the temple and listen to the Jewish doctors expounding the Old Testament Scriptures? And if he was "in all points tempted like as we are," does this not imply that he had to undergo the laborious process of learning, like all other children and youths? True, his mind was early engrossed with his "Father's business;" and, this being the case, there can be no doubt but that under all the circumstances surrounding him, up to the time of his first public appearance, he had gained a fair knowledge of the real value and contents of the Old Testament Scriptures, so that when, during his public ministry, he appealed to them he did so with perfect inerrancy, knowing full well, both as a result of study and by divine intuition, who in general were their real authors; thus furnishing us with the strongest possible evidence in favor of both their authorship and authority. Hence, we are warranted in maintaining that, when he made definite statements on these subjects, he was neither the victim nor the propagator of serious errors, but the authoritative teacher of truth. It is a dangerous thing for some "higher critics" to reject the testimony of Jesus Christ, even if he did not intend purposely to bear witness to the authorship and authority of the different books of the Old Testament.

The fair inference from the preceding observations is this, that, while Jesus, during his early boyhood and youth, did not possess absolutely perfect knowledge—which would have been

incompatible with his human nature respecting both his intellect and will—he yet acquired, by the process of study, observation, and experience, as well as by divine intuition, a perfect knowledge of his "Father's business," and, being also morally or spiritually perfect, as we shall endeavor to show further on, he taught what was perfect truth, in perfect harmony with his saying, "I am . . . the truth." This view of the case, we humbly believe, does violence neither to his divine nor to his human nature, and it thus satisfies all the conditions of the problem, in so far at least as they are capable of being satisfied on earth. Besides, the example of Jesus as a learner should stimulate all his followers to faithfully use all available means for the elucidation and exposition of the word of God, so that their knowledge of their heavenly "Father's business" may constantly increase, that they may thus be enabled to attend to it more thoroughly and devotedly.

VI. Now, as to the moral or spiritual growth of Jesus, our passage says, *Καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτε . . . χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις*, while in verse 40 it is said of him, *Τὸ δὲ παιδίον ηὔξανε, καὶ ἐκραταιοῦτο πνεύματι,* πληρούμενον σοφίας· καὶ χάρις Θεοῦ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτό.* Here we have a plain indication that the moral or spiritual growth and development of Jesus began very early. It is stated that soon after his presentation in the temple his parents were divinely directed to go to Egypt for his safety; but circumstances and events occurring that permitted them to return, they settled in Nazareth, where his threefold growth and development began under such influences and advantages as a mechanic's home in a provincial town in Palestine furnished, nearly nineteen hundred years ago. That such a home was not altogether devoid of intellectual and religious advantages and influences is evident from the fact that, even in his early boyhood, he is said to have "waxed strong in spirit," and to have been "filled with wisdom," and that the "grace of God was upon him" (verse 40).

The word *χάρις*, in New Testament Greek, signifies principally *favor, grace, kindness;* hence it is correctly trans-

* The word *πνεύματι* is omitted in the text of Lachmann, Alford, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Tregelles, Gebhardt, and Weymouth; it is also omitted in the *Codex Sinaiticus* and the *Codex Vaticanus;* but it occurs in the *Codex Alexandrinus* and in several of the later manuscripts. It seems to have been inserted from chap. i, 80, though it is probable that St. Luke applied this word to the boy Jesus as well as to the boy John (the Baptist); there is no reason why he should not have done so.

lated in the Authorized and Revised Versions as *favor* (verse 52). Luther translates it as *Gnade*, or *grace;* but these two words really signify the same thing. Now, when it is said that "Jesus increased . . . in favor with God and man," it is clearly implied thereby that he was already in their favor, or that he possessed their favor at the time he returned from Jerusalem to Nazareth, that is, at the age of twelve. How could it have been otherwise? The fact of his having been found in the temple among the doctors, astonishing all that heard him by "his understanding and answers," presupposes such a surprisingly advanced and mature mind, as well as winning and ingratiating manners on his part, as must have secured for him the "favor" or good will, not only of his earthly parents and teachers, but also of all with whom he had come in contact, and who had heard him; while his willingness and earnest desire to know and to do his "Father's business," at so early an age, was particularly pleasing to Him who had sent him, because He saw, too, that the consciousness of the boy Jesus, both of his peculiar relation to Him as his real Father and of the work He had given him to do (John xvii, 4), had already reached a comparatively high degree of development. It is, therefore, no wonder that at that early age he enjoyed the "favor" or "grace" both of his heavenly Father and of his earthly parents, teachers, and acquaintances in a high degree. From this we may also infer that the failings of ordinary childhood and boyhood were in him totally absent, and that his moral purity at that time corresponded with his intellectual advancement and comparative maturity.

VII. Now, it is to be remembered that Jesus, even as a boy, was the "Logos incarnate;" that *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, "the Word became flesh," means that the Logos, the Word, became man, for the term *σὰρξ* here signifies human nature in its entirety, or in its original purity and wholeness.* He, and he alone, was the true ideal of humanity—a humanity that does not exclude gradual physical, mental, and moral or spiritual development, though it does exclude moral defilement or sin. Immaturity of body, of mind, and of moral nature and consciousness in Jesus does not imply the least approach to sinful tendencies, much less to actual sin-taint; hence, anything of this kind was totally

* This thought we shall elaborate more fully further on.

absent in his boyhood, and for that reason he already enjoyed the "favor" of his heavenly Father in a high degree.

Now, our passage says that from the time he returned with his parents to Nazareth, προέκοπτε—he increased, or grew—σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι παρὰ Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις—"in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man;" that is, his consciousness of divinity, his obedience, his self-denial, his speech (for he spoke as never man spake), all are here "present *in nuce*, soon to be manifested *in luce*" (Van Oosterzee). There was a constant and progressive development of his mind and heart, an increase of his knowledge of his heavenly "Father's business," and a constant intensification of his holy nature or being, as well as of his holy desire to do and to finish the work which his heavenly Father had given him to do. During all this time "the consciousness of his mission on earth was ripening; the things heard of the Father (John xv, 15) were continually imparted to him; the Spirit, which was not given by measure to him, was abiding more and more upon him, till the day when he was fully ripe for his official manifestation."* We cannot sufficiently appreciate the full meaning of the words of this passage; for only by endeavoring to do so can we think rightly of Christ. He had emptied himself of his glory; his infancy and childhood were, according to this passage, no mere pretense, but the divine personality was in him carried through these states of weakness and inexperience, and gathered round itself the ordinary accessions and experiences of the sons of men. And then, during all the subsequent eighteen mysterious years, we may, by the light of what is here revealed, view him advancing onward to that fullness of wisdom, and in that holy living, meditating and working, until he had earned the approval not only of his earthly parents and of the public in general, but also of his heavenly Father, which (approval) he pronounced of Jesus at the close of his retirement and the beginning of his public ministry in these words: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii, 17). "The growing up through infancy, childhood, youth, manhood, from grace to grace, holiness to holiness, in subjection, self-denial, and love, without one polluting touch of sin—this it was which, consummated by the three years of active ministry, by the

* *Vid.* Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i, *sub* Luke ii, 52.

passion and the cross, constituted 'the obedience of one' man, by which many are made righteous." *

All this took place in perfect harmony with his nature and being as the Logos incarnate. In that the Logos "became flesh" or "man," ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, he stepped, as it were, out of his divine mode of existence and entered into the human mode of existence; it was a voluntary self-limitation on his part, without, however, his ceasing to be God; for he changed only, for the time being, his mode of existence, not his being, or essence, or nature. The immutability of the living God does not exclude a divine life-movement from within outward, nor from without inward, so long as it is in harmony with his divine being and nature.† The life-movement of the eternal Logos from within, that is, from his divine mode of existence, outward, that is, to his human mode of existence, did not change his being, or nature, or essence; but had he, in becoming man, assumed human nature tainted with hereditary sin—that would have been equivalent to changing his nature, which was an impossibility for him to do without thereby ceasing to be God. The Logos, in becoming man, did not cease to be as really divine as he was before his incarnation; he only changed his mode of existence into that of a sinless—perfectly holy—man; and the threefold mode of his growth—the physical, the mental, and the moral or spiritual—was in perfect harmony with his incarnate being and nature as the perfect God-man. As such he lived the life of a perfect man on earth without ceasing to be perfectly divine; for at his incarnation he only "emptied himself" (ἐκένωσεν, Phil. ii, 7) of his divine "glory" which he had with the Father "before the world was" (John xvii, 5); and thus he became "poor" for our sakes that we might be made "rich" through him (2 Cor. viii, 9); but he reassumed his divine glory, that is, his full divine attributes, at his ascension.

VIII. But it may be asked, "How, or in what sense, has the Logos, the second person in the Holy Trinity, become man?" We are aware that we have here to deal with an unfathomable mystery—one that transcends the natural reason of man; nevertheless, it is our right and duty to "grow . . . in the

* *Vid.* Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. i, *sub* Luke ii, 52.
† *Vid.* Ebrard, *Christliche Dogmatik*, second ed., vol. i, §§ 76-150.

knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Peter iii, 18), and this implies our duty to investigate his nature and being, his antemundane existence, and how and why he came as man into our world; hence, in attempting to answer, however inadequately, this important question, we are only doing our divinely enjoined duty.

1. When it is said in the Gospel of John i, 14, Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο—"and the Word was made," or rather became, "flesh"—we must first inquire into the meaning of the term σὰρξ, "flesh." It is evident that it does not mean merely the human body, as the opposite of soul and spirit, as if the Evangelist intended to say that the Logos had assumed or occupied the place of the human soul or spirit in the person of Jesus, or that he had enrobed himself with a human—a fleshly—body. Against this (Apollinarian) view the verb ἐγένετο, "became," is decisive; for in such a case it should be written, ἐλάβε σάρκα, that is, "he assumed flesh."* The New Testament Scriptures speak of Jesus only as a full, perfect, entire man (John viii, 40); hence, they declare that he possessed body, soul, and spirit. When Jesus says, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death" (Matt. xxvi, 38); or, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke xxiii, 46); or, when it is said of the child Jesus, "And the child grew and waxed strong in spirit" (Luke ii, 40); or, when he "sighed deeply in his spirit" (Mark viii, 12); or, when it is said of him, "In that hour Jesus rejoiced in spirit" (Luke x, 21), it is clearly indicated in these passages that he had a human soul and a human spirit; in other words, that he possessed a full and true human nature. The term "flesh" is used both in the Old and New Testament Scriptures to indicate the entire man, consisting of body, soul, and spirit (Deut. v, 26; 1 Cor. i, 20; Rom. iii, 20; Gal. ii, 16; Acts ii, 17; Matt. xxiv, 22). And certainly, the term "flesh," in John xvii, 2, can mean nothing else than man. From all these, and other similar passages, it may be unmistakably inferred that the term "flesh" signifies human nature in all its component parts, sin excepted, for sin is not an original element of human nature.

2. Now, if the term "flesh" signifies human nature in its

* Vid. Dr. W. Nast's forthcoming *Commentary* (German) *on the Gospel of St. John*, Excursus to chap. i.

entirety, the question arises, when it is said, "The Word became flesh," was it human nature in its original purity and wholeness before the fall, or in its corrupt and sinful quality after the fall? We reply: It is neither the one nor the other. The human nature of the Logos, after he had become man, was, indeed, untouched and unaffected by sin, but it was subject to the physical and mental wants and sufferings incident to, or in consequence of, the fall, as well as to the laws and limits of human development, and that in a manner in which it did not take place in the state of man before the fall; for it is said of him (Jesus) that it "behooved him to be made like unto his brethren" (Heb. ii, 17); to be made "perfect through sufferings" (ii, 10); and that he was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (iv, 15).*

Now, that the human nature of the incarnate Logos was not affected by, or tainted with, sin is expressly declared by the Apostle Paul, when he says that God sent his own Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh," or, more literally, "in the likeness of the flesh of sin" (Rom. viii, 3). If it were merely said, "God sent his own Son in the likeness of flesh," this expression of St. Paul would be in contradiction to that of St. John, "The Word was made [or became] flesh;" but the addition "of sin" (sinful), which he evidently emphasizes, indicates what the Apostle meant by the expression, "in the likeness of." Jesus possessed a likeness with "the flesh of sin," that is, with sinful human nature, because he "was made," or became, "flesh;" was "in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin" (Heb. iv, 15). Sin is no part of what is implied in the idea of true manhood; for the first man proceeded, pure and unspotted, from the hands of his Creator. The reason why the human nature of Jesus Christ was free from the inherited or "original" sinfulness of all descendants of Adam is indicated by his supernatural conception, as narrated by Matthew and Luke, and evidently presupposed by St. John. He "became" true man in that he received a complete or perfect human nature, not so much by the process of natural generation or begetting as by the flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, being impregnated and sanctified by the power of the Holy Spirit, which is clearly indicated by the angel in these words (Luke i,

* *Vid.* Nast's *Commentary on St. John*, Excursus to chap. i.

35): "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore, also, that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," or, "that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God," Revised Version.

IX. But we have now also to determine more definitely the real meaning of the word *ἐγένετο*, "was made," or "became" (John i, 14), and thus guard against its misinterpretation. In verse 6 it is said of John the Baptist, "There was a man" (*ἐγένετο*). John was nothing, that is, he had no preexistence before he was born of Elizabeth; but *ὁ λόγος*—the Word—was before he "was made," or "became," flesh by being born of the Virgin Mary. He was before Abraham; yea, before the world was (John xvii, 5). What the Word was before his incarnation, before the world was, that he cannot cease to be, because of his being of divine nature, of divine essence; but what he was not in actuality before his incarnation, that he became, namely, flesh, or man. The inscrutable mystery of godliness, testified to by the Holy Scripture as an historical fact, consists in this, that to one and the same person are ascribed true divinity and true manhood. Hence any interpretation of the word *ἐγένετο*, "became," that does not include and maintain the three ideas—true divinity, true manhood, and the union of these in the person of Jesus Christ—is inadmissible. This excludes Nestorianism on the one side and Socinianism on the other.

If, however, we hold fast to the doctrine that "the Word," that "was with God" and "was God," "became" true man in the person of Jesus Christ, we are not permitted to assume that the term *ἐγένετο*, "became," meant a change of the Logos into a man, that is, a change of his divine nature or essence into the nature or essence of a mere man; but we are so to understand that term that, while "the Logos" "became" true man, he at the same time remained true God. This may be explained thus:* The Logos in, or at, or during the time of his incarnation surrendered the use of his "divine glory," that is, of his divine attributes; yea, even to some extent at least, their possession; otherwise, why did he pray to his heavenly Father to be glorified "with the glory which" he had with him "before

* *Vid.* W. F. Gess, *Christ's Person and Work*, 3 vols.; also, Dr. W. Nast's forthcoming *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, in German, chap. i, and the several "Excursus" thereto.

the world was?" (John xvii, 5.) This glory constituted his divine attributes, and it is clear that at the time he offered this prayer he did not possess this glory or these divine attributes; for he had "emptied himself" of them (*ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*, Phil. ii, 7), or had, as it were, laid them aside, or rather their use. Yea, even his divine self-consciousness lay dormant or inactive in him; he had to regain it by the gradual process of a purely human development; for there was a time in his earthly history when he did not know "of that day and that hour" (Mark xiii, 32); when the Father had to show him "all things that himself doeth" (John v, 19, 20); when the Father hath "given to the Son to have life in himself" (verse 26), and hath also "given him authority" (verse 27); and when the Son could "do nothing of himself" (verse 19), though afterward "all power" was given unto him (Matt. xxviii, 18). All these passages indicate that he had surrendered, to a great extent, the exercise of his divine attributes; that he voluntarily subjected himself, not only to a subordinate and obedient position to his Father, but also to the laws of human development, beginning as an embryo and as an infant in his mother's arms, and proceeding gradually, like all other human beings, through all the stages of youth up to full manhood. Now, as an infant and youth, he did not, and could not, possess the divine attributes of omniscience, omnipresence, omnipotence, and the rest, in the sense in which he possessed them before his incarnation and after his ascension. Hence, the Logos, after having entered into a human form of existence, limited by time and space, was, in so far as he had become man, not infinite; for infinitude would have been irreconcilable with his existence as a true man; but what the absolute Logos was before his incarnation was not included, in its fullest sense, in his humanity; nevertheless, he did not cease to be true God, for he himself declared that he and the Father are one (John xvii, 11, 22). Living as man in uninterrupted communion with his heavenly Father, he obtained thereby that power and control over nature and its laws and forces which God originally intended man to have (Gen. i, 26–29); and in conjunction with the awakening consciousness of his divine nature and power he exercised them only in so far as it was necessary for the demonstration and maintenance of his mediatorial office; and he did it with a constant sense of his self-

assumed dependence, as the man Jesus Christ, upon his heavenly Father. In becoming man, the eternal Logos voluntarily stepped out, as it were, of his divine mode of existence, and entered into the human mode of existence, limited by time and space, without, however, ceasing for himself as the Logos to be eternal, in order that he might live, in the fullest sense of the word, in our nature, a truly human life, and thus be able to be "touched with the feelings of our infirmities," and even be exposed to such temptations as we are, "yet without sin" (Heb. iv, 15); and hence he became true man without thereby ceasing to be God. The true meaning of the word ἐγένετο, "was made," or "became," being thus apprehended or interpreted, the three essential ideas—true divinity, true humanity, and the union of these in the person of Jesus Christ, which the Christian Church has believed in and held through all ages—are maintained to the fullest extent.

X. This apprehension of the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos is in perfect harmony with other passages in the New Testament Scriptures. The Apostle John, in his first epistle, calls the coming of Christ into the world a coming "in the flesh" (iv, 2, 3). St. Paul uses the words, "God" (or the Logos) "was manifest in the flesh" (1 Tim. iii, 16); and he describes this manifestation more fully by saying, (1) that "when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law" (Gal. iv, 4); (2) that he "who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men" (Phil. ii, 6, 7, Revised Version); and (3) that the "Lord Jesus Christ, . . . though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor" (2 Cor. viii, 9). The New Testament knows of no division of the Son of God, while living on the earth, into two I's or Egos, of whom the one was the Logos and the other the man Jesus Christ; but it declares very definitely that the I—the Ego—the "personal consciousness" of the Son of God on the earth was the same I—the same Ego—the same "personal consciousness" of the Son of God in heaven—"in the beginning," or "before the world was." Jesus himself never says anything about his relation to the Logos, but only about the relation he sustained to his heavenly Father, who had sent him into the world. "As

my Father hath appointed unto me;" "I speak that which I have seen with my Father;" "I honor my Father;" "It is my Father that honoreth me;" "I go to my Father;" "My Father is greater than I;" "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" "What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before?" "Glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was"—all these passages and many similar ones teach nothing more or less than that He who from all eternity was with God and is himself God, through an act of "self-emptying," or "self-humiliation," entered into the sphere of time and space and subjected himself to the limitations of human existence, human development, human life and thought and feeling and knowledge, without thereby ceasing to be God, because he only changed the mode of his existence, not his nature or essence.

XI. But to this view of the case it has been objected that to assume any kind of self-limitation on the part of the Son of God is irreconcilable with the immutability of the divine Being. This objection is groundless, because the immutability of God excludes only such changes whereby the essence, or the nature, or the will of God would be changed or come into conflict with himself, or with each other—an assumption or a possibility that is, as the German philosophers would say, "unthinkable." But the immutability of God excludes by no means a divine "life-movement," either from within outward, or from without inward, so long as it is in perfect harmony with his divine nature and will. To deny the possibility of such "life-movements" on the part of God would be equivalent to denying the living God himself; for life is manifested by activity and motion. A God without movement, outward and inward, would be, according to Scripture, a vain, a dead God. Dr. A. Ebrard, in his *Dogmatik*, truly says: "In the idea of God as the living One there is also contained the idea of the possibility of a self-limitation and of a self-mutation, but not of such a character as to lose himself. This is shown to us in the Trinity of the divine Being. Just as the one God distinguishes himself, according to his eternal Being, as Father, Son, and Spirit, so God the Son may distinguish between his eternal and infinite existence and his existence within the limits of time and space." * And it is

* *Vid.* Ebrard, J. H. A., *Christliche Dogmatik*, second ed., vol. i, chap. iii, §§ 78-150.

also to be observed that the concepts of God and man are not contradictory to each other; for God created man in his image. The thought is by no means "unthinkable" or contrary to Scripture that God originally created man with specific relation to the incarnation of the Logos, in order that there might be an image or a type of a being in creation which he might later on fill with himself.

XII. If our interpretation of the phrase, "The Word was made [or became] flesh," be correct—that is, in accordance with the generally received rules of language—then it may be considered as an established fact that the Holy Scriptures teach that the eternal Logos became man without ceasing to be God. Our inability to reconcile these ideas furnishes no reason for rejecting or explaining away the mystery of the doctrine of the incarnation as something contradictory. We dare not say that the union of the soul and body is self-contradictory, because matter and spirit are opposite notions or things. To purely immaterial beings, like the angels, the existence of beings consisting of matter and spirit, the one being mortal, the other immortal, may appear as much a contradiction, and therefore an impossibility, as the union of the divine and the human in one person appears to us. And, if the union of body and soul in one person appears to us incomprehensible, how dare we, who understand the nature of God far less than angels do, say it is self-contradictory to maintain that the Logos became man and yet remained God? Where is the proof that "the Word," which "was in the beginning with God" and "was God," and through whom "all things were made," cannot have, alongside with his eternal and divine mode of existence, also a human mode of existence, subject to the limitations of time and space, as well as to the laws of human development? Upon those who deny the truth of this wonderful doctrine rests the burden of furnishing proofs to the contrary, and we challenge them to furnish them.

XIII. One remark more in conclusion. "God was manifest in the flesh" and "the Word was made [became] flesh" are expressions indicating two acts on his part—the "unclothing" and the "reclothing" of himself*—the unclothing of himself from his divine form or mode of existence, and the reclothing

* *Vid.* Godet's *Biblical Studies*, p. 186.

of himself with his human form of existence. His incarnation became a permanent and free act on his part from the moment he became conscious who he was. All his acts of obedience and of love, even his death, were an absolute self-sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. "All the fullness of the Godhead" dwelleth in him bodily. This fullness of the Godhead was the altar upon which his humanity was sacrified, and which gave it eternal efficacy. From the heights of heaven to which the crucified but risen God-man had ascended he poured upon his infant Church that miracle of the divine Spirit and sanctification which he had first consummated in himself, and thus prepared them—and if we, too, receive that miracle of the divine Spirit and sanctification into our entire being, will prepare us—for that exaltation and position of glory which he himself now occupies. He, as the God-man, as the ideal and highest type of being, wants to make us representatives of it here; and though we, who are true believers, are already the sons of God, "it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him: for we shall see him as he is" (1 John iii, 2). O, glorious destiny! Though our way may lead us through a Gethsemane and a Golgotha, it will end on Mount Olivet and in an ascension into the mansions of bliss and glory prepared for us by the God-man, Jesus Christ.

M. J. Cramer.

Art. VI.—SIGNIFICANCE OF SAN JACINTO.*

God is in human affairs more than we think. The episodes of our American history furnish many illustrations of the fact. Our Declaration of Independence, as we now see, was an epochal event, touching in its remoter results all human affairs. In the light of evolution San Jacinto will come to be regarded as one of the great factors in our American development. As a man passes on in life he attains a point from which he easily sees the turning point of his career. Contemplated thus, the battle of San Jacinto must even now be looked upon as one of the greatest turning points of our national development. It brought to us an area larger than that of the original Union, and the prestige it added to the country cannot be computed.

The preludes of this battle make up a stirring and romantic train of events. In 1824 Mexico, having thrown off her foreign Spanish yoke, as Cuba is now endeavoring to do, adopted a federal constitution similar to that of the United States. Before this event took place many adventurous Americans had been in northern and eastern Texas and had seen the land. They were pleased with its loveliness. Its skies were like the glorious skies of Italy, and its prairies spread out to form an Eden on the grandest scale. Traffic had already been opened by traders at Natchez, on the Mississippi. The advantages of this were soon seen, and a tide of immigration set in. In the first decade of the present century there was an American military expedition—of a voluntary character—which went forth to help Mexico in her revolt from Spain. They went as far as San Antonio, five hundred miles west of the Mississippi. By the passing and repassing that was thus established eastern Texas soon became well known in American circles. Following this train of events a most sagacious and farseeing man, Moses Austin, appears upon the scene. He concluded a treaty

* The author of this article has had the advantage of going over the ground he describes while tarrying as an invalid in Harrisburg, Tex., in 1886 and ministering to the little church there. He also made a careful examination of the site of the battle, resting under the moss-grown oak where General Houston slept the night before the battle. He also occupied the same room in the old hotel at Harrisburg in which Santa Anna was held a prisoner. Under such influences he was led to give the history of this stirring episode a new and thorough examination. He thinks the United States should secure these grounds and dedicate them to freedom, and adorn them with a monument to one of her greatest men, General Sam Houston.—Editor.

with the governor of the province by which he secured the right of settling three hundred American families in the country. He soon died, but his son immediately took his place, a man equally wise, and secured another contract to settle another colony of three hundred nearer the Gulf. This settlement was made on the Brazos in 1821. Austin rode twelve hundred miles on horseback to the city of Mexico to secure this additional grant, after the independence of Mexico had been secured. This colony increased with great rapidity. After achieving her independence Mexico held out large inducements to citizens of the United States to settle in the Texan province, promising the same rights which she extended to her own citizens. This gave a new impetus to immigration. Settlements sprang up on her fertile plains and great river bottoms, and towns and cities began to appear in the wilderness. News of Austin's success and of these overtures of Mexico reached our Northern States, and won many an adventurous spirit. Additional colonies were formed, who pressed their way to the newly discovered Eden. To the American citizen of to-day it is almost impossible to picture the stirring scenes of this episode.

In all human things action and reaction seem to be a law as certain as the ebb and flow of the tides. The influx of life from the United States excited the jealousy of Mexico. She saw that these immigrants were animated with the ideas of liberty and love for the institutions of their native land, and that their power might soon become so great as to imperil her eastern frontier. Accordingly she forbade all further immigration. She also established military posts in the settlements of the colonies, where severest cruelties were practiced upon the population she had invited into her borders. In the meantime the Mexican government, with its new federal constitution, had been overthrown by Santa Anna, who became dictator and then emperor. In the midst of these rapidly transpiring events the colonists, who were far removed from the scenes of strife, remained quiet and peaceable, and adhered to the government established in 1824, under the auspices of which they had come into the country. But Mexico, under Santa Anna, made her policy more stringent. Armed vessels appeared and blockaded the ports of the Gulf, while Santa Anna, with eight thousand troops, appeared in the interior at

San Antonio. Against this pompous and ferocious leader the Texan Americans, without strength or troops or money resources, and far from home, were left to contend as best they could for the rights which the constitution of 1824 guaranteed them. The Mexican army was commanded to arrest the state authorities and to disarm the inhabitants, allowing only one gun to every five hundred of the colonists. They were also to reduce the province to unconditional surrender. But their arms were their private property, brought with them to the country, their only means of defense against the savages around them, and their only resource for procuring game. The demand was therefore resisted with the characteristic pluck of the American. Hostilities commenced at once, and for two months the struggle was swift, terrific, and of vast importance, not only to the struggling colonies, but to the United States.

At this juncture, and as if providentially, a new character appears upon the scene, whose deeds were to add one more name to the list of Americans that have achieved immortal fame. General Sam Houston, says Mr. Blaine, had a history as romantic as an ancient crusader. He was a native of Virginia, a representative in Congress from Tennessee, and governor of that State before he was thirty-five. He was the intimate and trusted friend of Jackson. Having resigned the governorship on account of domestic trouble, he fled from civilized life, joined the Indians of the Western plains, roved with them for years, adopted their habits, and was made the chief of a tribe. Returning to associate with white men, he emigrated to Texas. He was yet in the morning of life and in the full vigor of manhood. He had watched the struggle in Texas from the beginning. He left his wigwam, and was soon found at the seat of the Austin colony. He pressed on thence to San Antonio, gaining in his journey of five hundred miles a full idea of the situation of affairs, and forming a good judgment of the soil and resources of the country. "This great land," he wrote to Jackson, "will soon be in the hands of England or America." After taking well his reckonings he espoused the cause of the struggling colonies, and they espoused him and made him their commander.

The two great characters now in the drama are Santa Anna and General Houston. The scene is two hundred and fifty

miles of territory, mostly plains and prairies, stretching eastward from San Antonio toward the Gulf and the city of New Orleans, two hundred and fifty miles still farther to the eastward. The first onset was made in an attempt to capture from the colonists a little four-pounder. One of the Mexican generals marched seventy miles east of San Antonio to capture this weapon, which they knew would be effective if once turned on them. He marched back again without his gun; but blood was shed, and a point was gained in that the Mexican had fired the first shot. The general was pursued back to his headquarters, and for the first time in her history San Antonio was invested by American Texan soldiery. There were only eight hundred of them, but they were cheered by the news that others were coming and by the further news that Goliad had been captured. Austin was in command, and Houston soon joined him. While these things were transpiring a provisional government had been created and Mexicans asked to unite with the colonists on the basis of the constitution of 1824. Houston was active in bringing all this about. He was still clothed in the costume of the Indian, which led Jackson to exclaim, "Thank God, there is one man in Texas that was made by the Almighty, and not by the tailor!" It was a critical moment. Money and friends were both to be raised, and right quickly. While grave deliberations were going on among the leaders a skirmish ensued, in which one hundred of them sustained themselves in a gallant action against five hundred Mexicans. Then one brave spirit proposed to lead an attack upon the place, and it was done. The Alimo surrendered. It was afterward found that only one hundred and seventy-five Americans were in the fray, while eleven hundred Mexicans folded their arms and marched out of the citadel. Afterward this brave but insignificant band, commanded by Captain Travis, an intrepid spirit, were left to hold the fort. Houston saw clearly that the Alimo could not be held by such a force, and ordered Travis to blow it up and fall back on Gonzales, where he might form a line of defense. On his way out Houston had left a few United States regulars at Goliad, who had to depend wholly on cattle for sustenance. We shall hear of these further on. Houston in the meantime had become the subject of jealousy and treachery. But events are moving too rapidly for effective

work on such a line. A declaration of independence is made and Houston is again proclaimed commander.

While the assembly was in session news came that the little band in the Alimo was surrounded by an overwhelming force. Travis, with his few men, was scant of provisions, and seventy-five miles from the settlements, and the intervening space was swept by Mexican cavalry. His fate was sealed. Far better would it have been if he had blown up the Alimo. Houston left the convention and started to his relief. Travis had sent word that he would fire signal guns at every sunrise, and for some days the noise of these resounded over the plains. But, on his first morning out, Houston put his ear to the ground. It was ominous that not the faintest sound could be heard. "The Alimo," he said, "is fallen." He afterward learned that it had fallen while he was addressing the assembly. He immediately dispatched back to the convention to declare Texas a part of Louisiana, according to the treaty of 1803, thus placing the defense of the country on more impregnable ground than ever—a declaration that would speak at the same moment to the United States and Mexico. He then pushed on to Gonzales, where he found three hundred and twenty-four men in destitution and unarmed. They were quickly equipped, but a wandering Mexican told how the Alimo had fallen, and how all were put to death, except a woman and child, and their bodies heaped on piles of wood and burned to ashes. What was now to be done? Seeing the situation, and knowing that Santa Anna would rapidly move forward to make things as decisive and brief as possible, Houston again manifested his wisdom in ordering Colonel Fannin to evacuate Goliad, blow up the fortress, and fall back as rapidly as possible. There was a singular rashness and fatality attending the disobedience of orders by Houston's commandery. Fannin was really led into temptation. He had a fine supply of arms just from the United States, five hundred brave men, and a big throb of ambition in his own breast. Why should he not stand his ground? So he replied that he had named the place Fort Defiance, and would defend it at all hazards. But he knew not that his five hundred must withstand the onsets of thousands of infuriated and barbarous men. His whole force met the fate of the Alimo.

Houston was henceforth the commander of a forlorn hope.

His action was prompt and strategic. He most solemnly avowed that the man who brought the news of this last disaster was an incendiary, sent into his camp on purpose to produce a panic. He ordered him to be arrested and shot the next morning. But from private converse with the man he knew that the calamity had befallen Goliad. His purpose was, however, gained, and his men were quieted. With the manner of an experienced general he struck his camp, making long and speedy marches before his pursuers. Things now hung trembling in the balance. If, in that retreat, a battle had by any means been forced, Texan liberty would have been overthrown, and the beautiful civilization we now see in that territory would never have appeared. A battle did at one time almost come to pass. The enemy were once actually in sight. Houston had only five hundred men. He still maintained a masterly retreat, Santa Anna still advancing. Houston now gained an advantage and was much encouraged by learning the enemy's plan. Santa Anna was advancing in three divisions, himself in the middle. Houston believed he could manage them one at a time until reinforcements could reach him. Selecting a good position, accessible to supplies, he sent daily dispatches so indorsed as to make the impression that he had twenty-five hundred men, knowing help would not come if the real situation was known. At a critical juncture a foolish negro at the crossing of the Colorado took the ferry to the west side, enabling Santa Anna to cross, when otherwise he would have been detained for weeks before he could have got over the swollen river. But, as a good providence would have it, after crossing he strangely took his course up the river instead of pushing straight forward, Houston thus enjoying the advantage of a little needed repose. It is a blot upon his contemporaries and professed co-managers that Houston received no reinforcements. Envyings and seditions held command. All the real bravery there was at this time among Texan Americans was in Sam Houston's little band. Alas,

> Unless above himself he can
> Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!

While wandering around Santa Anna heard that the Texan convention was in session at Harrisburg, only seventy miles away. Thither he turned his march. Hearing of this, Hous-

ton sent forth an order for all the patriots of the land to meet him there also. The rains and roads were great impediments. Men at night slept on the wet ground. After toilsome efforts, not afterward surpassed by the soldiers of Grant or of Lee, they arrived near the town, when they learned that Santa Anna was in advance of them, and that he had burned the town. From messengers it was learned that Santa Anna was there in person and in command, and that in Mexico he had been proclaimed emperor.

The interest in this strange contest—one of the most singular episodes of American history—was here at its highest point. The struggle had now raged for three months, all the mishaps falling to Houston. The colonies are cowed in craven fear, and public men are full of distrust, envy, or cowardice; not a corporal's guard appears as reinforcements; the clouds are rainy, the earth muddy, the capitol in ashes; the enemy is of overwhelming force, spreading devastation in his march; Houston's men are worn out and hungry, with not a single victory to give prestige to their arms. But the like of this band has not before been seen. Houston resolves to give battle without reinforcements! He called his colonels and asked if three days' rations were on hand.. Answered in the affirmative, he said, "Be ready; we will find the enemy." The bayou that flows by Harrisburg, fifty yards wide and twenty feet deep, was crossed with great caution and anxiety, as the enemy might encounter them in the act. When crossed, Houston knew the enemy was near. The troops were immediately formed in line, and were addressed by the general. He gave them as the battle cry, "Remember the Alimo!" The rains had ceased and a brilliant sun was shining. The little army is seen marching as an army is seldom seen, without bugle blast or floating banner or thrilling fife or pealing drum—seven hundred only, but with the mien of an army with banners. They soon halt and nestle in a clump of trees to escape observation. In the early morning they make a forced march to within five miles of the spot where the encounter was to take place—Houston cautiously picking his ground. Here they slept for an hour and were aroused by Houston himself with the tap of the drum. A hasty meal is prepared, when lo, the scouts fly in and report that Santa Anna is advancing, coming from New

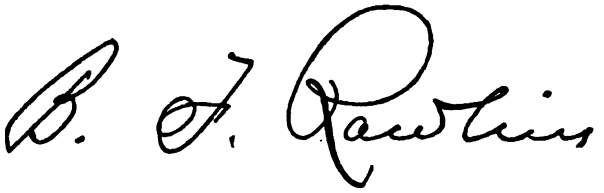
Washington, on Galveston Bay, which makes the San Jacinto Bay, into which runs the San Jacinto River. Santa Anna had doubtless been to New Washington in quest of his prey. He was now aiming to recross the San Jacinto River, to find his prey and ravage the settlements and to butcher all Americans on Texas soil. Houston discerned his aim and saw how fatal it would be if executed. His men had hardly sat down to their meal when the cry, "To arms!" was heard, and forming in line they moved rapidly to thwart the purpose of the foe. The movement was successful. The new boats on which Santa Anna had crossed were brought to the Houston side of the river, and were towed up the bayou to a point where Houston at last chose his position in a copse of trees, at a bend of the San Jacinto, which completely concealed him with his artillery on the brow of the hill. Here they were ready for the last conflict. They again attempt to eat a hasty meal, but the bugles are heard and the columns of Santa Anna are rapidly advancing. The doughty general undoubtedly intended to surprise the Texan army, whom he regarded as insignificant, and swoop them up in a moment. Never since the first clangor of arms was heard was a powerful and pompous warrior more mistaken. He himself is surprised by a volley from guns in ambush. He opens his twelve-pounders, but Houston's "twin sisters," sent from Cincinnati, drive them back to shelter. This is really the first and the last sally of the impending conflict. Houston's only hope now was his ability to fix the time of the conflict, having been fortunate in selecting the place. His disparity in numbers must be compensated by skill in every movement. At the close of the day Santa Anna was observed to retire some distance to a swell in the prairie and to intrench himself. Houston turned to his men and said, "To-morrow I will conquer, slaughter, and put to flight the whole Mexican army, and it shall not cost me a dozen of my brave men." In view of the result his words were winged with prophetic fire.

The morrow came. The night before the intrepid general rested under an old oak tree, festooned with Spanish moss, a coil of artillery rope being his pillow. The Alimo and Goliad are in his dreams. He remembers, too, how the officers of government had proved treacherous, how he had looked for reinforcements in vain, and how envious men had attempted to

discomfit him. His men, too, he knows are weary, half armed, half fed, half clad, while the foe crouched near by is ready to leap upon him with a tiger's fierceness. The picket guards of that foe are more in number than all his camp. Unless the arm of Omnipotence helps all is lost! Behold him, "before the last sound awakens him to glory." He sleeps calmly. Only the shining sun, bursting full in his face, awakens him—a sun that was to be the sun of Austerlitz to another conquering man. His first inquiry is for axes. He orders a fearless man to conceal these where at a moment's notice they can be found. Upon the heels of this the startling cry is heard, "Reinforcements of the enemy." "No," said Houston; "they are the same you saw yesterday; they have again appeared in sight to create alarm; it is a Mexican trick." He orders two trusty men to take the axes and cut down the bridge, the Mexicans' hope, and fly back like eagles if they would not be too late for the day. Houston had resolved to make the attack at three o'clock. It would seem the extreme of rashness to move out of a secure position to attack an enemy of vastly superior force on open ground. At the appointed time his forces move out, until they are within three hundred yards of the enemy's breastworks. The "twin sisters" commence a deadly fire. As they charged, "The Alimo! the Alimo!" resounded above the clash of battle. At the supreme moment one of the axmen returned upon his muddy horse and shouted, "The bridge is cut down; fight for your lives. Remember the Alimo!" As if with more than mortal power they rushed upon the foe, Houston in front, whose horse seemed to have the courage of his master. The Mexicans fired a volley, but it was too high. The Texans reserved their response, and chose every one his man. At length they turned their rifles into war clubs and beat down their foes with the tiger's fury. A hand-to-hand conflict ensues along the whole line of breastworks. Throwing away their rifles, they drew their pistols. Firing these, with no time to reload, they hurled them at the heads of their foes, drew their bowie knives, and literally cut their way through ranks of human flesh. Everywhere there were slaughter and dismay. At a moment when it was thought all was over and the victory complete five hundred Mexicans dashed toward the Texan infantry. Houston shouted, "Come on, my brave men,

your general leads you!" It is said machinery itself could not have fired guns with greater precision than did the Texans in this charge. All the five hundred Mexicans fell but thirty-two. Thus the enemy was defeated at every point. When the rout commenced the Mexicans turned their steps toward the bridge. The Texans hotly pursued. The Mexicans, seeing the bridge gone, plunged over the banks, and the San Jacinto was literally choked with their dead bodies. So great was the fury of his men and so dreadful was the carnage, that Houston himself rode over the field on his dying horse, in his own bleeding wounds, and besought his men to cease from further destruction.

Thus the star of a new State arose, never to set again. Historians tell us there have been at least fifteen decisive battles on which human destiny has turned, from Marathon to Waterloo. Must not San Jacinto be added to the illustrious list? One of the great results of this remarkable triumph of arms is seen in the widening of the area of civilization in our own country, and in a direction in which it needed to be widened. Another result is seen in the immediate religious significance that belongs to it. Texas is much larger than all New England; is as large as a dozen Indianas or Georgias. It was the most beautiful part of all Mexico, but it was dominated by Roman Catholicism in its most debased forms. Now all the region is under the dominion of Protestant Churches, and Protestant schools, and all the forces of Protestant civilization. This adds immense force to the Protestantism of the whole country. Indeed, the chief significance of the battle of San Jacinto is its religious significance. In the realm of causes it must ever occupy a prominent place; for there is yet, we believe, to appear on this continent a Christian civilization never yet seen, the potency of which will be felt to the extremities of the globe.



Art. VII.—PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S INCONSISTENCY.

An article entitled "Agnosticism," written by Professor Huxley, appeared a few years ago in the *Nineteenth Century*. The object of the article was to enlighten several speakers at a Church Congress, who had attacked agnosticism, as they would attack and expose any other form of disbelief, and had declared its advocates to be infidels, though unwilling through cowardice to assume their proper names. This gave offense to Professor Huxley, and he immediately proceeded to define and vindicate agnosticism, and show how agnostics, according to their scientific methods, are bound to reject all miracles recorded in the gospels as being wrought by Jesus Christ, and also to discard all historic accounts therein which declare the existence and actions of evil spirits in the unseen world. The article referred to awakens regret that a mind so gifted was a mind so perverted, a reason so strong was a reason so warped, knowledge so extensive was knowledge so misapplied, and above all that a soul so well and so religiously instructed in youth, according to his own confession, became a soul so completely stranded on the shallow reefs of agnosticism. Agnosticism is a new word, of which Professor Huxley claimed to be the author. It is derived from the Greek, and means, not knowing. Webster defines it, "That doctrine which, professing ignorance, neither asserts nor denies." As applied to God, angels, evil spirits, the soul, heaven and hell, it knows nothing. It does not claim even to know but that all these things, belonging to the unseen world according to Christian belief, may exist. It believes nothing and denies nothing except upon demonstration. It claims to have no creed, but to leave the questions under consideration open and unsettled. From such professions we are authorized to expect that agnostics would be a most modest and unassuming class of men. Unhappily they are the reverse.

Professor Huxley held up to special ridicule what he called "the story of the Gadarenes," talked glibly of "pig owners" and "transferable devils," and then declared his utter disbelief in the "Gadarene story," the story of unclean spirits coming out of men at the command of Christ and passing into swine. With almost the same breath he utters these words: "I declare

as plainly as I can that I am unable to show cause why these transferable devils should not exist." Is not this inconsistent? If he "cannot show cause" why they should not exist, why reject the Gospel declaration that they do exist, and the account of some of their doings? If the professor cannot disprove their being and activity by scientific methods, why should he as a scientist say anything on the subject? All he can say consistently, according to his own definition of agnosticism, is that the gospels tell a story about unclean spirits, and Christ's power over them, which he can neither verify nor disprove by the scientific method. Professing to neither affirm nor deny about such matters, he proceeds with a most vigorous denial; professing ignorance, he pronounces judgment. This is his inconsistency. But the professor no doubt would tell us that he is obliged to disbelieve the "whole Gadarene story" because it lacks probability; as he puts it, "contravenes probability." This brings up the whole question of the existence of spirits, both finite and infinite, and all cognate topics. When Professor Huxley therefore introduces the subject of spirits, unclean or otherwise, into this discussion he passes beyond the domain of science as commonly understood and turns theologian and metaphysician. In proclaiming his disbelief he formulates crude dogma and is deep in theology. If this be not so, where is the line that divides science from religion and theology? Professor Huxley affirms, "I do not hesitate to declare my utter disbelief in the existence of unclean spirits." Now I, with thousands of others, do not hesitate to declare that I positively believe in the existence of spirits, both clean and unclean. God, angels, and pure men are clean spirits; the devil, demons, and bad men are unclean spirits. Here then we meet both as scientists and theologians with our respective creeds. I say we meet as scientists, for Christians do not admit that religion is unscientific. It may be superscientific in some of its outreachings, but never unscientific. Science is from the Latin word *scientia*, and signifies knowledge. A knowledge of religion, theoretical and experimental, is as really scientific as a knowledge of astronomy. When a man knows God through Christ, knows his sins to be forgiven, and his affections, tastes, and habits to be so purified and exalted that he becomes a new creature, such knowledge is in a true sense scientific.

Let us examine the ground on which Professor Huxley discards the whole Gadarene story. He says it "contravenes probability;" and this is the only reason he assigns. As for ourselves, we are quite willing to rest the whole case on probability. Is it probable that spirits exist and have access to men and animals? We say yes; Professor Huxley says no; both of us are shut up to balancing probabilities. Certain facts upport the professor's disbelief: 1. These spirits are unseen and unheard, and excluding the Scriptures and mythology they have no history and no character. 2. They perform no recognizable actions apart from men and animals. 3. If they exist there is no scientific proof that they have access to both men and animals, and are capable of passing from one to the other. So much in aid of the professor's "utter disbelief." On the other hand, there are strong probabilities aside from the Scriptures that both good and evil spirits exist and have access to men and animals.

The first presumptive evidence is the universal *belief* in good and evil spirits. In all ages and by all peoples this belief has been held. Nor has it been confined to the weak and ignorant classes. Sages, philosophers, and metaphysicians have proclaimed the doctrine. Greek philosophy, Neoplatonism, and Christianity alike are full of the subject. Francesco Guicciardini, a philosopher of the fifteenth century, affirmed the existence of "aerial spirits" who held familiar converse with men. Ficino and Savonarola, erudite men who lived just preceding the Reformation, and indeed like a John the Baptist introduced it, held the same view, and taught that our soul is a microcosm of all creation and in contact with all other souls. Sprenger and Hopkins, both learned men, believed in demoniacal possessions. And we condemn our forefathers who hung the Salem witches, not because evil men are not possessed by "unclean spirits," but because the courts have no jurisdiction over devils. How shall we account for this almost universal belief? Professor Huxley ascribes it to universal superstition. But how came this universal superstition to exist? There is but one answer. Belief in good and evil spirits is instinctive in rational beings. The crudities of this belief are all we can attribute to superstition or to paganism, for it is equally prevalent in civilized and savage countries. In Christian lands belief

in evil spirits is the common conviction, rationalized and separated from untruth and fiction by the Gospel.

Another presumptive evidence is the fact that men commit *inhuman crimes;* that is, crimes far in excess of what is natural to mankind. Many crimes, even heinous crimes, together with all sorts of ordinary evil deeds, we may concede, are usual to bad men; and we can only account for them on the principle of our common degeneracy. But some deeds are so atrocious that by common consent we pronounce them inhuman, brutal, fiendish. How shall we explain this except on the principle that human nature may be demonized? Take the case of the Whitechapel murders, perpetrated in Professor Huxley's own city, and over which he and the world shuddered. How could a man born of woman, and with human blood in his veins, enter upon murder night after night and then revel in the practice of the most wanton and infernal indignities and abuse of the dead, unless he were entirely possessed of the devil and his whole nature had become thoroughly demonized? Similar atrocities occur in every land, and they so exceed all that we think human nature capable of that we can find but one solution, namely, "they are led captive by the devil at his will."

Consider another fact. Multitudes, countless multitudes, of our fellows give evidence of being completely under the control of some mysterious malignant force. It is periodical with some, with others perpetual. They seem inflamed for a time beyond control, or pushed on to self-disgrace and self-destruction continually, contrary to all reason and motive. We cannot trace this bent to self-degradation or its kindred vice, to malicious disposition to injure others, or to habit, for it begins before habit is formed. It is rather the cause than the consequence of habit. Nor can we ascribe it to heredity, for many of these vicious spirits and debauched characters are of the best blood in the land. How then shall we unravel this difficulty, except by supposing that, being peculiarly susceptible to temptation and specially liable to such attacks, through poverty, or riches, or associations, or appetites they have yielded themselves up to the foul suggestions of "unclean spirits" until these spirits have gained the mastery over them. It may then prove a serious fact that the evil deeds of men in many cases are instigated and aggravated by "unclean spirits."

But can these spirits pass from men to animals? Why not? If they exist they are spirits, and spirit is capable of motion. If they have ingress to intellect, why may they not have to instinct? If men may be prompted by them to do mischief, why not animals as well? And does not the periodicity of viciousness in animals, known to all observing men, create a presumption that they may be possessed and instigated by "unclean spirits?" The contrary, I am sure, cannot be proved by the scientific method.

Again, may we not found a strong probability of the existence of unclean spirits on the ground occupied by believers of every grade, and to some extent by unbelievers and skeptics? All men believe in God and the immateriality of the soul except atheists and materialists. Professor Huxley was not an atheist, and did not like to be called an infidel, at least, not a cowardly one. Very well, we all believe in God and the soul. But God and the soul are spirit, and the human spirit we know to be in its fallen state unclean. We also know that fallen human souls can and do commune with other souls and corrupt them. Now we have only to suppose that other fallen spirits exist, and have like ingress into the human mind, to make credible the proposition under consideration, which Professor Huxley so "utterly disbelieves," to wit, the existence and activity of unclean spirits in the realm of mind and instinct. Turning our attention within, do we not find evidence amounting to probability at least that evil spirits exist and beset us? It is a common experience that the mind feels itself to be at times under a stress of strange and extraordinary bias to wrong. How shall we account for this? Professor Huxley would "inclose all the phenomena of so-called possessions," as he says, within the "domain of pathology." That is, he would ascribe them, as do our doctors, to some form of disease, as dyspepsia, torpid liver, nervous prostration, or to some mental defect, as excessive irascibility, hypochondria, or a morbid condition of the brain. But can any principle of pathology explain these sudden and awful temptations to crime when they occur more frequently in health than in sickness? Where is the man, however holy, who has not at times felt himself solicited to evil, though not overcome by it, through some strange malignant force? And where is the Christian who has not realized this power to be withdrawn and utterly discomfited by prayer and faith?

Take one other view of the subject. A free and responsible being must be tested; otherwise there would be no virtue in obedience, and no possibility of reward. Enticement to sin by a wicked spirit has the effect of proving Christian fidelity. This does not involve the necessity of unclean spirits, for other methods of trial could be used, and often are. But pure spirits having voluntarily fallen, and having a capacity and inclination to hold intercourse with other free and fallen spirits, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Christians redeemed and constantly helped by grace are allowed, as Job and Paul were, to be tried by the influence of "unclean spirits." We cannot deny the existence of evil spirits and their accessibility to men and animals without rejecting the entire Gospel narrative; and such rejection is infidelity.*

*The most important and weighty book on the subject of evil spirits issued in recent times is *Demon Possession*, by John Livingston Nevius (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company). It contains the author's record of personal observation and study of many strange manifestations in China during his life as a missionary.—ED.

A Lowrey

Art. VIII.—LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE TRIAL OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

The trial of Jesus Christ is the most important legal event, because of his personality, to be found in the records of jurisprudence. If we view him as a mere man there is nothing to give to that trial a place more prominent than to many others. As a peasant carpenter, without wealth, position, or influential friends, his condemnation and death could have had no appreciable effect upon his country or its destinies, much less upon other countries, later history, or the destiny of the race. Yet, because he was more than a mere man, more of human hope, fear, and love are connected with his trial; more inspiration to righteous living, more advancement in the highest civilization, and more elevation of character come from it than from all other trials.

History is full of the records of the trials of great personages, in some of which virtue triumphed, though in many more the ermine of the judge was debased to the vilest ends, the innocent perishing, while criminals administered the law. There was the trial of Socrates, the wise man of Athens, who was unjustly put to death; of the Maid of Orleans, who became a victim to empty forms of justice at the hands of wily politicians and base ecclesiastics; of the so-called heretics, who perished by the action of the courts of the Inquisition in Spain and in the Netherlands; of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who fell victims to the rage of men driven to madness by ages of oppression and drunken with the thrills of a freedom which had degenerated into a license that regarded neither justice nor law. These instances and thousands more show us that judicial history is almost as much a record of crime as that of war. Machiavelli's teachings were practiced ages before he was born, and in the high places of the nations the forms and processes of justice have too often been a mockery.

Yet there has never been a time when justice and righteousness, and individual right as it inheres in them, have not been recognized in the jurisprudence of the world. The instinctive sense of equity has not only existed in unwritten opinion among the masses, but has been formulated into legal enactment as

found in the common law and the constitutions of states, always favoring the rights of the individual and the protection of virtue. So much has this been so that, in destroying the innocent, vice has always claimed to do it in the name of virtue; and in trampling upon the rights of the individual the plea has ever been the public good. Our own constitutional guarantee that no one shall be deprived of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law," Hallam tells us, comes down to us from our Saxon ancestors, who received it from theirs, the barbarians of the German forests and Vikings of the North Sea, who inherited all its essentials from the migratory hordes of humanity which poured from time to time over the Ural Mountains from the densely populated districts of Central Asia, and dwelt beyond the hyperborean North, before Greece was in her glory or Rome had reached out beyond her seven hills. The code of Justinian, the product of the highest Roman civilization and learning, is not clearer in its recognition of these fundamental principles than the unwritten codes of the Goths, Vandals, and Huns. Everyone knows how sacredly the rights of the individual are guarded among us; so much so that it often seems as though the personal violator of law has the advantage over the state, and that society suffers injury, rather than that criminals receive justice.

Of all ancient peoples the Jews came nearest to ourselves in the recognition of these principles. Michaelis says that the Jewish state as instituted by Moses, while a theocracy, was on its human side in the strictest sense a democracy. Individual rights were most sacredly guarded, and Jewish jurisprudence, growing up through long centuries of application and under different forms of government, never lost this essential characteristic. The following description of the forms and processes of a Jewish criminal arraignment will show how in every part of Christ's trial justice was trampled under foot, that the Jewish high priests and Pharisees might put him to death:

On the day of trial the executive officers of justice caused the accused person to make his appearance. At the feet of the elders were placed men who under the name of auditors, or candidates, followed regularly the sittings of the council. The papers in the case were read, and the witnesses were called in succession. The president added this exhortation to each of them: "It is not conjecture, or whatever public rumor has

brought to thee, that we ask of thee. Consider that a great responsibility rests upon thee; that we are not occupied with an affair like a case of pecuniary interest, in which the injury may be repaired. If thou causest the condemnation of a person unjustly accused his blood and the blood of all the posterity of him of whom thou shalt have deprived the world will fall upon thee. God will demand of thee an account, as he demanded of Cain an account of the blood of Abel. Speak!"

A woman could not be a witness, because she would not have the courage to give the first blow to the condemned person; nor could a child that is irresponsible; nor a slave; nor a man of bad character; nor one whose infirmities prevented the full enjoyment of his physical and moral faculties. The simple confession of an individual against himself, or the declaration of a prophet, however renowned, could not decide a condemnation. . . . The witnesses were to attest to the identity of the party, and to depose to the month, day, hour, and circumstances of the crime. After an examination of the proofs the judges who believed the party innocent stated their reasons. Those who believed him guilty spoke afterward, and with greatest moderation. If one of the auditors or candidates was intrusted by the accused with his defense, or if he wished in his own name to present any elucidations in favor of his innocence, he was admitted to the seat from which he addressed the judges and the people. But this liberty was not granted to him if he was in favor of condemning. Lastly, when the accused person himself wished to speak, they gave the most profound attention. When the discussion was finished one of the judges recapitulated the case. They removed all the spectators. The scribes took down the votes of the judges. One of them noted those who were in favor of the accused, and the other those who condemned him. Eleven votes out of twenty-three were sufficient to acquit, but it required thirteen to convict. If any of the judges stated that they were not sufficiently informed there were added two more elders, and two others in succession, until they formed a council of sixty-two, which was the number of the grand council. If a majority of votes acquitted the accused he was discharged instantly; if he was to be punished the judges postponed pronouncing sentence till the third day. During the intermediate day they could not be occupied with anything but the cause, and they abstained from eating freely, or from wine, liquor, and everything which might render their minds less capable of reflection.

On the morning of the third day they returned to the judgment seat. Each judge who had not changed his opinion said, "I continue of the same opinion and condemn." Anyone who at first condemned might at this sitting acquit, but he who had once acquitted was not allowed to condemn. If a majority condemned two magistrates immediately accompanied the condemned person to the place of punishment. The elders did not descend from their seats. They placed at the entrance of the judgment hall an officer of justice, with a small flag in his hand. A second officer on horseback followed the prisoner, and constantly

kept looking back to the place of departure. During this interval if any person came to announce to the elders any new evidence favorable to the prisoner the first officer waved his flag and the second one, as soon as he perceived it, brought back the prisoner. If the prisoner declared to the magistrates that he recollected some reasons which had escaped him they brought him before the judges no less than five times. If no incident occurred the procession advanced slowly, preceded by a herald, who in a loud voice addressed the people thus: "This man (giving his name and surname) is led to punishment for such a crime; the witnesses who have sworn against him are such and such persons; if anyone has evidence to give in his favor let him come forth quickly."*

This quotation assures us that in the letter of the Jewish law the rights of the individual were most sacredly guarded; yet the trial of our Saviour shows how every principle of that law was violated by those who were determined at all hazards to put him to death.

But a review of the incidents leading up to the trial of Christ is necessary to the full understanding of the mockery of justice which followed. Jesus, like Socrates, was the victim of the envy of bad men who had been rebuked and confounded by his teachings; like Socrates, his death had been determined by his enemies; like him, also, he refused to use any arts to secure his acquittal; like the philosopher, he had lived to instruct mankind and exalt virtue and goodness; and, far above the Greek sage, he had been preeminently good. As with Joan of Arc, the inspiration of his life was to do the Father's will; as in her case, bribery was used to seize him; and, like her, he was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical and political tribunal of perjured hypocrites. As with the French king and queen, the rabble, influenced by their leaders, were turned against him and clamored for the blood of one of whose innocence or guilt they knew nothing. And, like his own followers who perished by the Spanish Inquisition, Christ was abused and tortured while a prisoner and uncondemned. There is something in the nature of vice which cannot endure superior virtue. If it cannot corrupt or tarnish it, it will seek to destroy its possessor. Vice always hates the light which reveals its deformity. Goodness alongside of vice is the angel alongside of the fiend, and the fiend appears more fiend-like because of the contrast.

* This description is taken from Greenleaf's *Trial of Christ*, who quotes it from Du Pin, a distinguished French jurist, who in turn gets it from Salvator, a Spanish Jewish jurist of very great research and learning.

While our world is as it is, virtue must always suffer because of the world's envious hate. The world puts its saviours to death! The Inquisition devours the religious reformer; the stake consumes Huss, Jerome, Ridley, and Savonarola; the dragoons of Charles hunt the Covenanters from their caverns; the pope condemns Galileo; Socrates drinks the hemlock; and the Jews and Pilate nail Jesus to the cross.

The superior virtue and purity of Jesus, if there had been nothing else, would have been sufficient to array the chief priests against him. But he had also unmasked their hypocrisy. His words, like arrows, entered every joint of their armor and left them writhing in pain. So enraged were they that they said, "Thou hast a devil," and, taking up stones, would have stoned him had they not feared the people. Jesus was popular. His spotless life, works of mercy, and words of kindness had endeared him to the people. They looked upon him as a prophet, and their national pride rejoiced in the restoration of the long-lost spirit of prophecy. They called him "Rabbi," hung upon his words, and thronged about him in multitudes. The instincts of their unreasoning natures adored him as a hero and loved him as a friend. This affection was fickle, as all affection is which has not its basis in the convictions of the understanding; but it was, for the time being, sincere. Being held at bay by this fear, the chief priests and Pharisees were, nevertheless, waiting an opportunity to gratify their hate. Having determined upon his death, in order to accomplish it they must render him unpopular and destroy his influence over the people. To do this they set a political and then a religious snare to entrap him. First they sought to involve him in the dispute between the Pharisees and Herodians about the tribute money paid to the Roman government. The theory of the Pharisees was that God had ordained for the Jewish people a theocratic form of government and had commanded them that, if they ever had a human king, he must be one of their own race and in no case a foreigner. This theory was shared by the common people, and hence their loathing of a publican, or Roman tax-collector. The Herodians were that part of the Jewish people who were devoted to the royal house of Herod, an Idumean who rose to his royal place and prerogatives by his own cunning and the help of the

Romans. One has said: "The pure Jews were grieved to see cruel and avaricious rulers placed over their native land, theaters and Grecian gayeties introduced contrary to Jewish manners, the Roman eagles displayed upon the military standards, the tower of Antonia so refitted as to command the temple under Roman arms, and the high priests so often and so capriciously removed by the Roman rulers."

The plot was adroitly laid. If Christ should answer the question, "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, or not?" in the affirmative it would commit him to the Herodians and array the people against him. If he answered in the negative the Herodians would accuse him of treason to Rome. In one case he would become an easy prey, in the other he would probably be executed, and they would be rid of him. But Jesus confounded them by asking for a penny and inquiring whose image and superscription it bore. It was a Jewish maxim that "he who coins the money rules the land." The penny was evidence of Cæsar's authority. They were under that authority, and they dare not deny it, or they would be branded with treason. Therefore, said he, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Of this answer the Herodians cannot complain, nor the Pharisees, for it is their own confession put in shape. Failing in this, they spread the ecclesiastical, or religious, snare. The Sadducees were materialists, and denied a future life. The Pharisees, with the masses of the people, believed in the resurrection and immortality. The Sadducees were few in number, but rich and powerful and of great influence with the government. The Pharisees were numerous, and powerful because of numerical strength. If Christ denied a future life the people would be his enemies. If he contended for it the Sadducees might be angered against him and be induced to destroy him. But, as in the other case, his reply vanquished the Sadducees without irritating them, and by its profound argument for a life beyond the grave made the people his faster friends. Failing in these two attempts to entrap Jesus, the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people assembled at the palace of Caiaphas, the high priest, two days before the passover, and "consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill him." Judas, knowing their desires, went to them, and they gave him thirty pieces of silver

to betray Christ unto them. Here is the court which is to judge the prisoner, when arrested, bribing a man to betray him into their hands. This done, they awaited their opportunity. It soon came. Jesus in the upper room had eaten the passover with his disciples, had delivered that memorable discourse recorded by St. John, and had retired to Gethsemane with his disciples, Judas having gone out from the supper to inform the council of his intentions. It is the hour of midnight. Jerusalem lies wrapped in slumbers, while peaceful innocence revels in dreams. The moonbeams bathe the almost deserted streets in splendors, glimmer upon the temple's turrets, and fall in patches of silvery light among the shadows of Gethsemane. Like the stillness which precedes the tempest, all is in strange contrast with the wild storm of cruelty and hate that will beat on the morrow along the crowded thoroughfares of the city of David, as the multitude inflamed with passion shall cry out, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Soon the tramp of many feet is heard along the silent walks of Gethsemane. It is the police of the high priests coming to arrest Jesus. There has been no warrant issued. They are not officers of the law, but kidnappers and abductors. If the Roman guards of the tower of Antonia were present, as Lange supposes, they were there upon the misrepresentations of the chief priests and without legal authority to arrest. And if there had been a warrant of arrest, and had full police powers been possessed by that motley throng of servants and soldiers with swords and staves, the proceeding was, nevertheless, in violation of Jewish law. For, according to that law, prisoners could not be arrested at night, nor tried at night, nor during the feast of the passover.

Immediately upon seizing Jesus they bound him, pinioning his hands behind his back, and led him away surrounded by his abductors to the house of Annas, which was probably near by. Here he underwent a preliminary examination without anything being elicited against him, and Annas then sent him bound to Caiaphas, in whose presence the council was already assembled. This council, or Sanhedrin, was the court which tried Jesus, and which should have tried him had he been legally their prisoner according to the mode of procedure already given, but which they violated in every particular. This council in the time of our Saviour was composed of seventy,

or perhaps seventy-one, members. Among them were "the chief priests, or heads of the twenty-four classes into which the priesthood was divided; the elders, men of age and experience, who were held in reverence for wisdom; and the scribes, who had made the law a special study. The high priest and those who had held the office were members *ex officio*. The officers of this court were the president, often, if not always, the high priest; the vice president, who was called the father of the hall of judgment; and two secretaries," * who recorded the votes as before mentioned. Their legal place of meeting was the chamber called Gazith, in the temple. The members sat in the form of a semicircle, in front of the president and vice president. The jurisdiction of the court extended to all ecclesiastical offenses, especially to idolatry, blasphemy, and religious imposture. Its proceedings, as we have hitherto seen, were conducted, if in accord with the law, in great strictness. It could not try a capital offense in the night nor during the feast of the passover; nor could it pronounce sentence until after one day's adjournment after the trial had occurred and the votes of condemnation were given. Under the Roman authority it had no power to inflict the death penalty. This council which arraigned Christ was, therefore, not in its legal place of meeting. It was assembled at the house of Caiaphas, instead of the room Gazith. It also assembled at night to try a capital case, and that, too, during the feast of the passover. Before this council thus unlawfully assembled Jesus is brought, to be tried for violating the law. The judge assumed the rôle of a prosecutor and interrogated him in reference to his doctrine and disciples. Jesus answered him, "I spake openly to the world; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort; and in secret have I said nothing. Why askest thou me? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them: behold, they know what I said." How noble, and yet how full of rebuke, this reply! We have the spectacle of a judge trying to entangle a prisoner and cause him to convict himself, that he may pronounce sentence upon him without the evidence of witnesses—a judge who sat in his seat to see that the prisoner's rights were protected, as well as the rights of the public, and who was bound to reckon him inno-

*Eddy, *Immanuel.*

cent until he was proven guilty. But on Christ's reply an officer present struck the prisoner a blow, saying, "Answerest thou the high priest so?" The prisoner is beaten at the bar of justice, and his person is assailed with no rebuke from the court—a prisoner as yet untried and uncondemned!

Now occurs a strange scene. A court with a prisoner before it itself seeks for witnesses to condemn him; and, after summoning many who contradict each other, they find "two false witnesses," who wrest words spoken upon another subject to convict him of blasphemy upon the technical point of speaking against the temple. Seeing himself defeated in his purpose, the high priest determines upon a bold measure. He will make the prisoner convict himself of blasphemy. He will put him upon his oath. What matters it that this is directly contrary to the law? The whole court, he knows, is with him, and he is safe. So, rising up, he said, "I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God." Jesus as plainly answers, "Thou hast said." Then the high priest rose and rent his *simlah*, or upper garment, not his priestly robe. This rent was made according to prescribed forms; it was to be done gracefully and was to be from four to six inches in length. The habit, of great antiquity and at first an unpremeditated act, was now a prescribed ceremony. It was customary to make the rent without rising, but Caiaphas arose and hurriedly concluded the matter, giving his decision before the vote was taken. Pleading vehemently against the prisoner, he said, "What further need have we of witnesses? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy." And they all said, as they had all intended to say, "He is guilty of death." In all history there has been but one other judge who can compare with Caiaphas in brutality, and that one was the notorious Jeffreys, chief justice of England. Brothers are they in hate, cruelty, and shame. Both were hypocrites; both were brutes; though the exterior of the high priest might seem more polished than that of the chief justice. Both were murderers, and both are inheritors of everlasting infamy.

Sentence being pronounced, the council retired. It was perhaps two o'clock in the morning. The prisoner, for whom the law required kindly treatment, was turned over to the guards to be abused. They blindfolded him; they spat upon him;

they dealt cruel blows upon his person. Tauntingly they said, as he reeled under these blows, bruised and bleeding, his arms still pinioned, "Prophesy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee?" Thus scorned, buffeted, beaten, in the unbridled carousal of these lawless guards, the hours passed away until perhaps six o'clock in the morning. The Sanhedrin, knowing that this meeting, trial, and sentence had all been illegal, then assembled in the room Gazîth to go over the mock procedure again, thus hoping to give a show of legality to their action. All bruised by his buffetings, Jesus was led from the house of Annas and Caiaphas to the temple. It was early morning. Behind Olivet blushed the red glow of the coming day, Gethsemane still lying in the shadows. The full moon, now dimmed by the morning light, was sinking out of sight in the distant west. From booth and tent and house the thronging multitudes, who have come up to the feast of the passover, emerged. The noise of the city gradually increased to an unceasing roar as the tides of life poured along the streets upon this first day of the feast. With steady tread moved on the guards, their prisoner in their midst, until they reached the temple's gates; and, filing through them, Jesus stood again in the presence of the council. Again the question was propounded, "Art thou the Christ?" But now his answer was full of dignified rebuke, as he unmasked their hypocrisy: "If I tell you, ye will not believe: and if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go. Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God." It was as much as if he had said, "Your interrogations are all asked, not to satisfy you as to my guilt or innocence, but to bring about my death. You have prejudged my case. You have determined to destroy me, but be assured that hereafter I shall be the judge and you the prisoners at my bar. My judicial functions will be exercised in a world to which yours will not extend." "Art thou then the Son of God?" they again asked of Jesus. He answered, "Ye say that I am." And they all with one accord said, "What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth."

This farce finished, they could go no farther. They were a conquered people, and the Roman government, as an evidence of its supremacy, had reserved to itself the right to inflict capi-

tal punishment. This right was lodged in the governor of the province, but could be delegated to a subordinate Roman officer, who, in this case, was Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea. Bound and bruised, and his body sore from the strokes of the rods, Jesus was therefore led away to Pilate. The procession of the Sanhedrin passed from the council chamber, across the temple mountain, in a northerly direction, toward the palace of the governor, which stood at its base. It was still early. The sun's rays burnished the temple's turrets in glory. The tower of Antonia stood grim and frowning, displaying the Roman standards. The city was alive with activity. On every hand stood the architecture of Herod the Great. The priests were probably clothed in their priestly robes, the Roman soldiers in their armor, and the temple guards in the insignia of their office. It was an imposing procession, with Jesus bound and walking in the midst.

Having brought Jesus to Pilate, they do not hesitate to bring in an entirely new charge. Pilate asked, "What accusation bring ye against this man?" They answered, "If he were not a malefactor we would not have delivered him up unto thee," hoping that Pilate would pronounce sentence without further inquiry. But he refused, knowing that it was "not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him." Seeing that Pilate would not become their tool, they said, "We found this fellow perverting the nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king." This charge demanded inquiry, as it affected the Roman government. The judgment hall was opened for the trial, but the Sanhedrin would not enter it. They had been ceremonially cleansed for the feast. The hall was polluted by the presence of Gentiles. With hearts filled with murder and mouths with lies, with souls black as perdition, they shrank from a ceremonial pollution! Pilate permitted them to remain outside, and took Jesus into the judgment hall. "Art thou the King of the Jews?" he asked. Jesus answered, "Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" Pilate answered, "Am I a Jew? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me: what hast thou done?"

Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." "Art thou a king then?" said Pilate. Jesus answered, "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." Pilate contemptuously answered, "What is truth?" And when he had said this, leaving Jesus in the judgment hall, he went out unto the council and pronounced the decision, "I find in him no fault at all." This ought to have been a final decision. According to Roman law it did acquit Jesus, and had he been in Rome he would have been liberated, and the power of the empire would have protected him in his liberty. But in his trial and condemnation Roman, as well as Jewish, law was set at defiance. The Jews answered Pilate's decision fiercely, "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place." When Pilate heard of Galilee he thought he saw a way out of the difficulty, inquired if the man were a Galilean, and, learning that he was, sent him to Herod, the tetrarch, who had at that time come up to Jerusalem to the feast.

The procession was again formed, and marched up the temple mount along the way it had come, past the temple adorned for the festal occasion, to the palace of Herod. Jesus had traveled this same way in the morning, when he had been led from the palace of Caiaphas to the temple, and now, weary and full of pain, he traveled it again. Arriving at the palace of Herod, the king was pleased to see Jesus. He had heard of him, and had desired for a long time to see him. There were two reasons for this desire. One was curiosity; he hoped to see him perform some miracle. The other reason grew out of a troubled conscience. Herod did not know but that Christ might be John the Baptist risen from the dead. If it was not John his conscience, aroused by superstitious fears, would be quieted. But to all Herod's questions Jesus answered nothing. "He knew that this perfidious and blood-stained prince could not be reached by the voice of truth, and that his condemnation would be pronounced by another." Annoyed by Jesus's silence, which the king considered obstinacy, Herod arrayed

him in a gorgeous robe—probably the white robe of victory—and mocked him, submitting him to cruel taunts, insults, and blows. Arrayed in these mock robes, Christ was led again to Pilate, a spectacle to melt a heart of stone. Pilate resolved to save him if possible. At the feast it was customary to release a prisoner. Barabbas, a seditioner and robber, was in his keeping. He will give the people the choice between this outlaw and Jesus, and certainly they will choose Jesus rather than Barabbas. With this in view Pilate said to them, "Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people; and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him: no, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him." But the council was determined upon his death, and, finding that their false accusation had failed, they changed the ground of their complaint and said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God." Pilate answered ironically, "Take ye him, and judge him according to your law." Their proud spirits chafe, but they reply, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Pilate, upon this new charge, examined Jesus again, but elicited nothing, and brought him forth, saying, "I find in him no fault at all;" and, sitting upon his judgment throne in front of the hall, he cried, "Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus?" They cried, "Barabbas!" Pilate answered, "What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ?" They cried out, "Crucify him! crucify him!" "I will chastise him," said Pilate, "and let him go." Again the cry of the bloodthirsty council, now a wild mob, drowned his expostulations. Pilate resolved to appeal to them in another way. Washing his hands before them, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it." Then broke forth the cry, awful in its imprecation, fearful in its assumed consequences—the cry which, as one has said, "makes the nations shudder ever since"—"His blood be on us, and on our children!" Pilate then released Barabbas and gave sentence that Jesus should be crucified.

It was customary that persons when sentenced to the cross should be scourged. This scourging was so severe that men

often died under it. The scourge was made of twisted thongs of leather, and in the thongs and upon the ends were fastened pieces of bone, iron, and balls of lead. Those who were to be scourged were tied to a pillar in a stooping posture, so that the skin of the back should be stretched tight and fully exposed to the fearful lashes. Jesus was led away into the Pretorium to be thus scourged. Being thus bound and stripped, in the hands of the Roman soldiers, there fell upon him, already sore and bruised, the thongs of their dreadful whip. The skin and flesh are cut and mangled into a bleeding mass. A crown of thorns is also put upon his brow. It wreathes his head with leaves of green without, but into the forehead pierce the thorns until streams of blood flow down his face. A purple robe is thrown over his mangled body, and a reed is forced into his hand as a scepter. They bow the knee, and cry, "Hail, King of the Jews!" They strike him with fierce blows upon the head, driving the thorns deeper still into the torn flesh. Exhausted, mangled, covered with blood, he is brought forth, and Pilate made another appeal in his behalf, saying, "Behold, I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him;" and, pointing to Jesus, he cried, "Behold the man!" The Jews cried out, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Pilate answered indignantly, "Take ye him, and crucify him: for I find no fault in him." They replied, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." Pilate now knows that he must crucify Jesus or defend himself before the Roman emperor, aware that the high priests and Pharisees would never rest until they had wrought his undoing. Again he sits down in the judgment seat, Jesus standing near him. He is filled with rage, and in taunting tones, pointing to the thorn-crowned, mangled victim near him, he cries, "Behold your King!" "Away with him! crucify him!" they answer. "Shall I crucify your King?" mocks Pilate. "We have no king but Cæsar," they answer. Then Pilate delivers him to be crucified, and writes this inscription above his head, "This is the King of the Jews." They say, "Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am the King of the Jews." And Pilate replied, "What I have written I have written."

The mockery of justice, save the execution itself, was over. On Golgotha's brow the workmen were preparing the cross.

Along the streets, as a lamb among lions, goes the mangled Nazarene, his cross upon his shoulders, sinking from exhaustion beneath it. He will die yonder between two thieves, but nature will sympathize with him in darkened scene and rending rocks.

> Three crosses in this noonday night uplifted,
> Three human figures that in mortal pain
> Gleam white against the supernatural darkness:
> Two thieves, that writhe in torture, and between them
> The Suffering Messiah, the Son of Joseph,
> Ay, the Messiah Triumphant, Son of David!
> A crown of thorns on that dishonored head!
> Those hands that healed the sick now pierced with nails,
> Those feet that wandered homeless through the world
> Now crossed and bleeding, and at rest forever!
> And the three faithful Maries, overwhelmed
> By this great sorrow, kneeling, praying, weeping!
> O Joseph Caiaphas, thou great high priest,
> How wilt thou answer for this deed of blood?*

Jesus perished, but not lawfully. He was condemned long before his arrest. His steps were dogged by informers, minions of the chief priests. A bribe was given for his betrayal. He was illegally arrested at night and brought before a court assembled at an unlawful time in an unlawful place. He was charged with blasphemy and unlawfully convicted, unlawfully sentenced before a day's consideration of the case, unlawfully abused while a prisoner. Charged before the Roman governor with a new offense, and then acquitted by him, he was finally condemned under the force of threats. The highest outrage upon justice the world has ever witnessed was perpetrated upon the world's Redeemer. A martyr to truth, he trod the path which all who, like him, are irreconcilable enemies to wrong in power must tread, save only as his death has broken the power and cast out the spirit of sin from human hearts. This is what it has been doing, and is doing, and will continue to do, until justice and righteousness shall everywhere prevail and the ermine of the court represents purity like his own.

*Longfellow, *The Divine Tragedy.*

W. N. McElroy

ART. IX.—THE RECOVERED APOLOGY OF ARISTIDES FOR THE CHRISTIANS.

THE *Apology* of Aristides for the Christians, stated both by Eusebius and Jerome to have been addressed to the emperor Hadrian, and lost for many centuries, was discovered by the distinguished paleontologist, Professor J. Rendel Harris, in a volume of Syriac extracts at the Convent of St. Catharine upon Mount Sinai, in the spring of 1889. While Professor Harris's English translation of the Syriac text of the *Apology* was passing through the press, J. A. Robinson, of Christ's Church, Cambridge, was allowed to read the proof sheets of the version. "Shortly afterward," says he, "as I was turning over Latin passionals at Vienna, in a fruitless search for a lost manuscript of the *Passion of St. Perpetua*, I happened to be reading portions of the Latin version of the life of Barlaam and Josaphat, and presently I stumbled across words which recalled the manner and the thought of Aristides."

Soon after this he read the Greek text itself of the *Apology* in the third * volume of the works of John of Damascus, a theologian who flourished about the middle of the eighth century. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat, as found in the Greek, is about as follows: An oriental prince by the name of Abenner persecutes the Christians. He has a son named Josaphat (the Greek is Ἰωάσαφ), whom he endeavors by all means to prevent from becoming a Christian. A monk by the name of Barlaam converts him to Christianity. The king Abenner is greatly enraged, and a plan is contrived by which the prince is to be shaken in his Christian faith. An old man, Nachor, is to personate Barlaam and make a lame defense of Christianity, which the rhetoricians will easily refute. Old Nachor—as the author of the story remarks—came like Balaam of old to curse, but bestowed a blessing. He begins to speak, and, like Balaam's ass, he spoke that which he had not purposed to speak, and said to the king, "I, O king, by the providence of God, came into the world." These words are the beginning of the *Apology* of Aristides, upon the finishing of which the king's orators and

* This is the ninety-sixth volume of Migne's edition of the fathers. The text of Aristides makes about eight and a half columns in the Greek of this volume.

worshipers stood dumb. As a consequence, both king and people were converted. This Greek text makes only about two thirds of the Syriac translation of the *Apology*, and it is quite certain that parts of the original Greek *Apology* were abridged or omitted; but in some instances the Syriac may be an enlargement of the Greek.

This is confirmed by the Armenian fragments of the *Apology*, which correspond well with the Syriac, but are longer than the Greek, and manifestly were not translated from the Syriac. There are two Armenian fragments, one in the Venice edition, the other in the Edschmiazin manuscript, each containing about two octavo pages of the same matter of the *Apology*. All these documents, namely, the Syriac version of the *Apology* with an English translation; the two Armenian fragments, the one in Latin, and the other in English, with dissertations by J. Rendel Harris, A.M.; and the Greek text with critical remarks, by J. Armitage Robinson, A.M., were published in a volume making about one hundred and fifty pages, at the University Press, Cambridge, in 1891.

We may now consider the age, character, and nature of the *Apology* itself. The earliest statement respecting it is found in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius.* As the *Apology* of Quadratus and that of Aristides are closely associated, we will first give the testimony of Eusebius respecting the former:

> Trajan having held the government for twenty entire years, lacking six months, Ælius Hadrian receives the sovereignty. This one Quadratus having addressed delivers a discourse, having prepared a defense for our religion, because, indeed, some wicked persons were trying to annoy our people. The work is still extant among many of the brethren, and, indeed, also with us, from which it is possible to see both the mind of the man and his apostolic orthodoxy. Furthermore, the same man shows his antiquity by those things which in his own words he relates: "The works of our Saviour were always present, for they were real. Those who were healed, those who were raised from the dead, were seen not only when healed, or raised, but were always present, not only when Christ was upon the earth, but after his departure. They were present for a long time, so that some of them have come down to our own times." Such a character, then, was this man. And Aristides, a faithful man, zealous for our religion, like Quadratus, having addressed Hadrian, has left an *Apology* for the faith. This man's writing is preserved to the present among most men.

* Lib. iv, cap. 3, written about A. D. 325.

Jerome, in his book on *Illustrious Men*, states: "Aristides, an Athenian, a most eloquent philosopher, a disciple of Christ, wearing his former philosopher's garb, presented to the emperor Hadrian, at the same time as Quadratus, a volume containing the reason for our doctrine that is an *Apology* for the Christians." Jerome, speaking of Quadratus, says that when Hadrian had spent the winter in Athens and was visiting Eleusis the apologist presented his book in defense of Christianity to the emperor. In Jerome's translation of the *Chronicles* of Eusebius, under the year A. D. 125, we find it stated that "Hadrian was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries and gave many gifts to the Athenians," and that "Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles, and Aristides, an Athenian, our philosopher, composed and presented to Hadrian books in defense of the Christian religion." That Hadrian was at Athens about this time is unquestioned. Merivale remarks: "The chronologists at least assure us that he was at Athens in the year 125, on his way, as we are informed by Spartan, to the East." * Speaking of Hadrian's journey through Greece and his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, Neander writes that the enemies of Christianity thought it a favorable time to begin the persecution of the Christians. "The two learned Christians, Quadratus and Aristides, were hence induced to present, each of them, to the emperor an apology in behalf of their companions in the faith." † Following these apologies and the representation to Hadrian, by the proconsul of Asia, of the disorderly attacks made upon the Christians by the populace, the emperor sends his edict in their favor to Minucius Fundanus, the succeeding proconsul. That the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides were presented to Hadrian on his visit to Athens, and that he afterward sent an edict in favor of the Christians to Minucius Fundanus, is not questioned by those great but cautious historians, Gieseler,‡ Neander, and Merivale.§

We have carefully considered the facts respecting the time of the composition of the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, because Professor Harris, in his dissertation on the latter

* *History of the Romans Under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 353.
† *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. i, p. 101.
‡ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i, pp. 125, 145.
§ *History of the Romans Under the Empire*, vol. vii, p. 369.

Apology, questions the fact of the presentation of these two compositions to Hadrian on his visit to Athens. First of all he says: "Much doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the rescript of the emperor Minucius Fundanus." This sounds strange to us, for it is found in Justin Martyr's *First Apology*, and is referred to by Melito, Bishop of Sardis (about A. D. 170), in an apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius. Besides, it bears internal marks of genuineness. "In the second place," remarks Professor Harris, "there is a suspicious resemblance between Quadratus the apologist and another Quadratus who was Bishop of Athens in the reign of Antoninus Pius, succeeding to Publius, whom Jerome affirms to have been martyred." The ground for this statement is the following reference in Eusebius to the Epistle of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (about A. D. 170), addressed to the Athenians:

> The epistle, stimulating to faith and to the life which is in accordance with the Gospel, reproves the Athenians, who had neglected it, and who had nearly apostatized from the doctrine (truth), since it happened that their presiding officer, Publius, suffered martyrdom in the persecutions in those times. He makes mention of Quadratus, who was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius, bearing witness that through his zeal (the members of the Church) were (again) collected and experienced a revival of their faith. He shows, besides these things, that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was brought over to the faith by the apostle Paul, according to what is shown in the Acts, was the first who had managed the episcopacy of the diocese of the Athenians.*

This last passage shows clearly that Dionysius of Corinth is not speaking simply of the affairs of the Athenian Christians in his own age, but from the beginning of their Church; and thus there is no proof that Quadratus, the Bishop of Athens, lived in the age of Dionysius or in that of Antoninus Pius. But why could there not have been two bishops in Athens named Quadratus, separated by an interval of thirty or forty years? There have been two presidents of the United States named Adams; two apostles were named James. In the Methodist Episcopal Church we have had two bishops, separated by about thirty years, whose names will look suspiciously alike in Church history, Andrew and Andrews. It is clear from the very words of Quadratus that he lived very near the apostolic age, and there is nothing to indicate that Eusebius has made

* Lib. iv, cap. 23.

any mistake respecting the age of the apologist. But, after all, we think it most probable that the apologist and the bishop were the same person.

Let us now consider the date of the *Apology* of Aristides, so far as it can be determined from internal evidence. The Greek text of the *Apology* contains no superscription, for the simple reason that in the story of Barlaam and Josaphat, in which it is found, it is spoken to King Abenner, and there is no place for a superscription. The Syriac translation, however, has the following superscription: "The Apology which Aristides the philosopher made before Hadrian the king, concerning the worship of God. Omnipotent Cæsar Titus Hadrian Antoninus, August and Merciful, from Marcianus Aristides, Philosopher of the Athenians." These two sentences are contradictory, and both could not have stood at the head of the original Greek *Apology*. Professor Harris thinks the second sentence, ascribing the *Apology* to Antoninus Pius, the true one, and finds a guarantee for this in the name, Marcianus Aristides. But the expression is bungling, and the Syriac for "august" and "merciful" have points indicating that these adjectives are plural and qualify both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Or, did the Syriac translator from the Greek think that Hadrian was an abridgment for Titus Hadrian Antoninus? As for Marcianus Aristides, we do not know that the apologist ever had that long name. But if he had it is singular that neither Eusebius nor Jerome ever calls him by it. But the two Armenian fragments of the *Apology*, the Venetian and that from the Edschmiazin manuscript, evidently copied from independent manuscripts, have the address to Hadrian. The former has the following superscription: "Imperatori Cæsari Hadriano. Aristides Philosophus Atheniensis." The latter has: "To the Autocratic Cæsar Adrianos from Aristides, Athenian Philosopher." These two independent Armenian texts, substantially the same, certainly outweigh the single contradictory Syriac superscription. The shorter superscriptions are generally more likely to be the original ones.

There is no account of Antoninus Pius ever having visited Greece or Asia, and that Athens was the residence of the author of the *Apology* is entirely in harmony with the statement of the writer: "This one [Christ] had twelve disciples,

who, after his ascension to heaven, went forth into the provinces of the world and taught the majesty of that one [Christ], just as one of them traveled over our regions preaching the doctrine of the truth." * Was not this Paul who preached at Athens and in other parts of Greece? It is not at all certain that Aristides wrote any superscription to his *Apology*, since he presented it in person, as it seems, to Hadrian. But no doubt the original, at least copies of it, soon received a superscription, which must have been read by Eusebius, who possessed the work. How, then, could he have made such a blunder in his *Ecclesiastical History* respecting the emperor to whom it was delivered? Furthermore, in his *Chronicles* he gives the very year in which it was delivered. In the time of Jerome, as we have seen, it was found with literary men; and Jerome adds to his testimony concerning the date that Aristides was a very eloquent man, and wore the philosopher's garb after he became a Christian. Professor Harris acknowledges that the *Apology* bears internal evidence of belonging to a very early period of the Church. J. Armitage Robinson, the discoverer and editor of the Greek text, relies upon the statement of Eusebius that the *Apology* was delivered to Hadrian.

We shall next proceed to give an account of the contents of the *Apology* of Aristides; and, first, we shall quote the introductory paragraphs of the Syriac translation, as it is fuller than the Greek:

I, O king, by the grace of God, came into this world; and, having contemplated the heavens and the earth and the seas, and beheld the sun and the rest of the orderly creation, I was amazed at the arrangement of the world; and I comprehended that the world and all that is therein are moved by the impulse of another, and I understood that He that moveth them is God, who is hidden in them, and concealed from them; and this is well known, that that which moveth is more powerful than that which is moved. And that I should investigate concerning this Mover of all as to how he exists—for this is evident to me, for he is incomprehensible in his nature—and that I should dispute concerning the steadfastness of his government, so as to comprehend it fully, is not profitable for me; for no one is able perfectly to comprehend it. But I say concerning the Mover of the world that he is God of all, who made all for the sake of man; and it is evident to me that this is expedient, that one should fear God, and not grieve man.

Now, I say that God is not begotten, not made; a constant nature, with-

* Sec. xv, Greek text.

out beginning and without end; immortal, complete, and incomprehensible; and in saying that he is complete I mean this, that there is no deficiency in him, and he stands in need of naught, but everything stands in need of him; and, in saying that he is without beginning I mean this, that everything which has a beginning has also an end, and that which has an end is dissoluble. He has no name, for everything that has a name is associated with the created; he has no likeness nor composition of members, for he who possesses this is associated with things fashioned. He is not male, nor is he female. The heavens do not contain him, but the heavens and all things visible and invisible are contained in him. Adversary he has none, for there is none that is more powerful than he; anger and wrath he possesses not, for there is nothing that can stand against him. Error and forgetfulness are not in his nature, for he is altogether wisdom and understanding, and in him consists all that consists. He asks no sacrifice and no libation, nor any of the things that are visible; he asks not anything from anyone, but all ask from him.

The Greek text of the *Apology*, which we shall now follow, is plain and easy, and in this respect is quite different from the apologies of Justin Martyr. Aristides statest hat there are three classes of men in this world—those who are worshipers of "those who among you are called gods," the Jews, and the Christians. Of the idolaters he makes three classes—Chaldeans, Greeks, and Egyptians. The Chaldeans, says he, not knowing God, went astray after the elements, and began to worship the creature more than him who created them.* He represents them as making figures of the earth and sea, sun and moon, and of the rest of the elements or luminaries, which they shut up in their temples, worship, and call gods, safely keeping them so that they may not be stolen by robbers. Aristides next proceeds to show the king that the elements cannot be gods. "Those," says he, "who believe the heaven to be God are deceived. For we see that it is turned around and moved by necessity, and consists of many parts. Wherefore, it is called *cosmos* [universe]. But *cosmos* is a contrivance of some artificer. That which is contrived has a beginning and end." He next affirms that those who believe that the earth, water, and fire, the blast of the winds, the sun, moon, and man are divinities are deceived; and he gives in each instance the reason that they cannot be divine beings.

He next takes up the polytheism of the Greeks, and affirms that the Greeks, calling themselves wise, became greater fools

* Based on Rom. 1, 25.

than the Chaldeans in the objects of their worship. He shows the absurdities of their theological views while giving sketches of their divinities and their abominable vices and crimes. After describing the character and the acts of the divinities of the Greeks, Aristides declares: "All these things, and many such, and far more base and wicked, the Greeks have introduced, O king, concerning their gods, which it is neither lawful to speak of, nor at all to remember; whence men, taking occasion from their gods, have committed all lawlessness, impurity, and impiety, defiling earth and air with their terrible deeds." After this Aristides discusses the religion of the Egyptians, and brands them as being more stupid and foolish than the Greeks, and as having erred worse than all other nations. After some further general reflections on the religions of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and the impossibility of the heathen divinities rendering any assistance to man, he thus expresses himself most forcibly and logically concerning the gods of Greece, from a moral standpoint:

> How is it that the wise and learned men of the Greeks, having enacted laws, are condemned by their own laws? For, if the laws are just, their gods are altogether unjust, having committed unlawful things, namely, murders, poisonings, adulteries, thefts, and sodomies. If they rightly did these things the laws then are unjust, having been made against the gods. But now the laws are good and just, approving the things that are good and forbidding those that are bad. The acts of their gods are unlawful; therefore their gods are transgressors of the laws, and all those are worthy of death and impious who introduce such gods. If the histories concerning them are mythical, they are nothing but tales only; but, if they are real, no longer are they gods who have done and suffered these things. But if they are allegorical, they are myths and nothing else.

Aristides next speaks of the Jews and of Moses as their lawgiver, of their idolatries, and of their slaying the prophets and the just men sent to them. He continues:

> In the next place, when it pleased the Son of God to come upon the earth, having behaved toward him like drunken men, they delivered him up to Pilate, the governor of the Romans, and they condemned him to the cross, having no respect for his benevolent acts and the countless wonders which he performed among them; and they perished through their own transgression. For also now they worship God Almighty only, but not according to knowledge.* For they deny the Christ, the Son of God, and

* The exact language of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, chap. x, 2, which Aristides doubtless had read.

are nearly like the Gentiles, even if they seem in some degree to approach the truth from which they have far removed themselves.

The Christians derive their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. This Son of God Most High is acknowledged in the Holy Spirit, having descended from heaven for the salvation of men; and having been born of a holy Virgin, without seed and purely, he assumed flesh and appeared unto men that he may recall them from the error of polytheism; and having finished his wonderful dispensation, through the cross he tasted death through his own will, according to the great dispensation.* After three days he returned to live and ascended into (the) heavens, the glory of whose coming it is possible to learn from that which is called among them (the Christians) the holy evangelical writing, O king, if you will read it. This one had twelve disciples, who, after his ascension to heaven (heavens), went forth into the provinces of the world and taught his majesty just as one of them traveled over our regions, preaching the doctrine of truth, whence those who still adhere to (Greek, "serve") the righteousness of their preaching are called Christians.

And these are they who beyond all the nations of the earth have found the truth; for they know God, the Creator and Maker of all things, in (his) only begotten† Son and (the) Holy Spirit, and another God except this they do not worship. They have the commandments of the Lord Jesus Christ himself engraved on their hearts, and these they keep, expecting a resurrection of the dead and (the) life of the future world. They do not commit adultery, they do not commit fornication, they do not bear false witness, they do not covet the property of others, they honor father and mother, they love their neighbors, they judge justly; whatever things they do not wish to be done to them they do not do to another; those who injure them they entreat, and make them friends to themselves. They are zealous to do good to their enemies, they are meek and kind, they refrain from all unlawful intercourse and from all uncleanness. They do not neglect a widow, do not grieve an orphan. The one who has supplies abundantly the one who has not. If they see a stranger, they bring him under their roof and rejoice over him as over a true brother; for they do not call themselves brothers according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. They are ready to give up their lives for the sake of Christ; for his commandments they steadfastly keep, living holily and justly as the Lord commanded them, giving thanks to him always in (for) all food and drink and for the rest of good things. Truly, then, this is the way of truth which leads those who travel it into the everlasting kingdom, which has been promised by Christ in the life to come; and in order that you may know, O king, that I do not say these things of myself, if you look into the writings of the Christians you will find that I am saying nothing outside of the truth.

* This seems to refer to Heb. ii, 9. To "taste death" is found in Matt. xvi, 18; Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 27; John viii, 52. It is not classical Greek, but Aramaic. Aristides no doubt derived it from the New Testament.

† From the writings of John, who alone calls Christ the "only begotten Son."

The whole Greek *Apology* makes only ten pages, octavo size. From the extracts which we have given we see that at Athens, about A. D. 125, the Christians had a history of Christ which they called the "holy evangelical writing;" and it is manifest from our extracts that the great outline of Christ's history and teaching was the same as that contained in our gospels. In the last extract in which the writings of the Christians are mentioned it is not likely that anything, certainly very little, is included that lies outside of our present canon. In reference to the "holy evangelical writing" in the Greek text the parallel passage in the Syriac translation has: "This is taught from that Gospel which a little while ago was spoken among them as being preached; wherein if ye will also read, ye will comprehend the power that is upon it." The passage respecting a written Gospel is wanting in the two Armenian fragments, in the parallel place. The *Apology* thus gives us another valuable testimony to the Gospel of Christ and to the moral excellence and holiness of the early Christians.

Henry M. Harman

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE best book we know of on the subjects of which it treats is Dr. J. M. Buckley's *Faith Healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena*, published by the Century Company, New York, for $1.25. Ministers who are troubled with the presence of these delusions in the communities around them will do well to read Dr. Buckley's book.

How many of our subscribers like the Review mailed with leaves uncut, as now; and how many would prefer to have us cut the leaves? In favor of our cutting them is the saving of time, labor, and patience to our readers; against it, chiefly, is the fact that those who have the volumes of the *Review* bound for preservation find the margin left on the pages after the second trimming, necessary in binding, to be narrower than is desirable for appearance' sake. *We now request of each subscriber a statement of his preference on a postal card addressed to the editor, in order that we may learn on which side sentiment preponderates.*

DESIRING to afford the utmost possible opportunities to our contributors and to furnish variety to our readers, we dislike to publish fewer than nine contributed articles in a number, and would rather print more than less. In this issue we have suppressed ourselves in the editorial departments in order to make room for contributed articles, to which more space than usual is given; but even so, and to our much greater regret, we were obliged to practice upon several of the nine articles an abridgment similar to that which we inflicted on ourselves.

Two things require reiteration. First: It is not proper to write, "The *Methodist Review* says," when the matter quoted is by a contributor in the *Review*. We print many things from our contributors with which we do not agree. Any other course would limit the range of the *Review* to the personal views of the editor, an impoverishing and unwarrantable thing for a

periodical belonging to the whole Church and to all varieties of mind and opinion therein.

Second: No manuscript should ever be rolled. No one, whatever his relation to it, whether speaker or editor or typesetter or proof reader, ever had a moment's comfort in a rolled manuscript.

LOFTY aspiration and strenuous endeavor were the ideal of Lady Augusta Stanley for herself and for all whom she loved. In the week of her fatal illness she used her last strength to inspire and stimulate her husband, the Dean of Westminster. "Work on, work on," she said; "go to the very bottom of things and leave work that shall be imperishable." Speaking of a volume he was then writing, she said with great emphasis, "Make it—*perfect.*"

ARBITRATION—CHRIST JUDGING AMONG THE NATIONS.

ONE unique feature, differentiating the nineteenth century from its predecessors, is the prevalent substitution of arbitration for war in the settlement of international controversies. The marvel is that this simple and effective method of redressing grievances was not adopted long ago. It is reasonable, and befits the moral nature of man. It is equitable, for its awards are on the merits of the case, and are not affected by the weight of artillery, number of bayonets, or money resources of the contestants. It is cheap, in comparison with the insanely wasteful expenditures of warfare. From 1793 to 1877 the cost of war, civil and foreign, of the principal nations of the earth is estimated by Mulhall at £3,047,000,000, or $15,000,000,000 in round numbers, and the lives of 4,470,000 men. In January, 1893, the total number of soldiers under the colors of nineteen European governments was 3,789,449, and of sailors, 297,962; of both, 4,087,411. The annual cost to the subjects of these governments is $6.24 per capita, or $31.20 per family of five persons. If to this be added the annual interest on national debts, piled up chiefly by former wars, the frightful aggregate for each person is $13, and for each family $65.

The cost of our great civil war is computed by the New York *Sun* at $8,425,185,017. This stupendous amount exceeds by $3,250,000,000 the total census valuation of real and personal estate in the eleven seceding commonwealths at the time. Commenting on this exhibit, the Memphis *Appeal-Avalanche* truthfully

remarked: "One thing is very evident from all this, and that is that war doesn't pay. It is entirely too expensive a luxury, and leaves behind it passions and contentions which years upon years can hardly erase. The figures are an unanswerable argument for peace." It is a moral duty to prevent the suffering which comes from needless waste and destruction of property as well as that from loss of life and limb. When excited "jingoes" advocate our interference in Cuba, which would involve us in war with Spain, the sober sense of the American people begins to count the cost of such a conflict. If it were only one fourth as much as our civil war cost the North, there would be 200,000 men killed and as many more crippled for life; an immediate cash outlay of $670,000,000; a loss by depreciation of currency of $300,000,000; by destruction of property, $100,000,000; by derangement of trade and industry, $5,000,000,000: a probable total of not less than $7,000,000,000. The entire value of the island of Cuba, reckoning it at twenty times its maximum annual revenue, is only $400,000,000, which is not one seventeenth of the expense which war with Spain would entail on the United States alone, without taking account of the interest on bonds which would be issued or of the pensions extending through subsequent generations, and saying nothing of Spain's losses.

The world grows slowly wiser through painful experiences. Suffering, from the effects of excessive militancy, and also from humiliating defeat, suggested arbitration as a means that should be tried for the adjustment of differences before resort to hostilities. Growing consciousness of responsibility to God added force to the suggestion; while the idea of the sacredness of human life, bought with the price of the Redeemer's blood, modified the thoughts and mellowed the hearts of men. The progress of righteous wisdom is further seen in the adoption of equitable arbitration by members of commercial and financial exchanges.

By the Jay Treaty, so fiercely denounced as a surrender to Great Britain, the principle of arbitration was first applied to international differences. It left the demarcation of our northeastern boundary to three commissioners, whose work, when finished, was approved by intelligent patriots. The Treaty of Ghent, signed prior to Jackson's victory at New Orleans in 1815, referred the title to Passamaquoddy Bay to arbitrators, who were unanimous in their award. Arbitration is now the national usage. Professor Moore, of Columbia College, New York, states that the United States government at different times has entered into

forty-seven agreements for international arbitration, has appointed a representative as arbitrator seven times, and has erected thirteen tribunals under its own laws to decide the mooted validity of international claims. Sometimes it has rejoiced in favorable award; at others been disappointed by contrary decision. More than any other people has the American nation established the right to rejoice in the beatitude, "Blessed are the peacemakers." The peace she has sought has been peace with righteousness, and therefore peace with honor. Where her own feelings and interests were specially implicated she has risen to the altitude of Christian forbearance and magnanimity, deliberately preferring the arbitrament of right reason to that of the sword. General Ulysses S. Grant, one of her simplest and greatest representatives, voiced her sentiments in the memorable words: "Though I have been trained as a soldier, and have participated in many battles, there never was a time when, in my opinion, some way could not have been found to prevent the drawing of the sword. I look forward to an epoch when a court, recognized by all nations, will settle international differences, instead of keeping large standing armies, as they do in Europe."

Retributive justice was satisfied by the award of arbitrators at Geneva, as was distributive justice by that of the tribunal on the Fisheries question. The Behring Sea vexation, and the misunderstanding about Alaskan boundaries, will be amicably removed in like manner. Christian good sense has found an honorable way for all parties out of the Venezuela-Guiana imbroglio. Whether recognized by international law or not, the conscientious conviction of the American people is that they are responsible for the safety of all governments, throughout the length and breadth of this continent, against all great international wrongs, and particularly against any that may be attempted by European powers. Our logic may not be clear to our friends across the sea, but the protective purpose is firm. The outcome of arbitration may not be infallibly just, but nothing of reputation or prestige is forfeited by the voluntary submission of international differences to wise, impartial settlement; on the contrary, each participant rises in dignity, in self-respect, and in the esteem of mankind.

What is in the future only God can know. Canada, British Honduras, and Guiana may be portions of the British empire for long years to come. None but their inhabitants have the moral right to change their political relations. In any event a treaty,

to constitute a permanent court, to which all matters at issue between the United States and Great Britain should be referred for settlement, is worthy of closest consideration. Such a tribunal would be to the kindred nations what the Supreme Court of the United States is to the several States. The proposition is eminently practicable. The keenest and most erudite of legists and jurists have recommended and now advocate it. Sir George Clarke, the governor of Malta, suggested it publicly in 1894; Edward Everett Hale urged it at the Lake Mohonk Peace Conference in 1895, and the American Bar Association applauded it when recommended by Mr. Justice Brewer. A plan of such permanent court is said to have been definitely formulated by Sir Frederick Pollock in England, and by Mr. Justice Harlan in this country. The General Arbitration Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, signed at Washington on January 11, 1897, by their respective plenipotentiaries, and submitted for ratification by the governments of the two nations, is a step in the right direction. By the terms of this treaty all questions in difference between them which have not been adjusted by diplomatic negotiation, all pecuniary claims not exceeding £100,000 and not involving decision of unsettled territorial claims, would be referred to an arbitral tribunal of distinguished jurists, one from each country, the two choosing an umpire. Pecuniary claims exceeding £100,000 in amount and questions of right, under treaty or otherwise, would be similarly referred. If not unanimous, the decisions would be reviewed by a tribunal of five members, a majority award to be final. Boundary disputes and cases involving national honor to be decided by the majority of a tribunal consisting of three American and three British judges, without any umpire. In the two first commissions the umpire to be appointed by the King of Sweden and Norway, whenever the tribunal may fail to agree in the choice of one. This treaty to remain in force for five years, and as much longer as both parties may wish, being terminable at the end of twelve months' notice by either.

Some such treaty is needed and should be adopted; its principles and provisions are worthy to have the dignity and force of international law. No congratulations upon such outcome could be too jubilant. It strengthens faith in the millennium—the ultimate possibilities of the race. It is the pioneer of "the parliament of man—the federation of the world."

The ratification of such a treaty might not constitute "a full

offensive and defensive Anglo-American alliance," nor anything like it, as against other people, but it would bind each to seek its own proper ends by methods of equity and righteousness.

Any agreement that purposes to substitute cultured brain for bullying brawn, sweet reasonableness for furious passion, and Christian equity for brutal might, ought, when brought to its best possible form, to be ratified promptly by the governments concerned therein.

Christian faith looks beyond the erection of such a tribunal to one of more imposing character, whose influence shall extend over a world-wide area. Its construction is not only possible, but imperatively called for by human necessities. Its decisions might be enforced, not only by public opinion, but, if demanded, by the general police force of the nations. War between the two great English-speaking peoples should be a moral impossibility. All wars within the limits of civilization should cease forever, and navies and armies be employed only in protecting that civilization against the incursions of barbarians and the diabolically lustful and murderous atrocities of the Moslems. What has been accomplished within the present century, as comprehensively detailed by the New York Chamber of Commerce, is in itself a prophecy of such a supreme judicial court of Christendom. Since A. D. 1800 "about eighty cases of international disputes have been settled by arbitration. In the last twenty years these cases have occurred at the rate of two or three a year. In every case the difficulty has been settled for all time," and with the more or less contented concurrence of the parties thereto. "Our country has settled more than forty of these difficulties. We have been literally the 'peace nation of the world.' Great Britain has settled about a dozen in the same period, and all the nations of Europe have had from one to seven cases. All of the South American republics, except two, and two of the Central American republics have done the same." Great Britain and America are in the van of the nations submitting to the supreme arbitrament of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom all judgment is committed by the Father. Now is the hour for imparting better system, force, and extension to their work. The "Permanent Parliamentary Committee in Favor of Arbitration and Peace," consisting of over fourteen hundred members in Europe, is another good omen of coming universal arbitration.

The sacredness of life, the horror of war, the power of womanhood, the absurdities of conflict, the costliness of militancy, the

effect of the Gospel, the instincts of human brotherhood, and the power of the indwelling Holy Spirit will bring the world to the feet of the Lord's Christ as supreme arbiter. "He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people." He is doing so now. "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." This prophecy receives fulfillment. *Arbitration is the Christ judging among the nations.* Human advance to the ideal is through progression exceeding retrogression. Universal equity, peace, cooperation, plenty, gradual approach to perfection, and the kingdom of heaven under human limitations established upon the earth, are among the blessings sure to come to our sinning, suffering, sorrowful world, and the coming may be nearer than we think.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIFE.

M. Brunetière, the leading French master in criticism, has recently commented with enthusiasm upon Mr. Balfour's great book on the *Foundations of Belief*. Perhaps one sees more distinctly in the brilliant comments of Brunetière than in Mr. Balfour's solid English the vast change which in a few years has passed over the world of thought. Two absolute monarchies have lost their thrones in little more than a decade. One of these monarchs is Reason and the other is Science. The world has not banished either; but it has restricted their powers and reduced them to the rank of servants under the will and the desire of the human soul. We set down here some thoughts inspired by the reading of M. Brunetière.

Why do we believe? is not a question in religion only, it is an everyday question and a vital one. Faith is everywhere; and neither reason nor science suffices to explain why we believe. Both help us, both go part way to explanation; and yet both fail to go the whole way. Every man with a reform finds it easy to show that any given social or political order is irrational and unscientific. Government, marriage, parental authority, property, inequality of possessions—all our institutions are vulnerable to attack by rationalist or scientist. Therefore every assailant of society has a following of men who suppose that reason and science should reign in human society. Their mistake is in failing to perceive that their reforms encounter the same objections. Authority, tradition, and instinct are three things whose empire

over faith is never seriously shaken. A rationalist objects to authority, ridicules it, makes his disciples despise it; with what result? Why, he himself becomes the authority before which his disciples bow. The authority of a God is odious to some man; he makes other men share his feeling; and straightway he is their god. Some think it stupid to quote the Bible, but rational enough to quote their master. *He said it* is one of the foundations of belief for all men, except, perhaps, the supreme egotist, and he says, *I said it.* The sober fact is that no one escapes from authority as a foundation of belief. When a man begins to declaim against authority in belief, wait a few minutes; he will presently quote some authority, some writer who is authority for him. What is our confidence in the surety of a hundred things—like, for instance, the accredited fact that the earth moves round the sun—but a confidence in authority? How could a child grow to be a man if he did not daily and hourly accept for true the information he receives from parents and teachers?

Tradition is another form of authority. "Our fathers have told us." History itself is only another name for tradition, for the authority of the experience of former generations. Institutions are the massed and piled experience of the past holding us in fast allegiance by our intimate belief in their necessity and usefulness, nay, in their sacredness.

In some ways stronger and more comprehensive in their power are some instinctive feelings for which we have no full account, which escape reason and transcend it. Analyze patriotism, home affections, ideas of neighborliness, or even ideas of duty, and we shall find an element of the instinctive. What makes life dear, companionship sweet, possessions desirable, man inviolable? What protects maiden innocence from assault by superior strength and clothes one's mother with a halo of affection and reverence? In all of these there is an element of instinct, of something inborn and active before all education and superior to it. It springs up of itself. It prescribes duties. It lords it over faith. It asks no justification from reason.

It is not enough to say that authority, tradition, and instinct prescribe the beliefs of the great mass of mankind. More is true; they prescribe the beliefs of philosophers and scientists, not only in the common business of all lives, but also in philosophy and science. However men despise and reject these rulers, they never abdicate and cannot be dethroned. The moral law

finds its strength and its enemies in instincts. Against the refractory instincts authority and tradition build up the better instincts of affection, reverence, and fear into defenses of individuals and of society; and the success of all the forces of civilization and moralization is measured by the subjection of brutal instincts to those which are purer and nobler.

If we turn to the æsthetic nature of man we confront a whole hemisphere of humanity where neither reason nor science has ever reigned. What is beauty? Why are some perfumes pleasant? What is the secret of sweet sounds? Science has of late labored in this field to find the *conditions* of pleasurable emotion. But every statement of these conditions leaves a mystic fact, a final, unsolvable unit of experience. "*We are so constituted that*—." Just so; this mysterious constitution of ours has a capacity for fine joys of sight, sound, smell, taste, touch. But this capacity is just a fact, a final fact beyond which we cannot penetrate.

In morals the belief that one course of conduct or item of conduct is right and that another is wrong is not fully accounted for by reason or science, though both may support it. But the question, What is right? is the smallest concern in morals founded on beliefs. The large concern is the coercion which those beliefs exercise over conduct through conscience. That conscience brings men into subjection to the moral law, that it scourges the offender by a revolt of his own nature—here is the deeper depth of the soul in which the lights of reason and science are extinguished. What may be called the historical conscience, as outlined in its growth, through generations, by the scientific utilitarians, is a figment of the imagination; there is no proof that the living conscience—exercising the office of a God in man—came by that path of evolution. The evolutionary conscience is hypothetical, and the notion that, in a far-off time, man had no conscience is pure assumption. Morals are inexplicable except as a religion, as an instinctive subjection to a supreme will. God and duty are inseparable beliefs.

By all means and in all things let us be rational; let us eagerly pursue all knowledge. But let us also recognize that Science and Reason are servants under a deeper and stronger power in the soul of man—that if we seek for the foundations of that faith by which we live our daily life as well as find our way to God we can only discover them in the spiritual nature of man, in depths unfathomable to science or to the understanding.

THE ARENA.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

In the "Arena" of the last November-December *Review* J. Wallace Webb offers a criticism upon our contributed article in the July-August number on "The Relations of Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality."

1. Exception is first taken to the statement, "The thought about anything antedates the feeling about it," on the ground that "the conscious self always acts as a unit." It is true, as stated, that the conscious self always acts as a unit. In thought the whole soul acts: so in will and feeling. In every thought there are feeling and will elements. Nevertheless, it is evident that there are states of the soul in which thought predominates, others in which feeling predominates, and still others in which will is preeminent. We can correctly speak of these states as influencing each other. Our critic himself admits this, and, whether unconsciously or not, adopts the style of speech he objects to when he says, "Religious feelings determine religious thoughts." If the one determines the other, then there must be a consecution in time, no matter how fleeting and difficult to fix.

2. Again, the charge is made against the proposition, "Our religious emotions are determined by our religious thoughts," that it is a half truth, and it is contended that "religious feelings also determine religious thoughts." This, says the critic, is the other half of the truth. Before rebutting this, let it be remembered that in the contributed article the statement, "Knowledge about anything is determinative of the feeling about it," was carefully limited by the expression, "in the main." Then these words were added: "The feelings often react upon the intellect in determining judgment. But this is an order which common sense recognizes as inverted, and repudiates under the name of prejudice." The critic's position is perhaps approximately true of children, savages, and low and undeveloped intelligences. His own illustration is to the point: "A little child is by its mother put to bed in a room alone. She retires with the light. The child, in the darkness, feels afraid and thinks some one is in the room. Did the thought produce the feeling, or the feeling the thought?" We cheerfully answer: The feeling produced the thought, such as it was. Thought will become unreal, rapid, childish, in proportion largely as it is produced by feeling. The aim of all education is to make the proposition, "Thoughts determine feelings," a whole truth. Many of the absurdities and follies of religious people are to be attributed to the fact that they have let their feelings determine their thoughts.

3. Our critic has utterly failed to notice the limitation of the discussion to knowledge and feeling by the exclusion from it of the will element. It was most explicitly stated, "Let will be posited as a constant quantity, and a Christian life assumed, so far as the will is concerned." The itera-

tion of this assumption in the article is frequent. But to our amazement the critic offers the following: "Human cognition is not the germ that produces the Christ life. Satan may have all the knowledge of an angel, yet he has no such thing as spirituality. His feelings may correspond with his knowledge; still, the feelings are those of a fiend." The misapprehension is again apparent here: "Thought is not the only thing that determines feeling. Motive or purpose gives shape to both logic and feelings;" which is quite in harmony with reason, and, too, with the article criticised.

4. Another fundamental misapprehension with which we would charge our critic is in regard to the nature of the knowledge in question. We especially tried to make our position here plain. For instance, it was stated: "In this discussion the term 'knowledge' will not refer to the activity of the intellectual faculty as holding fundamental Christian truths in question, to be convinced by them or not, but as cognizing them in faith." The knowledge in question "is divine truth, brought to our remembrance, applied to our minds, and converted into knowledge through the assistance of Him who is called 'The Spirit of Truth.'" But the critic evidently failed to notice this, and treats the knowledge in question as theological and scientific, which is of course beside the mark. A Christian man may have clear and definite knowledge of divine truth without knowing it theologically and scientifically. The logical and systematizing understanding is not the only organ of knowledge. Religious truth may be effectively grasped by the unlearned man in a representative form. Hence the critic's remark that "the profoundest thinker in the pulpit may have some ignorant member in the pew more saintly and religious than himself," while true, is not pertinent to the discussion, and is merely a reference to what a recent writer calls "the hackneyed contrast between learned men without grace and unlearned men with grace, as if learning and grace were exclusive circles." Nevertheless, while "the most illiterate may be most pious," this is not true of those most illiterate in the truths of God. Such a man's piety must necessarily show all the gross imperfections pointed out in the article as results of too little stressing of the knowledge element in spirituality. "Religion may be low when thought is high," but hardly when thought is high in our sense; and the converse of this, "Thought may be low when religion is high," is inconceivable.

5. But the important point of difference between the criticism and our article is seen in this position of the critic: "Spirituality varies according to feeling more than according to thought." "Intellect is the handmaid of feeling." Here he seems to make feeling determinative of spirituality, and with this view we take direct issue. It degrades the intellect, it robs the feelings of their richest and most satisfactory content, and it reduces thought and feeling about Christ to the vaguest mysticism. It would bring Christ into the soul, not through intelligent cognition in faith and by the aid of the Spirit, but through some channel which overleaps and overlooks the intellect altogether.

The critic says: "That which satisfies the soul is not thought, but the real life-giving Christ himself." Here we stand upon the edge of a dark mystery, into which no human mind can enter. But may we not hazard the statement that Christ must first be intelligently conceived before he can be worshiped and possessed? "When the heart is brought to the front," continues the critic, "religion takes a fresh start, as in the cases of Christ, Schleiermacher, and Wesley." But how was the heart thus brought to the front? By fresh and powerful presentations of truth to the soul. Thus was feeling stirred and the will moved. Christianity's chief distinction is its objective revelation. As Principal Caird in his *Philosophy of Religion* says: "Within the sphere of feeling the rapture of the sensualist and the devout elevation of the saint are precisely on a level; the one has as much justification as the other." Deny the determinative character of the Christian thinking which grasps the revelation in the Gospel, and this revelation is minified, and the cross of Christ made of none effect.

The soul is a unit and incapable of being divided. There is no schism among its faculties. A religion without feeling is as barren and cold as a religion without thought is vapid, unreliable, and fanatical. The main contention of the article is this, and we believe it to be beyond dispute, that in the case of a truly converted man, with a will ever ready to serve God, the decisive point in his spiritual experience is his attention to the truth of God. The article was a plea for "a deeper and clearer knowledge of divine truth, intenser reflection upon God, and more thoughtful, more earnest prayer." Only thus can religious feeling be deep, earnest, steady, and powerful; otherwise it will tend to become unsteady, fanatical, and unhealthily mystical.

Rockville Center, N. Y. FRANK W. CROWDER.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

AN article by the undersigned, with the above heading, appeared in the *Review* for July–August, 1896, and elicited two responses, one by the Rev. Benjamin Copeland, in the November-December number, and the other from Dr. Henry M. Harman, in the last issue.

Mr. Copeland has discovered three exceptions to Luke's use of ἐπί. One is found in Rev. xxi, 10, and the other two occur in Mark xv, 22, and Luke xxiii, 33. Had I said that John Bunyan usually says "*against* a place" for "*to* a place" it would have been just as appropriate to quote two exceptions, one from "The Tempest" and the other from the "Faerie Queene." In all these three passages, however, my critic is wrong about ἐπί signifying "up." In Rev. xxi, 10, ἐπὶ ὄρος does not signify "up a mountain," for John had been in heaven (verses 8, 5), where he heard a great voice from the throne, and saw the city descending (καταβαίνουσαν) out of heaven. If John had been ascending the mountain he would be caught beneath the descending pavements of gold and could not have seen within the city (verse 22). Search the Scriptures, Brother Copeland.

The other exceptions (?) to Luke's use of *ἐπὶ* are in regard to the phrase *ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον* which substantially occurs both in Mark's and in Luke's account of the crucifixion. In neither passage does *ἐπὶ* mean "up." Probably the reason that Luke did not write "up" is that it is down to go from Jerusalem to the point whence the procession turned off the road *into* (*εἰς*, Matthew and John) the field of the crucifixion. Mark and Luke speak of motion along the road, Matthew and John are speaking of departure from the road and entrance into the skull-place. The crucifixion was near the highway (Matt. xxvii, 39; Mark xv, 39). The highway would naturally run around, not over, the hills, and the side of a mountain would hardly be selected as a suitable place to plant crosses. I need not add that "Mount Calvary" is an unbiblical expression. *Κρανίον* may imply a moderate elevation, or it may be a grewsome name for a place of execution. Neither Matthew, Mark, Luke, nor John knows of any eminence. Brother Copeland alone says they went up.

He also decides that *ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον* (Acts xvii, 19) means, "They led him up the Areopagus." It follows, then, that the same writer, in Luke xxiii, 1 (*ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειλᾶτον*), means, "They led him up Pilate," as we have the same verb, the same preposition, and the same case. My critic therefore discovers a new mountain, Mount Pilatus, which I present to him with my compliments as some substitute for the conventional Mount Calvary whose possible loss he deplores.

The objections urged by Dr. Henry M. Harman in the January-February number of the *Review* mainly concern the court of Areopagus. He suggests that the Areopagus as described in *Demosth. ad Aristigona* "may not have been trying a case at all." Courts do, however, try cases, I believe. The Areopagus was organized especially for the trial of cases, according to the Greek accounts. Dr. Harman suggests, also, that the Areopagus did not sit in the Royal Court (*στοᾷ*), because Pausanias says that in that court "the king archon sits during the year of his magistracy." But the king archon was the constitutional president of the Areopagus, and the verb Pausanias uses (*καθίζει*) is the right word for the holding of a court. To say that the Vice President of the United States presides in the Capitol does not exclude the Senate at all.

My esteemed critic further claims that Luke's language should be, "They brought him before the *senate* of the Areopagus," if he meant the court or senate of Areopagus, and makes a number of citations in support of his claim. If, however, Dr. Harman will look a little farther in the lexicon from which he so conveniently cites references, he will find that the word *Ἀρειόπαγος* denotes the senate, as well as the more formal title, *ἡ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρειοπάγου βουλή*. Notably in Lysias 7, 22, is *Ἀρειοπάγου* used for the senate, without any formal word such as *βουλή*. *Ἀρειοπαγιτικός*, as a designation of the court before which a speech was delivered, is too common to be worth mentioning.

A further difficulty is urged from the language of Pausanias, who says: "The white stones upon which those who undergo trial and the prosecutors stand, they call the one of them the (stone) of Insolence, and the other

the (stone) of Impudence." I might suggest, parenthetically, that "the (stone) of Implacableness" and "the (stone) of Outrage, or Guilt," would be a better translation of the terms denoting the legal places of prosecutor and defender. I do not understand that the initial formalities in a trial for murder, which is probably all that Pausanias has in mind, are to be identified with the usual meeting place of an important court like the Areopagus. As Pausanias has previously told us, in so many words, that the Areopagus met in the Royal Stoa, he cannot now mean that the sessions were still held on Mars' Hill. The members of the court may have taken the oath of initation on Mars' Hill, as the passage in Isocrates seems to imply, although in the four hundred years which elapsed before Paul's arrival the changes in the constitution and customs of the court were important and numerous. In any event the statement of my critic that the Areopagus does not "ever appear to have had any special jurisdiction in religious matters" is very misleading, as the Areopagus was organized for the trial of charges of impiety of all kinds.

Again, it is claimed by my worthy opponent that Paul's beginning (*ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*) was not sufficiently "dignified" for an address to the court of Areopagus. I am aware that it was customary to address the court of Areopagus as a council or senate (*ὦ βουλή*). Paul's beginning is, however, as formal as was that of Socrates to the court which tried him, or that of Paul to the Sanhedrin (Acts xxiii, 1). Had he been served with a *πρόσκλησις* to answer a formal indictment (*ἐγκλημα*), and had the suit been properly opened, Paul might have begun his apology with *ὦ βουλή*. He was not conducting a personal defense, but was preaching a universal Gospel. He had no special doctrines for the Areopagus, and they had no corner on righteousness in his mind. Paul was a republican, knowing neither Greek nor Barbarian. He had a message of life, just as much for Damaris as for any member of the Areopagus. His opening was correct, dignified, Pauline, catholic. He may not have suspected that they were getting him before some members of the unorganized Areopagus, that the judges might themselves be witnesses in case of a formal charge to follow. But in any case he would probably have begun "Athenian gentlemen."

In the account of Paul's shipwreck *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* cannot mean, as Dr. Harman translates it, "on the land," as all Greek nautical terms refer to coming to the land as coming "*down*," and going to sea as going "*up*."

Finally, my critic inquires, "Is this suitable language [that is, 'in the midst of Mars' Hill'] if a court was intended?" It would be more suitable not to beg the question by a wrong translation, and then naïvely inquire whether his mistranslation harmonizes with my view. I translate it, "standing in the midst of the Areopagus," and can demonstrate that Luke does not mean "the midst of a hill," wherever that may be. For Paul in verse 22 stands (*ἐν μέσῳ*) in the midst of something, does he not? In verse 33 he gets through speaking and departs from the midst (*ἐκ μέσου*) of something, does he not? And, whatever thing he stood in the midst of, when he began his speech, from the midst of that same thing he

departed, when he concluded. Luke says that he departed from the midst of them (ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν). Does "*them*" (αὐτῶν) mean a hill or men? Then he stood, when he began, in the midst of the Areopagites and many others (verse 21). He stood in the midst of the Areopagites because the eager crowd, enringing him, surged into the stoa from all the open sides. On Mars' Hill not more than a hundred people could have heard him. I was on the hill almost daily for a year, and should know.

The following statements will, I think, be found correct:

1. Luke uses the word "Areopagus" just as we use "Oxford," "Cambridge," "Plymouth Rock," "Suffolk," etc. As we do not mean the ford of oxen, nor the bridge on the Cam, nor the rock at the mouth of the Plym, etc., neither does he mean the "hill of Mars," but Areopagus (Marshill) court.

2. If Luke knew where the court met in his time he did not signify, perhaps because he thought it needless, perhaps because it did not impress him.

3. We cannot tell from our text where in Athens the Areopagus of Claudius' time met. It is a question of archæology and history.

4. It is not true that the Areopagus met always on Mars' Hill. During the seven hundred years of its existence it may have met in many different places.

5. From the mention of the Ἀγορά (market place) and the crowd filling it we are led to believe that the address of Paul was delivered in some stoa, probably the Royal Stoa.

RICHARD PARSONS.
Delaware, O.

A NEW THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT.

IT is found in J. Agar Beet's book, *Through Christ to God.* It may not be new to others, but I, at least, have never seen it before in print. As near as I can make out, the following is the implicit teaching of Lecture xxii, based upon preliminaries contained in previous lectures: The author holds that the deliverance of sinners from penalty is through the death of Jesus; that this death of Jesus as a basis for forgiveness is demanded by God's justice. This demand was not in the Father's feelings, but was required to show God just in government. "To represent the Father as implacable and as pacified only by the intercession and the death of Christ is to contradict both the letter and the spirit of the teaching of Paul." The death of Christ is, then, necessary only as an exigency of government.

Is, then, the death of Christ the bearing of man's penalty under government? The following seems to me the author's answer: God cannot set aside the punishment due unto sin by mere prerogative. So Jesus becomes a member of the human race; and, although personally without sin, yet as bound up in humanity as a social organism, he cannot escape the effects of sin in humanity. The Father shows his respect for his own law by permitting the results of sin to fall upon his own well-beloved

Son. "No hand from heaven was reached out to save him from these various consequences of his entrance into a body doomed to die, and into a race dominated by sin. . . . In full view of the inevitable consequences of so doing the Son willingly entered into human flesh. . . . God permitted the full consequences of sin to run their course, even though they struck down his only begotten and well-beloved Son. In the death of Christ we see the Father, not overriding, but submitting to, his own law. We see the strong One submitting to the restraints which for their good he imposed on those under his control."

The death of Christ, then, upholds law, and manifests God as just. Nothing could do so better; not even the literal punishment of identical sinners. This accomplished, nothing stands in the way of pardon to sinners under suitable conditions. "Pardon of sin under such circumstances cannot loosen any moral obligation. For He who proclaims pardon maintains at infinite cost to himself the moral consequences on which rests the highest well-being of men." God now grants the sinner pardon on condition that he forsake his sinful life and accept Jesus by faith as the appointed representative sin-bearer for the race.

This differs from the ordinary statement in that the death of Christ is in no sense a substitute for the punishment due the individual sinner. The individual's sin is the cause of the death of Christ only in the social sense that both he and Christ belong to humanity and that both were subject to death—one because of personal demerit, and the other because his mission was to share humanity's destiny.

1. It will be seen that this construction has provision for all governmental necessities. Justice has been so exalted that there is no prospect that it will ever be disregarded.

2. There is no "squint" here toward the idea of suffering proportionate to demerit. There is no mathematical or quantitative satisfaction of law in the amount of suffering endured. The only necessity in the case is that He who has the prerogative of pardon shall not be regardless of justice. Christ dies for men, but not instead of men. His sufferings benefit men, but they are not a substitute for man's sufferings. No suffering on man's part is required after justice is upheld.

3. This removes the supposed contradiction between God's love and God's justice. God is moved by nothing but love, and labors without distraction of feeling to remove the one obstacle that stands in the way of pardoning sinners—justice.

4. This theory, if consistent with Paul's teaching, can be harmonized with the teaching of Jesus, which gives no hint of any obstacle to man's pardon in the feelings of God.

5. This theory does not isolate the death of Christ and assert its vicarious nature alone. The incarnation, rather, taken as a whole, is vicarious, and Christ's death is an integral part of it all. Perhaps some may say that this minifies the atonement, but others may conclude that it exalts it. It avoids some difficulties; is it exegetically sound?

Riverside, Cal. W. Arter Wright.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE USE OF THE REVISED VERSION.

THE Revised Version of the New Testament has been a quarter of a century before the world, and the revised Old Testament for a long time also. The use thus far made of this version has been in the nature of a commentary on the King James version, it having been adopted by very few of our churches and ministers as the pulpit Bible. At present there seems to be little or no tendency in that direction. Why this is so may be explained partly by the slowness of people to lay aside a version in which their devotions have been expressed for so many years, and whose very words have become sacred, and also by the fact that the revised translation was subjected at its publication to the severest criticism, some of it just but much of it growing out of a failure to comprehend the merits of the revision.

The chief objection raised has been that the English of the Revised Version is inferior to that of King James. We must, however, give due weight to the fact that our familiarity with certain idioms of speech has given them a value which would not be apparent if we met them for the first time. If we waive the first feeling of strangeness enough to look a little closer, and remind ourselves that the best style is that which expresses in clearest and tersest form the thought of the writer, we will find the last version a marked advance on the old, and, quite likely, will be convinced that it may well be entitled to a place in the pulpits of the Church, as well as in the homes of our people. It is needless here to recite instances of change for the better, which will readily occur to the careful reader. If a certain translation be the more correct rendering it should obviously be adopted, notwithstanding any prejudices which arise out of any infelicities of rhythm in the new version. This feeling of infelicity grows more out of our hearing than out of anything faulty in the style itself. We are not conscious how greatly our ideas of style are influenced by habit. Archaisms of expression derive their pleasantness to us from the fact that we have listened to them so long that when the simpler and more correct renderings are read to us they seem insipid and unattractive. Familiarity with the new version would, in due time, render its language as acceptable and dear as that of the King James version is at the present time.

There is another reason, however, for the more extended use of the Revised Version which should weigh in its favor, namely, that it presents to us a more accurate text. Whatever may be the discussions over what is known as the higher criticism, the matter of lower criticism, as it is called, is not a subject of serious controversy. The authority of the oldest and best manuscripts is recognized by all biblical scholars as of the utmost importance. While the purpose of the revision was not to make

a new text the natural outcome of it was the correction of many errors growing out of transcription which, in the progress of years, had crept into the New Testament text. In this regard the recent revision approximates a correct text so nearly that it makes the reader familiar with the best results of scholarship in regard to the wording of the New Testament. The omission of the last clause of the first verse of the eighth chapter of Romans, "Who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," is a case in point. It will be seen that the altered form is more in harmony with Pauline doctrine than was the rendering in the King James version, while the manuscript evidence for the change is so overwhelming that the modern reading is practically settled. It has been often affirmed, and is no doubt correct, that none of the authoritative modifications in the New Testament text have affected any cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith. All will agree, without regard to the positions of higher criticism, that a correct text is indispensable for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and the best text now available is found in the recent revision.

A further reason for more extensively employing the Revised Version is that it would soon make the people of our congregations familiar with the renderings of the Scriptures as affected and perfected by the latest Christian scholarship. There is in the nature of things a jar upon the feelings of those who have passages of Scripture with which they have been familiar from their infancy presented for their hearing in new and strange words. It is almost impossible to make any change in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians which would not at once be recognized by an entire congregation; for the passage has been read at the funeral of their dead till they know it by heart. One could hardly feel otherwise than shocked at even a slight change in what has become so familiar and so sacred by its associations. It is a pleasure to know that this wonderful argument for the resurrection in the Revised Version is so strikingly similar to the old, but little change being apparent to the reader or hearer. There are other passages, however, where the changes are marked and important, and, in consequence, our consciousness of unfamiliarity more pronounced. Assuming, as we are constrained to do, that this version is, in many important features, an advance on the old, we suggest that it may be a duty for individuals and assemblies to become acquainted with, and be made accustomed to, the Holy Scriptures in their best and most accurate form without delay. No theological dogma is involved in or touched by such action, for the version was prepared by men representative of almost every phase of the Christian faith, and the character of the scholars who produced this version is above reproach, both as to their ability to render the original accurately and as to their purpose to render it honestly.

It is barely possible that at some day not far distant this work of revision will be taken up afresh. It has already been suggested in this *Review* that if a convention of scholars representing the Christian Church should take the work already done by both the American and the British

Company and subject it to a revision which should be acceptable to all, such a procedure would not be unwise. We confess, however, that such a revision seems remote. An undertaking of that nature and magnitude requires about a generation for preparation, and another generation for its execution. In view, then, of the fact that this must remain as the representative of the best scholarship of the close of the nineteenth century, we raise the question whether it be not fitting for the ministry, without formal decree, to introduce their people gradually, in private and in public, to a knowledge of the Scriptures in their best form and as they are to be read and understood by the generations to follow. One thing seems certain: Either more ought to be done with the new version or less. If it has made no solid advance for the Christian Church, and if it is not a real improvement on the King James translation, it should not be quoted from our pulpits as a correction of the former. If it is an improvement, even though it be not perfect, are not the people entitled to the benefits of the great work which occupied the most capable and distinguished scholarship of the two great English-speaking peoples for a long series of years?

The suggestions offered above are made out of an earnest interest in the spread of a knowledge of revealed truth as it is contained in the original Scriptures, and out of proper respect for the authority of impartial, loyal, laborious, and eminent biblical scholarship, the value of which can be but faintly comprehended by those unacquainted with its arduous and enormous work.

THE MINISTER'S PREPARATORY STUDIES.

PHILOSOPHY.

It is a fact not without significance that in selecting subjects for the doctorate in a German university one of them must be in the realm of philosophy. This indicates that in the judgment of the faculties of these great centers of learning its study is fundamental to a complete education. The reason for this does not lie solely in the view that this practice will make students acquainted with the various philosophical schools of ancient and modern times, but that it is the best method of training the faculties in such habits of observation, analysis, and generalization as will enable learners to master and apply all the subjects which they may be called upon to investigate. It is a habit which is essential to the advance of truth in new lines, as well as to new deductions and applications of old and familiar facts.

It will be conceded that in some regards the functions of the ministry are more difficult than those of other professions whose main business is public speaking. The themes of preachers are such as have been familiar to most of their hearers from childhood. The facts from which they are expected to deduce their lessons are found in the Old and New Testament Scriptures, and are facts which have been written about and preached about so much that, in the case of any other department of thought, the

attempt to keep a congregation interested by their constant consideration would be regarded as absurd.

It is at this point that training in philosophical studies becomes of great service to the preacher. Each incident becomes a field for investigation as to its relations and bearings. The underlying principle or the form of expression may open to the philosophical student new forms for the expression of the truth, if not of the truth itself. True originality does not consist in finding something new or strange, but in perceiving those deeper, subtler analyses which are not open to ordinary minds. The genius of Robertson, of Brighton, England, was largely of this character. The philosophic tendency of his mind invested old statements with fresh significance; and he interpreted the characters of the Old Testament and the principles of the New Testament with all that breadth of view and depth of insight which grew out of this disposition of his mind.

In thus setting forth the advantages of philosophy for the minister it is not understood that formal philosophical methods are necessary in the presentation of truth. The forms of all scientific thought are rather means to an end. They are valuable as opening up to the student the wide ranges possible in human thought and the principles connected with mental perception and development. Their language is often artificial, the intention being to enable the thorough student to comprehend certain ideas and principles by a word or sentence, and thus to avoid the repetition of things in detail. In thus covering the region of the first principles of all thinking the way is prepared for that clearness of perception, that simplicity and order of statement which are of such great importance in the minister of the Gospel.

Philosophical studies are especially valuable as introductory to systematic theology and apologetics, which form so important a part of the education of a Gospel minister. However much dogmatism and dogmatic theology are declaimed against in our time, few will question that a knowledge of the history of the formulas of Christian doctrine and also of the present beliefs of Christendom is of great importance to one who is to confront in his ministry the great problems of God and duty. The mental training and knowledge of the principles of philosophy are valuable in this particular.

The study of philosophy is important, also, as showing that the profoundest questions of human inquiry are still unsolved. It is common to suppose that when one reaches the department of philosophy he is in the realm of absolute certitude. A brief study will dispel this error. One unversed in such subjects is amazed at the difficulty which the most eminent philosophers have found in defining their own science. The history of the definitions of philosophy is very instructive in assuring us of the limitations of the human intellect in deciding the profoundest problems. It is fitting, therefore, that our colleges are making philosophy so important a part in their curriculum, as it contributes to the preparation of the student for his subsequent professional studies in our theological institutions.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE HITTITES.

THE Hittite question still continues to be a veritable puzzle. Notwithstanding the fact that great progress has been made in Hittite archæology since 1872, when Dr. William Wright, author of *The Empire of the Hittites*, succeeded in getting possession of several inscribed stones in Hamath, and that scarcely a year has passed from that day to the present without discovering some monuments of undoubted Hittite origin, yet no self-interpreting Rosetta stone or trilingual inscription, like that on the rock of Behistun, which furnished a key to the deciphering of the cuneiform mysteries, has yet gladdened the heart of the archæologist.

One thing, however, has been established, namely, that the Hittites exerted at one time a wonderful influence; that this people, though unknown to Greek and Roman historians, were for several centuries one of the great world powers. This is attested, not only by the fact that they are mentioned in the cuneiform monuments of Assyria and in the hieroglyphic annals of Egypt, but also by their own monuments which they have left all over Asia Minor and as far east as Lake Van and the River Tigris, and then again from the Black Sea through Armenia and Syria far down to the south.

It has been further established that this strange people possessed their own system of writing. This differs from all ideographs which have been so far deciphered. There is absolutely no similarity between it and the cuneiform script or the hieroglyphs of Egypt. The sameness of plan, style, and general execution found upon Hittite monuments, discovered over a vast territory, attest to their common origin; and though the carving and the signs on these stones may be very rude, yet it is evident, from the grouping, regularity, and similarity of form in widely different places, that they are intended to convey ideas as is the writing of other nations. We know, moreover, from the annals of Egypt, that a Hittite king sent to Egypt a copy of a treaty he had made with Rameses II. The text of this was engraved on a silver tablet in Hittite characters. What joy would thrill Professor Petrie's heart should he discover this venerable treaty in some buried temple in the valley of the Nile!

That the Hittites were powerful and had a system of writing can no longer be doubted, but what language or languages they spoke, and to what branch of the human race they belonged, is still a mystery; for all the efforts to decipher the records left by them on the rocks have not yet yielded satisfactory results. Though one man after another has taken up the subject, a key for unlocking their secrets has not been found. There is, however, every reason for believing that the decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions is only a question of time. We say this in face of the fact that the most contradictory solutions have been suggested. The rude

representations or pictures found on their sculptures, as well as on other monuments, are not sufficiently perfect to enable anyone to conclude with any degree of certainty whether they were of Mongolian, Turanian, Semitic, or Aryan origin. And, even if this question were satisfactorily answered, it would not necessarily follow that the language left on their monuments was of the same origin. For it has often happened that the victor has adopted the language of the conquered. Scholars like our own Dr. William Hayes Ward, one of the best authorities on the subject under discussion, not only in America but anywhere, rejects the conclusions of Hilprecht and Jensen, who maintain that the Hittite language belonged to the Indo-European group. Dr. Ward likewise disagrees with Halevy and many others who make it Semitic, and though speaking with some caution it is evident that he would associate it with the Ural-Altaic languages. He is attracted to this view for two reasons. He says: "The features are not Semitic, nor are they Aryan. They agree much better with the Mongolian type. When we add to this the fact that the proper names of persons and cities resist the attempt to reduce them to Semitic triliterals, or to Aryan roots, we fairly conclude that they belong to a people who spoke one of that conglomerate of languages which has been called Turanian, which were spoken by the Mongolian peoples now represented by Turcomans rather than Chinese." Professor Sayce likewise rejects the Semitic origin of the Hittite language, and concludes from some similarity between the signs used on Cyprian and Hittite monuments that light may be thrown on the question by the study of the Cypriote. Attention has been called already in this department to the learned work of De Cara, an Italian Jesuit, who maintains with much force that the Hittites were the same people as the Pelasgians, the prehistoric inhabitants of the Grecian countries, thus making the Hittite civilization "the source and fountain head of the civilization of the Græco-Latin races of southern Europe."

The variety of theories proposed proves that we are still groping. The great *desideratum* just now is a polyglot inscription of considerable length. So far only one bilingual text has been found, namely, what is known as the boss of Tarkoudemos, who, according to Sayce, was a Cilician prince living in the time of our Lord. This was probably the seal of some ruler. It bears the figure of a king, around which are arranged a number of Hittite symbols; and on the outer edge is written the following legend in Assyrian characters, *Tarku-dimme sar mat Erme*, that is, "Tarku-dimme, king of the country of Erme." There is little doubt that, if the Hittite symbols on this seal were understood, the translation would be the same as that of the cuneiform script. This inscription, tantalizingly short as it is, cannot but prove helpful.

On May 23, 1894, there was discovered by Hogarth and Ramsay, in a mound at Arslan-Tepe, not far from Malatia on the upper Euphrates, a piece of sculpture with very perfect Hittite symbols and representations. The original is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, but photographs of the monument have been sent in all directions, so that

scholars may subject the symbols to a thorough study. Professor Jensen, of the University of Marburg, has written a very interesting article for the *Sunday School Times*, of January 2, 1897, discussing this bas-relief at great length. This learned orientalist has been devoting much time in recent years to the study of Hittite monuments, and for that reason is entitled to a hearing. He is convinced in his own mind that he has been progressing, if slowly, yet surely and satisfactorily. So sanguine is he of success as to indulge in the hope that "the nineteenth century will not reach its close without seeing the veil withdrawn from this important secret." He believes that he has now discovered beyond reasonable contradiction, and that on purely scientific grounds, the name of a Hittite king already known to history through the cuneiform inscriptions. As the question is discussed at great length in the article above referred to, we shall only add that Professor Jensen concludes that the Hittite language is the mother of the old Armenian, and thus of Aryan origin, and that the piece of sculpture under discussion "originated with Mut(t)allu, king of Kommagene, and therefore was executed between 712 and 708 B. C." Let us hope that the learned Marburg professor may have the pleasure of realizing his most sanguine expectations.

Our greatest hopes, however, lie in the direction of a more thorough excavation of the ancient Hittite sites of some of the old strongholds or capitals of this interesting people. For who can doubt that these silent, neglected mounds contain the desired information among their buried treasures? If Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt have revealed their past histories, why should not the land of the Hittites do the same? The partial excavation of Senjirli, in northern Syria, under the direction of the Oriental Committee of Berlin, in the year 1888, has brought to light several objects of great interest. In these old ruins were found articles inscribed in the Hittite, Assyrian, and Aramæan scripts. If, therefore, separate inscriptions in three different languages have already been disinterred at Senjirli, may we not hope that a trilingual text, if not here, then somewhere else, may yet reward the efforts of archæologists?

EARLY BABYLONIA.

ONLY a few years ago, when the famous inscription of Nabonidos, the last king of Babylonia, was made known, the historical critic had a quiet laugh at the expense of the credulous Assyriologist. Nabonidos was a great builder and restorer of temples, and while making some repairs or rebuilding the temple of the sun-god at Sippara he discovered an inscription which was more than three thousand years old. As it is brief we shall reproduce it: "I brought the sun-god out of his temple and placed him in another house; I pulled down that temple and sought for its old inscribed cylinder. I made excavations to the depth of eighteen cubits beneath the ground, and there the sun-god allowed me to find the inscriptions of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which for three thousand two hundred years no king who preceded me had found."

Now, as Nabonidos lived some six hundred years before our era, this would place Naram-Sin and Sargon I somewhere about 3800 B. C. No wonder, therefore, that scholars used to the subjective method of criticism manifested some skepticism about the correct rendering of the inscription, and attempted to ridicule the whole matter. Since that time, however, the earnest excavator has made excellent use of the pick and shovel, and has unearthed whole buried libraries with all their ancient treasure, and by means of other ancient clay books and monuments has corroborated the claim that great Sargon lived nearly four thousand years before the time of Christ. Moreover, the Assyriologist has shown that these ancient kings and their scribes were quite as proficient in chronology, and not half as much given to unprofitable theorizing, as the historical theologian of Germany and his faint echo in Great Britain and America.

The excavations of Ernest de Sarsec at Telloh, who only last year discovered a clay library of no less than thirty-three thousand tablets, have done much to show the great antiquity of Babylonian civilization. And still more so has the expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania, which has made such startling discoveries at Nippur, or ancient Niffer. Here, more than thirty-two thousand tablets of all kinds have been disinterred. So that now Professor Hilprecht is able to write, with as much assurance as any writer on ancient history, "Most of the early rulers of Babylonia, who were known to us only by name, and fourteen of whose very names had been lost, have been restored to history by this expedition." Not only have such a large number of texts of Sargon's time been found as to leave no longer any doubt about the powerful sway of this great monarch, but the script upon these tablets, though dating from about 4000 B. C., is also so perfect as to prove that it is not the product of an uncivilized people, but that writing and carving had been carried on for a long time, and that these inscriptions were executed in the "golden age of Babylonian history." We are, however, not left to mere inferences on this point, for while the American expedition was clearing the débris in the temple of Nippur, after having dug down some thirty-six feet the workmen came to a pavement made of huge bricks with the names of Sargon and his son, while some thirty feet under this pavement was still the "débris of other buildings." If, therefore, not less than thirty feet of rubbish was found between the foundations of Sargon's temple and that of the more ancient one built to Mullil, it is not unreasonable to conclude with Sayce that we have here to do with inscriptions dating as far back as 6000 or 7000 B. C. Among other things found under the pavement containing bricks with Sargon's name was a brick arch "in splendid preservation," as well as inscriptions of various kinds, not mere rude pictorial forms, but regular "cursive script, which we call cuneiform." So that, now, we may say with Sayce, "For the beginnings of Babylonian writing we have still to search among the relics of centuries that lie far behind the foundation of the temple of Nippur."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

CHRISTIANITY IN WEST AFRICA.

WHATEVER may enter into the explanation of the fact, it still remains a fact that the Christian religion has not become the religion of West Africa to any such extent as affords a satisfactory guarantee that it will rapidly develop as an aggressive force in the near future. This is not a statement of a novel character, nor is it intended as a pessimistic view of affairs in that quarter of the globe. No less than forty-six native clergymen and laymen of the Church of England recently expressed the same judgment in a formal document presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the following words: "Christianity has seen about a century in West Africa generally, and yet it to this day wears the character of an exotic. It has not been able to root itself in the soil, to get the people generally to identify their interest and their life with its existence and that of its institutions, and exercise toward it that devotion which they or their ancestors had exhibited toward heathenism. There is no strong guarantee for permanence and continuity in this exotic character, and Africans who believe in the regenerating power of the religion and wish to see it cover the whole country, who have some knowledge of its fate in North Africa after many centuries of existence, and of the complete failure of even its Roman Catholic form in comparatively more recent times after over two centuries of existence, and who are not altogether ignorant of the causes of these repeated and signal failures, are naturally anxious to see a repetition of the sad and terrible calamity avoided." This is a startling declaration. The definite assertion of the religious conditions which now exist in Africa, as indicated in this document, entitles it to the best hearing and respect.

These Africans attribute much of this failure to white man leadership, to which they say they have been all the time subjected. And yet it is difficult to find in this all that these brethren affirm concerning it. The same failure cannot be predicated of East Central Africa, and yet Uganda has had white man leadership from the first till now; and from the first or early days of its history among those tribes Christianity has been taken hold of by the people with all the zest they ever showed toward heathen religions and has "rooted itself in the soil." The "seed of the martyrs" is the source of their assurance. There is still room, however, to heed the suggestion that overdependence on foreign societies and subjection to foreign domination is a danger to which Africans do well to give heed. The native-born, captured, and released slave, who was for twenty-seven years bishop of the Niger—the renowned Bishop Crowther—certainly showed that much might be expected, if greater responsibility were thrown on the native Christians of even the West Coast. During his episcopate thousands of converts were won from the most debasing kind of heathen-

dom and idolatry, many of them from cannibalism, infanticide, and other cruel practices; and some of these became the most aggressive agents in bringing about the splendid result of Christian congregations and churches and schools which have, in thirty years, made that African desert to blossom like the rose. Bishop Crowther was elevated to the episcopacy as an experiment, to prove that the negroes had capacity for evangelizing important sections of the continent by themselves, without the stimulus of the presence and supervision of Europeans, and ability for exercising the higher offices of the Church. The close of his administration, however, left the English Church to believe that the experiment was not such a success as warranted a continuance of the policy, and a white man was appointed to succeed Bishop Crowther.

THE TRACT AGENCY AND MISSIONS.

THE work of the Tract Society in missionary extension scarcely comes into the foreground sufficiently to accentuate it in the mind of the Church. The preacher who, rather than have a blank, contributes a dollar from his own purse, or chips it off from bulk collections, that it may be entered in the column of the Tract Society collection, is quite too typical of the estimate in which this department of our benevolences is held by the Church at large. We are prone to forget the order and balance of our official operations. The Church Extension Society is supposed to care for the edifices in which Christian services are to be held, while the Missionary Society has also to do with the men who preach the Gospel; yet both are missionary operations. The work of the Tract Society, as appointed by the General Conference, is still different, and includes the issue of that Christian literature without which the success of the Church Extension and Missionary Societies would not be so pronounced at home and abroad. As an ally of all other societies of the Church the tract organization is, in fact, indispensable, and is therefore entitled to the most general attention and support.

Take a few instances of the operations of the Tract Society. It assists the Conferences of western Europe in meeting the demand for literature. The society in Germany issues no less than six hundred different tracts, last year aggregating a million pages. The Scandinavian missions vigorously sustain their tract literature. Switzerland last year distributed six hundred thousand pages, and pushed the circulation of its paper, *Friedensglocke*, to thirteen thousand eight hundred and sixty copies. North India reports forty thousand regular subscribers for some issues of their tracts, so that, immediately on being printed, forty thousand are sent abroad, the subscribers paying postage and five cents per hundred for them. The Lucknow press alone issued two and one half millions of pages of tract literature last year, at a cost of fifteen hundred dollars, by the aid of the Tract Society. At Calcutta the paper, *India's Young Folks*, and a hundred thousand pages of other current literature were given to the public, all of which would have been impossible but for the aid of the Tract

Society. Far away, down at Singapore, for the Straits-born Chinese, who are without any literature, publications have been issued in the Malay language. In the far East the *Christian Advocate*, published at Foo-Chow, is issued monthly. It goes into the homes of the influential *literati*, and a high official of a part of the province where we have five thousand Christians expressed a desire that all official edicts be published in this *Advocate*. It is not quite self-supporting; the subsidy comes from the Tract Society. Methodist hymnals, catechisms, disciplines, and periodicals in Japan, Korea, Italy, Bulgaria, Mexico, and the Argentine Republic are printed and circulated, in whole or in part, by means of appropriations of the Tract Society.

In this country every Conference is represented in the grants made. These have been distributed to immigrants, inmates of hospitals, prisons, and asylums, soldiers and sailors, and pastors in their regular work, until, as the leaves of the forest, fourteen million pages were sent out during last year. Of our regular churches not less than twenty-five hundred received grants of this form of literature from this society. From the French in New England to the Chinese in California, and from the coke burners about Pittsburg to the Spanish-speaking populations of New Mexico, the silent influences of the tract have reached our wide population through the benefactions of this society, and yet the total contributions to this splendid organization from all the Conferences for the year are reported at but a little over twenty thousand dollars.

We distinctly wish to emphasize the missionary element in this literary benefaction. It is as distinctly and definitely missionary as any other agency used by the Church, and yet the total amount asked for this branch of the service is one cent for every thirty cents given to the Missionary Society. A close inspection of the publishing houses of our foreign mission fields would impress on us the fact of their most penetrating and far-reaching influence. They reach persons and communities which by prejudice or other hindrance are positively beyond the reach of the living missionary. In the home fields the influence of tracts is also the same. Through all the mountains and valleys of our land, and in the great depths of vice to be found in hundreds of our cities these silent messengers are chiding consciences, offering consolation, inspiring the disheartened, enlightening the ignorant, and exerting influences which tend to save thousands from sinking to the level of the "submerged tenth," many of whom have become thus submerged by the resistless operation of evil forces with which they have been too weak to cope.

MISSIONARY OFFICERS IN COUNCIL.

THE Fifth Annual Meeting of the secretaries and directors of the several foreign missionary societies of the United States and Canada, held in New York city, January 12–14, suggested the growing unity between the several denominations and also the stage on which missionary discussion has somewhat recently entered, that of the consideration of polity. The

missionary magazines have come to recognize in part that their constituency now demand information on the comparative merits of the administrative and economic methods of conducting missionary operations, at home and abroad. The attempt to make comparisons, however, discloses to the several denominations many of their distinctive features which preclude parallel statement. This has long been known by experts. The statistical tables, for instance, regarding per cent of cost of administration and disbursements, are made on such radically differing bases as to render comparisons misleading. Yet an endeavor was made at this last session of the representatives of the various foreign missionary societies to find how far statistical forms could be adopted which would mean the same thing in all cases.

The effort to secure uniformity of practice in some other most important matters bids fair to be rewarded with a degree of success. No less than eighteen distinct decisions were unanimously agreed upon, such as the precedence of preaching over all other forms of missionary efforts; the restraint of native converts in their desire to come to this country or Europe for education; the discouragement of gifts outside the regularly approved estimates of missionary boards; the importance of frequent visitations of the officers of a missionary society to the several fields; the organization of simultaneous missionary campaigns; the value of the study of missions in theological institutions; and the necessity of a better definition of the relation of mission work to governments. The meeting also proposes the further discussion of many similar questions, such as uniformity in the salaries which are paid by the several societies to missionaries; the methods to be employed for raising missionary moneys; the "conversion" of pastors of the home churches who are not aroused on the importance of the evangelization of the world; the relation which higher education bears to the work of evangelization; the sending of lay missionaries to labor in foreign fields; the means of securing the best talent for foreign mission service; and the relation of industrial training to the development of mission churches.

The most interesting, and perhaps the most important, action was, however, the decision to make a call for a general conference of the missionary workers of the world at New York, in April, 1900. The committee appointed a year ago, to correspond with the societies in Great Britain and Europe on the desirability and feasibility of such a world's missionary conference to be held in this country at the close of the century, reported the uniform concurrence of all the societies which had been heard from, and which included nearly the whole list. Committees were also appointed at the present meeting to make further preparations for the holding of such a conference.

The representatives of the several woman's boards of foreign missions assembled for one day, January 15, and organized themselves into a conference similar to that of the general boards; and both these conferences will reassemble in 1898 as the guests of the Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

K. U. Nylander. The theological situation which exists in Sweden at the present time is not well known to the average student in this country. The fact that it has played no part in the recent disputes which have been shaking the religious world has rather prevented inquiry as to what the theologians of Sweden are doing than created a presupposition as to their critical powers. As a matter of fact, a few of them have accepted the results of the modern critical school, generally in the form of which Wellhausen is the chief representative. Nylander is really a power in his own country, although he has not yet affected in any degree the outside world. Known among his own people as a superior Hebraist, he is hardly original enough to attract general attention. We name him here as a representative of one of the tendencies in Swedish theological thought. Avoiding the extremes of the followers of Wellhausen, he takes the middle course between them and the extreme conservatives, taking for his guides and teachers such men as Dillmann, Delitzsch, and Strack, though perhaps hardly so radical as either of them. With reference to the Psalms he has recently expressed himself at some length (*Inledning till Psalteren, isagogistickt-exegetisk afhandlung*—Introduction to the Psalter, an isagogistical-exegetical treatise. Upsala, Akadęmiska Bokhandeln, 1894). When he undertakes to support his belief in the existence of a Davidic psalm literature by reference to Amos vi, 5, which undoubtedly refers to the secular music at David's court, he does not increase our confidence in his critical judgment. But, though he places the origin of the most of the Psalms in the time of the second temple, thus greatly reducing the number of Davidic Psalms, still such exist, and as such he reckons Psalms iii, iv, vi, vii, xi–xiii, xv–xxi, xxiii, xxiv, xxix, xxx, xxxii, xxxvi, xli, lvi, lvii, lxi–lxiii, and perhaps ci, cx. Maccabean psalms, however, according to him, are not to be found in the psalter. Not even Psalms xliv, lxxiv, lxxix, lxxxiii are of the Maccabean period. To one who is acquainted with the advanced views which are held by European Old Testament critics these matters of divergence from the general view will appear mild in the comparison. It is a more radical thing for Nylander to assert the existence among the ancient Hebrews of animism and ancestor worship. The evolutionary presuppositions of modern criticism he furthermore totally rejects, and affirms his belief in inspiration. The Messianic character of certain psalms is, for him, determined by the citations from them which are made in the New Testament Scriptures. In general it may be said that he is measurably independent in the expression of his opinions, and that he has by this very independence opened the way for the opponents of his views to criticise him with severity.

Paul Natorp. He is the champion of an interesting idea with reference to the relation of religion and education. He finds society divided into classes to such an extent as might be expected only if those comprising them did not belong to the same humanity. He thinks religion is the means by which society is to be reunited. But not religion in the dogmatic sense, not religion which demands submission to dogma and creeds relative to the unseen and undemonstrable, but the religion which finds its expression within limits of humanity. In order to bring in this religion, and with it the reuniting of humanity, a new pedagogic is needful. Education must not deal with the individual as such, but with the individual as a member of society. And society is not to be understood as an organism in which the members merely exist side by side, but as one in which laws are observed and rights regarded by each and all without any sense of personal loss or inconvenience. The Christian religion, with its law of love, is exactly what will bring this state of affairs about if taught in its simplicity and purity and freed from its incomprehensible dogmas. Natorp expects that he will find opposition from two sources: first, from those who believe that religion is far more than a mere element in human education; and, secondly, from those who regard humanity as too noble to contain as one of its essential elements a thing so incomprehensible, indefinite, and subjective as religion, of which it is difficult to say whether it is to be regarded as an innocent, or as a gross and conscious, self-deception. Natorp believes that a proper limitation of religion will lose for it nothing which its best representatives have held precious, while at the same time he thinks such a limitation would make it acceptable to those who have hitherto opposed it. On the other hand, if the irreligious will consider the subject with the freedom from prejudice which they so loudly claim for themselves, they will discover that with the rejection of the extraneous elements of religion they have cast away an essential part of real human nature, something which, if properly viewed, is flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone. The difficulty with Natorp's scheme is that, like all attempts to unite opposing factions, it demands concessions from each, and so takes the form of a compromise; and compromises in the case of moral questions, as well as in other matters which will easily occur to the reader, are never the final settlement of anything. We better like the plan followed by those who with less irenic intentions seek after the truth, expecting that it will win.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation (Ignatius Loyola and the Counter-Reformation). By Eberhard Gothein. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1895. This is far more than a biography of Loyola; it is a history of the Jesuits, so far as Loyola was connected therewith. Both as a biography of the man, and as a history of the origin and early progress of the order, it is undoubtedly the best ever written. One of the chief virtues of the book is that it gives so comprehensive, detailed, and clear an idea of the

times of Ignatius. The religious development of the Spanish people is given at length, as also that of Italy, in order to prepare the mind for the so-called counter-reformation which was the product of the Church life of these two countries, and of which the order of Jesuits was one of the principal agents. The name of the order, *Compañia de Jesus*, is not translatable by the words, "Society of Jesus." It does not signify that the members are companions of Jesus, but rather that they are a militant host which has taken the name of its leader. As the Swiss mercenary troops were ever ready to go anywhere and fight for their leaders, so the Company of Jesus was to be ready to fight for Jesus. The name Jesuits is disapproved by members of the order. The Jesuitical doctrine of obedience comes in for a good share of Gothein's attention. He declares that to Ignatius the highest end was to secure in each member a dead mechanical compliance with his own purpose. In such compliance alone did he see a true observance of law and rule. Nowhere else can one secure so good a conception of the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits as in this book. The exercises themselves Ignatius considered to be the real education of a Jesuit. One of the great merits of the book is its treatment of other great personalities than Loyola, both of those who preceded and of those who were contemporary with him. Among them was Caraffa, who later occupied the pontifical throne as Paul IV, and who was to the counter-reformation in Italy what Loyola was to the whole of Europe. The book also gives a clear and comprehensive idea of Spanish mysticism, the prevalence of which in the sixteenth century was one of the prime conditions of the spread of reformation principles among the Spaniards. Ignatius was himself at one period in danger from the Inquisition as an adherent of the Illuminist party. Notwithstanding the fact that Gothein is a Protestant he has handled his subject with the true objectivity of an historian, and no fair-minded reader can charge him with lack of sympathy with his hero. Nevertheless, his biography contains too much truth to suit the Ultramontanists, and consequently does not win their favor.

Vie de St. Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux (Life of St. Bernard, Abbé of Clairvaux). By the Abbé E. Vacandard. Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1895. The most interesting of the monks of the Middle Ages has here found a competent biographer. To the majority of those who know something of Bernard he is a man conspicuous for his saintliness and for his burning love for Jesus Christ. All such may find here the facts needful to dispel this illusion. He was one of the most dogmatic of men, and at the same time one of the most commanding. He intermeddled with the theological speculations of his time, and always in the interest of strict orthodoxy, and with questions of far-reaching importance in the practical management of the Church. The prevalent impression that he always had his way is not exactly correct, nor is it substantiated by this book. Vacandard is a Romanist, and accepts as facts what nothing but the methods of viewing history peculiar to Rome could substantiate. So

that, while he excludes the large quantities of legendary matter which less discriminating writers would have inserted, yet he surrounds Bernard with a halo of the miraculous. Still, he attempts to be fair by admitting the limitations of the man. He sometimes exaggerated, though for the purposes of the orator, that is, to attract the greater attention, and his language did not always indicate a spirit of moderation. The things which he said against those whom he opposed cannot always be accepted without allowance, although Bernard was himself convinced of their truth. Perhaps Vacandard might have done well to add that, while Bernard was generally frank even to the point of excess, he was sometimes so careful as to suggest that he knew how to be diplomatic on occasion. As an orator Vacandard considers him lacking in correct taste, which, however, in his estimate is not essential to the highest oratory. It is rather the sweep of thought and the power of conviction that makes the orator, according to the belief of Vacandard, and in these matters Bernard need fear no rival. One of the most instructive portions of the book is that in which the author compares Bernard's conception of love with that of Fénelon and Madame Guyon. Utterances of Bernard, however, which were out of harmony with post-Tridentine Romanism Vacandard passes over in silence, though he refuses to explain away his hero's opposition to the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary. He mentions the fact that "enemies" of "the Church" have compared Bernard with Martin Luther. On this point he remarks that the comparison is infinitely to the disadvantage of the Abbé of Clairvaux. This is a question concerning which Protestants and Romanists would naturally and permanently differ. From a sermon of Bernard we infer that cheese, milk, and fish were a part of the diet at Clairvaux. Vacandard seems to overlook the significance of this.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Christianity and Natural Science. We have seen in the last two numbers of the *Review* what Harnack and Kaftan had to say with reference to the apologetic relation which exists between Christianity and history, and also the relation prevailing between Christianity and philosophy. In the same series of addresses Dr. Riehm, head master in Halle, spoke on the relation, apologetically considered, between Christianity and natural science. He begins his remarks by calling attention to the fact of the supposed enmity existing between Christianity and natural science, and gives as an early illustration the excited warnings of Luther and Melanchthon against the newly announced Copernican theory of the revolution of all the planets about the sun. He proposes to show that there can be no conflict between the representatives of science and Christianity, unless on one side or on both sides there is a transgression of the proper limitations of their respective domains. In order to do this Riehm gives a somewhat detailed history of primitive and later thought relative to the origin and progress of the physical universe. This review also demonstrates how thoroughly the newer conceptions have banished the earlier ones, and how

strongly they have intrenched themselves in the minds of all educated people. The chasms in the demonstration of the Darwinian theory of the origin of species, to which Riehm firmly adheres, he regards as explicable on the ground that conditions must be very favorable in order to secure the petrifaction of an organism, and that as yet but a small portion of the earth's surface has been made use of as a field of research. Under all the circumstances he regards the discoveries made remarkably corroborative of the theory in question. Having freely admitted all the supposed discoveries of modern science, Riehm declares they are purely scientific matters having nothing to do with religion. The Darwinists have overstepped their bounds in declaring that the theory renders a Creator unnecessary, and that it disproves the teleological view of the universe. But, just because of this materialistic conclusion which many Darwinists drew, the conduct of the theologians in rejecting the theory itself on the ground that it conflicts with the teachings of Scripture is explicable. Yet in so doing the theologians, like the Darwinists before them, departed from their proper sphere. They forgot that the Bible has for its purpose to instruct as to the ideal mutual relations between God and man, not to spare us the necessity of historical, geographical, or scientific investigation. In fact, says Riehm, the account of creation found in the Bible is irreconcilable with the findings of science; and, since the Bible is not a book of science, we must yield its scientific utterances as far as they conflict with the progress of discovery. The one thing which the author of Genesis really wished to inculcate was, not how, but the fact that, God is the author of all matter and all force, and that he has, therefore, power over all and that nothing can occur to us except by his wish or will. And this is in no wise contrary to the findings of science. The chemist cannot explain the origin of matter, nor the physicist the origin of force. Should any one assert, says Riehm, that matter and motion have existed from all eternity, the mathematician will tell him that he does not know what eternity means. For, even if billions of years passed before the rotating sphere of nebula took the form of the present universe, eternity is still longer. Other billions of years preceded. Why was it that in those billions of years the supposed rotation did not produce the present condition. A developing, progressive, changing movement cannot be eternal. Only an unchanging or a periodical movement, or rest, can be eternal. In like manner the assertion that the teleological conception is destroyed by Darwinism is not justified by the facts. If the laws of nature are so constituted as to produce by their mutual interaction a world so marvelously complicated as ours from a rotating ball of nebulous matter, shall we say that the qualities and laws of matter are what they are by accident and without purpose? Is that sense or nonsense? But, if these qualities are in matter for a purpose, then He must have cherished this purpose who gave matter its attributes. How this is no science can tell us, but the Scripture only. The scientist may be astonished at the dependence he can place on the operation of natural law; the Christian recognizes in these laws the will of God, which no one can alter. Natural

science, so far from being able to deny the work of the Creator, has rather for its function to show in some measure how God proceeded in the construction of the world, although the first act of creation is still left unexplained and inexplicable. The Almighty, holds Riehm, could without difficulty have revealed the actual method of creation to the author of the Book of Genesis; but nothing useful would have been accomplished thereby, for men would not have understood the revelation as it was given. Martin Luther once described heaven to his little son, Hans, as a great and beautiful garden in which grew all manner of delicious fruits, where the inhabitants rode on beautiful horses and shot with silver crossbows. If Hans took this letter in his hand in later years he would have found it just as edifying as in his infancy, although he would have interpreted his father's fanciful description of the other life in an entirely different sense. As children, we think as children; as men, as men. So it is, says Riehm, with the story of the fall. As it is related in Genesis it did not occur. And yet we all know how frightfully true is the intent of the story there told. Natural science can never make us hesitate to believe in God, the Almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth; nor can it have anything to object against the doctrine that the Almighty God is our Father, whom we may trust unconditionally and with childlike confidence because he loves us more than all else and is himself love. With equal confidence we may pray to him, in the assurance that he hears and answers our prayers, in spite of the unbending character of natural law. For our prayers for spiritual blessings have nothing whatever to do with the laws of nature; while He who knoweth what we need before we ask him did not so construct the universe that he could not give the objects of their petitions to them that ask in confidence. As to the miracles, Riehm further continues, it must be said that faith does not consist in holding them as true. Unbelief directs its chief assaults against the belief in miracles. It is true that the scientific investigator finds much in everyday life which is incomprehensible, and that certain of the miracles, especially those of healing, can be explained to-day by the known effect of mental influence of one upon another; yet it ought to be remembered that Jesus laid but little stress upon his own miracles, and rated that faith very low which was based upon them. To require this acceptance of the miracles, unless at the bottom of one's own heart he felt that the conflict between them and the laws of nature was overcome, would result in self-deception and hyprocrisy. This would indeed be not merely a dead faith; it would be a faith that would kill. Faith, says Riehm, is not intellectual acceptance, but confidence. It is an affair of the heart, and not of the understanding. If one believes in God, his heavenly Father, places himself entirely in his merciful hands, trusts him for daily forgiveness of sin for the sake of Christ, who suffered and died, then he can leave all that is secondary and subordinate on one side, and then he has the true faith which furnishes power for good works, and which makes us holy and happy both here and in the world that is to come.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

SOME years since a young man who was speaking in a Southern church on Scripture study made a complimentary allusion to Shakespeare, in illustration of his point "with regard to the appreciation of the Bible as literature." His remarks called forth a rejoinder from a leading member of the church, who "arose and delivered a very severe philippic against Shakespeare and 'others of his tribe,' saying that they had done incalculable harm to the cause of sound morality and religious instruction." In this condemnation the pastor of the church also joined, who said that he "had never read but one play of Shakespeare's, and very little else of secular literature;" and afterward so many others united in the criticism that the young man found himself "largely in the minority, and went to his home a sadder but, perhaps, a wiser man." Such is briefly the incident with which Edwin Mims, M.A., introduces his article on "Poetry and the Spiritual Life," in the January number of the *Methodist Review* of the Church South. As an offset, however, to the incident Mr. Mims next quotes from Farrar as follows: "I dare to say that I have learned more of high and holy teaching from Dante and Shakespeare, Milton and Wordsworth, Browning and Tennyson, than I have learned from many of the professed divines. The poets have given me more consolation in sorrow, more passion for righteousness, more faith in the divine goodness, more courage to strive after the attainment of the divine ideal, more insight into the sacred charities which save us from despairing over the littleness of man, than I have derived from other men. . . . Next to these [Christ and the prophets and apostles of the Bible], of all human teachers I would place the illumined souls of the few Christian poets of the world who, sweeping aside the sham and rubbish of Pharisaism, lead us to realities and to the living Christ." After a general analysis of the high qualities necessary in a poet Mr. Mims observes that Shakespeare, "more than any man that has ever lived, had a vision of the life of man in its entirety," and quotes the advice of the late Dr. Broadus to the theological students of Vanderbilt University, that they "could not afford to leave Shakespeare out of their libraries." Wordsworth, next, "had a vision of nature as the revelation of God and as the teacher and comforter of man. . . . To an age of materialism he spoke a message of spiritual life; to an age of doubt and skepticism he brings the calm and rest of a sublime faith in God and man and nature." As for Tennyson, he "has many a message for those who are seeking for the truth." And, lastly, Browning's "faith in God and immortality and Christ was never shaken; his poetry is a triumphant assertion of those fundamental facts of the spiritual life." So do the poets "keep alive the sparks of divinity in man," as the successors of David, Job, the prophets who "denounced evil in all forms," and that apostle who "caught a vision of the city of the New Jerusalem."

A NEW venture in the department of monthly theological literature is *The Expositor*, which is the American edition of the English magazine of the same name. Its first issue bears the date of February. Its American editor is the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Hall, D.D., recently elected President of the Union Theological Seminary. Particularly trenchant and disillusionizing is the review of *The Mind of the Master*, with which the publication opens. It is a "superficially attractive and a deeply disappointing book;" the reviewer finds specimens of "theology unrecognized," of "unsteadiness of the pen," and of "inadequate and evasive thinking," and another utterance challenges "good taste or decency." As to Dr. Watson's suggestion for a new creed, the author believes that a Church "with no creed but the Sermon on the Mount . . . would neither bear witness to any definite doctrines nor hold together for six months." The writer of the critique is the Right Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D.D., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. The following article, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., discusses "Christ's Attitude to His Own Death," and particularly analyzes certain utterances of the Saviour upon that impending event. In his article on "Christian Perfection" Dr. J. A. Beet considers the word "perfect," as it occurs in the New Testament, with a scholarly comparison of different texts. "The teaching of the New Testament about perfection," he concludes, "as a whole, holds before us for our pursuit and attainment a measure of moral and intellectual and spiritual maturity as much above the actual condition of some of the members of the apostolic churches as is the strength and development of manhood above the weakness and waywardness of a child." The remaining articles, on which we may not comment, are "Notes on Obscure Passages of the Prophets," by Professor T. K. Cheyne, D.D.; "John's View of the Sabbath Rest," by George Matheson, D.D.; "The Linguistic History of the Old Testament, and Maurice Vernes' Dating of the Documents," by Professor Eduard König, D.D.; "On Dr. Schürer's Reply," by Professor W. M. Ramsay, D.D.; "The Priest of Penitence," by Rev. E. N. Bennett; and "Note on the Meaning of the Word ΑΙΩΝΙΟΣ," by Rev. J. H. Wilkinson. The "Reviews of New Books" is a full and valuable department, Dr. Hall himself being a contributor. The vigor, wide scope, and high scholarship of this new periodical commend it to the notice of the American ministry.

THE desire to remove, or at least diminish, "the existing divisions of Christendom" marks the close of the nineteenth century. No longer are Catholic and Protestant, Calvinist and Arminian "content to fight," caring "only for victory." These are the introductory statements of a vigorous article on "The Problem of Christian Unity" in the *London Quarterly Review* for January. Among the causes leading to "desire for mutual understanding" are "the scientific study of history," "the more complete acquaintance with one another," and "reunion conferences of all descriptions." The problem of organic union is, however, by no means simple. Some, in fact, "see plainly enough that the mediæval theory

of ecclesiastical uniformity has disappeared, never to return." The latest project for reunion, on the part of the English Church, has met its defeat in the bull of Leo XIII that "ordinations carried out according to Anglican rite have been and are absolutely null and utterly void"—though, "on the ground of possessing the inestimable blessing of an order of clergy with certain exclusive rights," the Church of England "expects Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists to give up their autonomy for State bondage." Yet, while organic union must come slowly, if at all, "a deep and abiding unity does exist, which no sectarian controversies can prevent or disturb," the "unity of the spirit" that Christians are bidden to "guard, in the bond of peace." The second article of this quarterly discusses "Sheridan," and describes his genius, literary labors, public successes, and sad decline. "Mr. Gladstone's 'Butler'" is the subject of the third article. The reviewer notices in detail the work of revision and annotation, performed by the man whom Döllinger pronounced "the best theologian in England," and, with some differences of opinion on "comparatively minor matters," confesses his "high admiration of both the man and the book." All will join him in the further expression that "there is something both pathetic and gladdening in the sight of one of the very foremost of British men of affairs, whom honored old age has brought to the confines of the world to come, on which he has spent so much and so protracted thought, calmly asserting his firm faith in it and his trust in the goodness and faithfulness of God." The fourth article, entitled "New Theistic Speculations," gives an outline of Professor C. B. Upton's book, and pronounces the work "one of the ablest in an able series." The fifth article, on "Mr. Augustus Hare's 'Story of My Life,'" and the sixth, on "Sir Humphry Davy," are charming as brief reviews, and suggest that the volumes themselves are still more attractive. The next article, on "The Puritan Settlements in New England," discusses twelve books recently issued on the general subject, and is an intelligent Old World review of New World growth. The eighth and last article notices "Earl Selborne," and pays worthy tribute to one who was "a profound lawyer, a consummate advocate, a masterly and persuasive speaker in Parliament, a great chancellor, a wise statesman, . . . a humble, steadfast Christian."

In the *Nineteenth Century* for February is found: 1. "Urgent Questions for the Council of Defence," by Captain Lord Charles Beresford; 2. "The Plague," by Dr. Montagu Lubbock; 3. "The Elizabethan Religion (in Correction of Mr. George Russell)," by J. Horace Round; 4. "The London University Problem," by Sir Joshua Fitch, LL.D.; 5. "The True Nature of 'Falsetto,'" by E. Davidson Palmer; 6. "Law and the Laundry," by Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, Mrs. Creighton, Mrs. Sidney Webb, and Lady Frederick Cavendish; 7. "Timber Creeping in the Carpathians," by E. N. Buxton; 8. "Recent Science," by Prince Kropotkin; 9. "Life in Poetry—Poetical Expression," by Professor Courthope, C.B.; 10. "Sketches Made in Germany, No. 8," by Mrs. Blyth;

11. "Gibbon's Life and Letters," by Herbert Paul; 12. "Individualists and Socialists," by the Dean of Ripon; 13. "Nurses *à la mode*—a Reply to Lady Priestley," by Mrs. Bedford Fenwick.

THE February number of the *Review of Reviews* gives much of its space to notices of General Francis A. Walker, Rudyard Kipling, and Robert Browning. "Few men," it says of Walker, "have lived so many lives in one." And again, making reference to him in "A Plea for the Protection of Useful Men," it asserts: "So valuable a piece of public property as such a man ought not to be worried and badgered to death by petty demands upon his time and strength, any more than the high-bred race horse should be used for dray purposes, or precious stones for road making." Dean Farrar's address at the recent service commemorating Browning's decease is also included in the present issue. His theme is "The Significance of Browning's Message," and his lesson from the poet's life and writings is that we should live "truly, nobly, bravely, wisely, happily." F. Herbert Stead follows with a paragraph on "Browning as a Poet of the Plain People."

Two of the prominent articles in the January and February numbers of the *Homiletic Review* are contributed by C. H. Payne, D.D., LL.D. The first is entitled "The Coming Revival—Its Characteristics," and the second, "The Coming Revival—Signs of Its Coming." In optimistic spirit the writer believes that the American Church "is about to enter upon a revival epoch unprecedented in her history." We would invite particular attention to these articles, for their scholarship, hopefulness, and breadth of view. A third paper is to complete the series.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for January has: 1. "Forty-one Years in India;" 2. "Ulster Before the Union;" 3. "William Morris, Poet and Craftsman;" 4. "Sir George Tressady;" 5. "Algeria;" 6. "The 'Pharsalia' of Lucan;" 7. "The Progress and Procedure of the Civil Courts of England;" 8. "What was the Gunpowder Plot?" 9. "Rooks and Their Ways;" 10. "Newspapers, Statesmen, and the Public;" 11. "Financial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland."

THE *Christian Quarterly* for January is a new issue "devoted to the advocacy of the faith, doctrine, and practice of New Testament Christianity." It is scholarly and promising.—Both the *Lutheran Quarterly* and the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January have articles on Melanchthon.——The *Chautauquan* for February has as attractive illustrated articles, "Masterpieces of French Painting," by Horace Townsend, and "The Active Rear Admirals of the United States Navy," by E. L. Didier.——Much attention is given to China in the February number of the *Gospel in All Lands*. For its typography, illustrations, and general attractiveness, Dr. Smith, its editor, is to be commended.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Works of Bishop Butler. Edited by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxxvii, 461; x, 464. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $7.

Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler. By the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. 12mo, pp. 370. Same publishers. Price, cloth, $2.

Butler's *Analogy* was published in 1736. That in 1896 that extraordinary man, Mr. Gladstone, a statesman-theologian of undeniably large and accurate learning, as well as philosophical subtlety and logical acumen, should consider, after lifelong study of the works of Bishop Butler, that the most fitting labor to crown his powerful life and the greatest service needed at his hands by mankind will be found in making the substance and meaning of Joseph Butler's writings more easily accessible and readily comprehensible to all students—this simple fact is so great a testimony to the value of Butler's works that the force of it can scarcely be overestimated by the orthodox or belittled by the heterodox. As for the success of Mr. Gladstone's efforts, it must be said that, in his edition, a master thinker of the nineteenth century has—by the division into sections with headings, by perfect indexes, and by explanatory and illustrative notes—made the works of a master thinker of the eighteenth century accessible, convenient, lucid, and alluring to men of the coming centuries. Volume I contains the *Analogy*, as also the dissertations on Personal Identity and the Nature of Virtue, and the correspondence with Dr. Samuel Clarke. Volume II contains the fifteen sermons on Human Nature, or Man Considered as a Moral Agent, six sermons preached upon public occasions, a charge to the clergy of the diocese of Durham, etc. In the smaller volume of subsidiary *Studies* Mr. Gladstone discusses Butler's method and its application to the Scriptures, his censors (Mr. Bagehot, Miss Hennell, Leslie Stephen, and Matthew Arnold), his mental qualities, the points of his positive teaching, his theology, metaphysical points, the Butler-Clarke correspondence, and Bishop Butler's celebrity and influence. In addition there are the chapters on A Future Life, Our Condition Therein, Necessity or Determinism (considered by some his strongest and most valuable discussion), Teleology, Miracles, The Mediation of Christ, and Probability as the Guide of Life. In these studies a broad, subtle, sinewy mind, often and long the helmsman of a world-wide empire, wielding for many years a more than royal power, familiar with and adequate to the most lofty, extensive, and intricate subjects, pours out upon one of the most compact and colossal arguments of human reasoning a "rich treasury of comment and expansion from the stores of his own philosophical thought and religious devotion." A circumspect mind, taking probability as a guide, will conclude, we think, that arguments which impress Gladstone as weighty and cogent after over a half century of examination are not

likely to be easily remanded to the museum of curious theological antiquities by any of our recent readjusters, disintegrators, and dispensers, few, if any, of whom are of stature to cast a shadow approaching the size of his. These three volumes, constituting together a cubic block of solid intellect thrown into the midst of a time all too ready to make weak, precipitate, needless, and treasonable concessions to deniers and destroyers, are opportune, steadying, and establishing. A man who will deny that Butler and Gladstone constitute a syndicate of brains and erudition formidable and hard to match proves himself so brainless and ignorant as to be incapable of judging; and the "liberal scholarship and progressive thought" which motion them contemptuously aside as having no footing in the arena of end-of-the-century discussion are so light-headed and trivial as to recall the old lady's seaside endeavor with a broom against the flooding tide. Mr. Gladstone in his Preface modestly suggests that some one else, naming Dean Church, might have done the work of editing better; but it is the expressed opinion of the scholarly world that this edition of Butler's works, with Gladstone's comments, will not be set aside or improved upon. Massive and monumental, it will abide. The volume of subsidiary *Studies* is in some ways even more interesting than those which contain the *Analogy;* in it we have Gladstone himself as an independent thinker and not as a commentator; and the *Studies* show an octogenarian ripeness without a trace of senility.

The Expansion of Religion. Six Lectures Delivered before the Lowell Institute. By E. WINCHESTER DONALD, Rector of Trinity Church in the city of Boston. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The busy rector of one of the most conspicuous churches of the land here gives to the reading public in permanent form certain valuable addresses which he had formerly delivered before a Massachusetts institute. Their individuality and separateness, which is noticeable as one turns the pages of the book, are owing to the fact that they were delivered on different occasions; their unity is attributable to the further fact that they are the scholarly and cohesive utterances of a Gospel minister on many of the practical relations of Christianity to the problems of personal and social existence. The first lecture of Dr. Donald is entitled "Religion and Salvation." As an opening postulate he takes occasion to speak of religion as "the common possession of all mankind," and to affirm that "the Christian's contrite prayer is the blossoming of the pagan's attempt to purchase the Deity's favor by something done or something sacrificed." The author's differentiation of Christianity, in other words, from the heathen religions of the world, is not that sharply drawn definition with which we are usually familiar. He fails to see why it is either "perilous or untrue" to affirm that Christianity differs only in degree from other religions. It is, he declares, "the great expansion of religion, not simply of Judaism, but of every form of religion which has sensitized the conscience, invigorated the will, and directed the hopes of mankind." Or, to quote still further, the writer says: "I claim, therefore, that this is a

true expansion of religion, which has lifted Christianity, as we know it here in America, up out of the narrow notion of it as standing in solitary grandeur among the faiths of the world, to which it has no ties of spiritual kinship, and is setting it forth as the evolutionary, divine fulfillment of what has been living and growing in the heart of man since the day he was placed upon this earth." The view is one that is not held by all. As fairly as is possible, however, we would in these few words show the author's position and leave the matter with the student of religion for his own disposal. The second lecture of Dr. Donald, on "The New Anthropology," is a vigorous emphasis of the value of man in the order of creation. The distortion, "How much is a sheep better than a man," has already been restored, the author holds, to its "original divine" form, "How much is a man better than a sheep." The high value that is now being placed on man is evidenced in the establishment, under the new anthropology, of hospitals; in the larger attention given to sanitary science, including tenement house reform; in the increasing emphasis laid on physical exercise; in a new use of the Sabbath day; and in the estimate now put upon "the spiritual significance of health and sickness." The third chapter of this thoughtful book, entitled "Religion and Righteousness," is an expansion of the idea that religion is "insisting upon the necessity of righteousness to the economic welfare of society," and to this end is "redefining righteousness." In the next chapter, on "Religion and Industrialism," are noticed some of the charges that industrialism makes against civilization, and in turn the growing consciousness of religion as to its duty toward industrialism. "Religion and Socialism" is the title of the fifth chapter. Religion, it declares, is strenuously insisting upon "the separateness of the individual;" is laying great stress "upon the duty of loyalty to superiority, and upon the duty of protection to inferiority;" and is opposed to socialism, which is "in strict principle the proposal so to reorganize human society by State enactment that there shall be an absolute statutory equality of opportunity and possession for every member of society." Religion, on the other hand, "stands for personality, for the assertion and refinement of self-separateness, and for the duty of self-development;" and its expansion "precedes and creates the altruism without which every plan to raise man in the social scale is doomed to irretrievable failure." This brings us logically to the notice of the claims which organized religion has "upon the allegiance of the people," as noticed in chapter six. It ministers to man's "instinctive sensitiveness to God;" it exercises an "ethical force in the life of society" superior to that of the press, the stage, the schools; and it is "distinctly on the side of weakness, ignorance, and innocence." Such are the successive steps of the author's argument, and we have traced an outline of his reasoning through the successive chapters because this method best shows what he aims to teach. With certain of his utterances all will not agree, as, for instance, his views upon permissible Sabbath diversions, or his assertion that "of the need of the playhouse to healthy life there ought to be no serious doubt;" yet, in the main, his positions will have the

sanction of the reader. He has evidently thought long upon the social problems he discusses, and is jealous for the advance of Christianity through the many doors of opportunity which now open before it.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By STEWART D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. 697. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $5.

This portly volume is an expansion of a course of lectures given in the Free Church College at Aberdeen, Scotland, on the Cunningham Foundation, by Dr. Salmond, the Professor of Theology in that institution. The quick call for a second edition is practical evidence of the value of the book. The author uses the word immortality in the large sense which Paul gives it when he speaks of "this mortal" putting on "immortality." Life, eternal life, the immortality of the man and not of the soul only, is held to be the message of the Bible, alike in Old Testament and New, in Christ and in apostle, in John and in Paul. The Preface says: "The eye of man looks wistfully to the end. Life, like love, believes in its own immortality. Heart and mind cry for light upon what is beyond the grave. Nor do they cry in vain. They have their answer in themselves. They have it in highest measure in those words of the Lord Jesus, into whose clear depths men have never ceased to look since they were first spoken, and from which they have never turned unsatisfied. It is the primary object of this book to ascertain what these words disclose of man's future. It does not undertake to examine the belief in immortality in its relations either to science or speculation. The rational proofs which have been elaborated in support of the hope of a future existence have their own interest, although it does not lie in the logic of the case. The heart has reasons of its own, better than those of the understanding, for its assurance of immortality. It has also its own presages of what that immortality will be. So far as these have any place in Scripture they come within the scope of this book," which is occupied mostly with the testimony of the Bible and the biblical theology; the witness of reason, the place given in literature to the faith in immortality, the philosophical aspects of the subject, and the history of opinion being only partially dealt with. Looking at its great subject from the scriptural standpoint, the very bulk of this volume gives promise that in it may be found a probably exhaustive treatment. It is a thorough refutation of the attempts made in recent years to traverse or modify the traditional and natural sense of Scripture, especially of the New Testament. Mr. Gladstone, whose studies in his retired old age center upon the great convictions and arguments of immortal man, calls this book "an able, truth-loving, and, from many points of view, comprehensive work." Goldwin Smith says Dr. Salmond "subjects the sacred records of Christianity to critical examination. He does not talk effete orthodoxy to an age of reason. Nor does he rest upon the evidence of revelation alone. He endeavors to combine with it that of manifestation as presented by reason and history." With entire candor, with patient and lucid reasoning, and with commanding scholarship, the author handles a

subject bristling with difficulties and bombarded by objections in a way to show triumphantly that Christianity "has translated the hope of immortality from a guess, a dream, a longing, a probability, into a certainty, and has done this by interpreting us to ourselves, and confirming the voice of prophecy within us." It is the opinion of Principal Cave that this book steps at once into the first place in the front rank. The following summary of its contents indicates the course of its argument: THE ETHNIC PREPARATION.—Introductory—Ideas of Lower Races—Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Greek Beliefs. THE OLD TESTAMENT PREPARATION.—Negative and Positive Aspects of Old Testament Preparation—The Notes of Old Testament Preparation—The Contribution of the Poetical Books, the Prophets, and Ecclesiastes. CHRIST'S TEACHING.—General Consideration—Doctrine of the Return—Doctrine of Judgment—Doctrine of the Resurrection—Intermediate State—Doctrine of Final Destinies. THE GENERAL APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.—Apostolic Doctrine and Non-Canonical Literature—Teaching of James, Jude, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse—Doctrine of Peter and John. THE PAULINE DOCTRINE.—General Statement—Particulars of Paul's Doctrine—Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection. CONCLUSIONS.—The Contribution of Christianity to the Hope of Immortality—Doctrines of Annihilation and Conditional Immortality—Restorationism and Allied Doctrines—The Alternative Doctrine. APPENDICES. INDICES.

Missions and the Pentecostal Church. Annual Sermon Before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Delivered at Toledo, O., October 6, 1896, by Rev. EDWARD N. PACKARD, D.D. Pamphlet, pp. 19. Published by the American Board, 1 Somerset Street, Boston.

The text is the Day of Pentecost, and from that epoch-making event lessons are drawn for our present-day mission work. "Just so far as the Church has been Pentecostal has it been missionary. It was so at the beginning, and in the first three centuries, when the whole Roman empire, fifteen hundred miles north and south, and two thousand miles east and west, was evangelized. It was so at the Reformation, when the pure Gospel was preached and sung into the hearts of nearly the whole of western Europe. It was so at the opening of this century, when revivals blessed the land, and various boards of missions took form. Indeed, the modern era of world-wide evangelization may be said to have begun with the revivals under the Wesleys and Whitefield, and more specifically with the great essay of President Edwards, 'An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit and Visible Union of God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth.' The Holy Spirit in the Church is the impelling power of missions. The fire from heaven touches individual souls with a sudden glory, and we see a Goodell leaving the farm in Vermont and carrying his trunk on his back as he walks over the hills to Andover to prepare himself for the grandest tasks; we see Harriet Newell laying down her young life on the Isle of France; we see the anointed group around the haystack at Williams College. The Spirit has breathed upon the

Churches, and they have sent forth their choicest young men and women to the ends of the earth. The abundant life from God flows into the life of a man or woman, and then those who are thus inspired are brought out into the open; they are baptized into a sense of all conditions; they are swayed by universal obligations, and are free to take up impossibilities. They open continents with Livingstone; they turn multitudes to righteousness with Titus Coan; they translate the Bible into the language of millions with Dwight and Riggs; they stand before kings with Cyrus Hamlin; or they move as angels of mercy among the starving and dying with Grace Kimball and the whole band of heroic missionaries in Armenia." The familiar story is repeated of the conversation between a monk and Pope Innocent IV in the Vatican. "As they sat together large quantities of gold and silver were being carried by servants into the papal treasury. The pope, with satisfaction, said, 'You see that the Church need not say now, Silver and gold have I none!' 'Yes, holy father,' replied the honest monk, 'and the day is past when she can say to the paralytic, Take up thy bed and walk.'" At the World's Congress of Religions the gifted Miss Josephine Lazarus, a Jewess, said with prophetic eloquence: "The times are full of signs. On every side there is a call, an awakening, a challenge. Out of the heart of our materialistic civilization has come the cry of the spirit hungering for bread, the bread without money and without price, and a thirsting for living waters, of which, if a man drink, he shall never thirst again. What the world needs to-day, not alone the Jews, who have borne the yoke, but the Christians, who bear Christ's name and have built up a civilization so entirely at variance with the principles he taught—what we all need, Gentiles and Jews alike—is not so much a new body of doctrine, but a new spirit put into life, which will fashion it upon a nobler plan and consecrate it to higher ideals and purposes. Christians and Jews alike, have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Once more," she pleads, "once more let the Holy Ghost descend and dwell among you as it did upon your holy men, your prophets of the olden time, lighting the world with that radiance from the skies, and so make known the faith that is in you, for by their fruits ye shall know them."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Democracy and Liberty. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. xxi, 568; xix, 601. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

In sobriety, breadth, and weight, as well as in clearness and strength, this book, by the distinguished author of *The History of European Morals*, belongs with Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, treating as it does, though with a wider range, of the same region of human interest and discussion. The author thinks that his exhaustive study of the history of England in the eighteenth century may have furnished him with kinds of knowledge and methods of reasoning which may be of use in discussion of contem-

porary questions, and is certain that the history of the past is not without its uses in elucidating the politics of the present. This work deals with a large number of questions, some fundamental and vital, relating to the civil and political life of modern civilization. The mass of valuable matter in the book was susceptible of somewhat better arrangement by the author, and its appearance would have been improved if the division by chapters had coincided more exactly with the division into topics. The subjects of the first volume in their order are as follows: English Representative Government in the Eighteenth Century; French Democracy; American Democracy; Measures of Reform; Irish Land Question; Confiscation of Landlord Rights by the Act of 1881; Other Attacks on Property; Some Suggested Remedies; Increase of State Taxation in Europe—its Causes; Aristocracies and Upper Chambers; Early History of the House of Lords; The Hereditary Element; Causes of its Debility; Its Judicial Functions; Foreign Upper Houses; Colonial Constitutions; Proposals for Reforming the House of Lords; Nationalities; America a Test Case; The Italian Question; Democracy and Religious Freedom; India; Mormonism. The second volume continues the discussion of religious liberty, and contains chapters on Catholicism and Democracy—Ireland; Continental Catholicism; Laws of 1881 and 1882; Sunday Legislation; Gambling; Intoxicating Drink; Marriage Laws; Various Forms of Imperfect Marriages and Marriage Disabilities; Civil Marriage; Divorce; Socialism; Socialism in Germany; Labor Questions; The Factory Laws; Other Methods of Conciliation; Moral Element in Labor Questions; Woman Questions; Arguments Against Female Suffrage. A copious and helpful analytic table of contents is prefixed, and a full index is suffixed to the book. Lecky agrees with Bryce that the government of cities is the one most conspicuous failure of the United States, and quotes in confirmation of this opinion from A. D. White, who says: "I wish to deliberately state a fact easy of verification—the fact that whereas, as a rule, in other civilized countries municipal governments have been steadily improving until they have been made generally honest and serviceable, our own, as a rule, are the worst in the world, and they are steadily growing worse every day." For particular illustration Mr. White is further quoted as saying: "The city of Berlin, in size and rapidity of growth, may be compared to New York. It contains twelve hundred thousand inhabitants, and its population has tripled within the last thirty years. . . . While Berlin has a municipal life at the same time dignified and economical, with streets well paved and cleaned, with a most costly system of drainage, with noble public buildings, with life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness better guarded by far than in our own metropolis, the whole government is carried on by its citizens for but a trifle more than the interest on the public debt of the city of New York." It should be noted here that men of ability, integrity, and fidelity hold, to-day, conspicuous places in the government of New York city, which is fortunate in being able to command the services of such citizens as Police Commissioners Theodore Roosevelt and Frederick D. Grant, and Street Cleaning Commissioner

Waring. Honesty and discipline rule in the police department, and Colonel Waring makes and keeps the city clean for almost the first time in its history. Speaking of the overwhelming power of public opinion in the United States when roused in a worthy cause, Mr. Lecky writes: "Nowhere in the present century has it acquired greater volume and momentum than in the war of secession. The self-sacrifice, the unanimity, the tenacity of purpose, the indomitable courage displayed on each side by the vast citizen armies in that long and terrible struggle, form one of the most splendid pages in nineteenth-century history. I can well recollect how Laurence Oliphant, who had excellent means of judging both wars, was accustomed to say that no fighting in the Franco-German war was comparable to the tenacity with which in America every village, almost every house, was defended or assailed; and the appalling sacrifice of life during the struggle goes far to justify this judgment. Nor were the nobler qualities of the American people less clearly manifested by the sequel of the war. The manner in which those gigantic armies melted away into the civil population, casting aside, without apparent effort, all military tastes and habits, and throwing themselves into the vast fields of industry that were opened by the peace, forms one of the most striking spectacles of history; and the noble humanity shown to the vanquished enemy is a not less decisive proof of the high moral level of American opinion. It was especially admirable in the very trying moments that followed the assassination of Lincoln, and it forms a memorable contrast to the extreme vindictiveness displayed by their forefathers, in the days of the Revolution, toward their loyalist (Tory) fellow-countrymen. America rose at this time to a new place and dignity in the concert of nations. Europe had long seen in her little more than an amorphous, ill-cemented industrial population. It now learned to recognize the true characteristics of a great nation. There was exaggeration, but there was also no little truth, in the words of Lowell:

> "'Earth's biggest country 's got her soul,
> And rises up earth's greatest nation.'"

Mr. Lecky remarks that "three fatal consequences would have followed the triumph of the South. Slavery would have been extended through vast territories where it had not previously prevailed. A precedent of secession would have been admitted which, sooner or later, would have broken up the United States into several different powers. And as these powers would have many conflicting interests, the European military system, which the New World had happily escaped, would have grown up in America, with all the evils and all the dangers that follow in its train."

Proportional Representation. By JOHN R. COMMONS, Professor of Sociology in Syracuse University. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Professor Commons has rendered a service to patriotism by furnishing thoughtful citizens with some important data. Apprehending the failure of the existing system of representation in lawmaking, patriotic people are more than willing to consider possible changes of method by which

the system may be saved. Proportional representation is in this country as yet only a theory, but it is a fascinating one, and it is certain to be tried on a scale which will test its practicability. Professor Commons presents clearly and forcibly the comparative failure of representation in the legislative branch of government. The executive and judicial branches work well, and there is a tendency to substituting them for the legislative branch. New State constitutions severely limit the powers of the law-makers. In city government various devices are employed to reduce the powers of aldermanic councils. The judges are more and more looked to for protection through their function of interpreting constitutions. This purely American judicial power is exercised with singular wisdom; but it subjects the courts to great temptation and to popular abuse, and in both ways endangers the stability of the system. Dissatisfaction with the Congress, with legislatures, with city councils, is general, and it is justified by many facts. The best citizens are not generally found in these bodies; their work is often unsatisfactory, sometimes grossly immoral. The lobby has become an institution, a third house often dictating the action of the other two houses. The political boss has also become an institution, and he is more dangerous than the lobby. These evils—and they are inexpressibly grave evils—are traced by those who favor proportional representation to the existing system of selecting legislators. Some of the reformers also indict the party system, but Professor Commons believes that proportional representation and the party system will work together. The theory of our system is that the majority rule; the practice is that the minority rule—that is, they elect the legislators. This state of things is plainly proved by the careful and exhaustive analysis and the statistical tables of this book. We divide a State into one hundred legislative districts. It is impossible to divide equitably as to population or as between parties; it is possible to divide very inequitably. In a notorious case one voter in one party becomes equal to five voters in the other party. The courts are appealed to; but the inequality is only one of degree, and though a court may with impunity declare such a districting as the one referred to unconstitutional, yet a new gerrymander will follow perhaps to the advantage of the opposite party. Every districting must be expected to be in favor of the party making it. Minority government is established by the system of dividing into districts. Coming to nominations, we have the minority reduced again; a portion of a party favors A, another portion favors B, and a third favors C. Only one can be nominated. It often happens that twenty or thirty or more men would receive votes if there were any value in such votes. Then there are smaller parties than the two principal ones, and those small parties get nothing at all. The legistator who represents ten thousand voters is the choice only of two thousand or three thousand, and he knows that only this faction is really behind him, and governs himself accordingly. Want of space forbids going into details here; for them the reader is referred to Professor Commons's elaborate statements and argument. We will give a very simple scheme

of the proportional plan. Let us suppose that a legislature consists of one hundred members; there is no districting; the legislators are chosen by one mass vote on one ticket and one hundredth part of all votes cast elects a member. Having been nominated in some way by which all opinions and classes are represented, the candidates would be presented to the voters in a body, from which each voter might select his representative. Several ways of making the selection may be chosen from in making the law. What is to be secured is: (1) That any voter may cast his single ballot for any one candidate residing in any part of the State. The small party would be sure of one or more representatives where it now gets none. A minority faction of a party would get its fair share in place of getting nothing—which hits bossism between the eyes—and any body of men, say the educators of the State, could elect one of their number if they desired and had in the whole State votes enough. (2) In working out this plan devices will be framed into the law for preventing any waste of votes. For example, A receives ten thousand votes where five thousand will elect. Those who vote for him may indicate their second, third, and fourth (or even more) choices, and the election boards will transfer the surplus votes to the other candidates in the order of choice or of need, and all the votes cast for candidates who do not receive votes enough to elect them would be transferred to second or other choices of the voters. This is a very rapid outline of the system at work. So many things not here named have to be looked to in enacting a law that there is danger of too much complexity. But, if the plan be made practically effective, one sees at once that it would make a truly representative legislature, and the men composing the body would be, on the average, men of much better ability and character. We anticipate the salvation of the legislative branch of government by some system of proportional representation. It may be slow in coming, but, unfortunately, nothing indicates that the need of it will disappear. There has been enough experiment in minority and proportional representation to inspire confidence that the existing American system of election can be much improved by the latter plan. Thus far the advocates of the new system have been too willing to apply their method in the choice of members of small semiexecutive boards, where the advantages are relatively unimportant. The adoption of the Gove Bill (1891) in Massachusetts (which provided for the election of the State senate on the proportional plan) would have given a fair trial to the system. Until some State ventures into this path no amount of experimenting with boards, and no amount of European experience, will count for much. We congratulate Professor Commons upon having made a valuable addition to the literature of his subject.

Addresses. Educational, Political, Scientific, Religious. By J. T. EDWARDS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The contents of this book present a variety indicative of a versatile mind, a wide range of knowledge, and a rounded culture. In all its

parts it has sterling value, because the author is not a scholastic recluse theorizing about affairs, but a man of practical and prolonged experience in matters educational, patriotic, political, scientific, and religious, at home in the things of which he speaks. It is not often that we find a teacher and a preacher and soldier and a statesman and a farmer and a scientist and an administrator all in one. Dr. Edwards has been a soldier in the civil war; a State senator in Rhode Island and in New York; a scientific director and lecturer at Chautauqua; a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a member of its General Conferences; and principal of several educational institutions. The addresses are not the leisurely elaborations of a *littérateur*, but the pithy, direct, and forceful utterances of a man of energy and purpose. Many of them were delivered extempore and taken down stenographically. Most of them were prepared for occasions of special interest and public importance. Of the educational addresses, that on "Symmetrical Culture" was delivered in Providence, before the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction; that on "The Psychology of Illustration" in the Hall of Philosophy at Chautauqua; that on "Eloquence and Orators" before the Jamestown Business College; that on "Educational Legislation," as well as the one on "A Unique School" (the McDonough School of Baltimore, of which Dr. Edwards is now president), before the University Convocation at Albany, N. Y. Of the patriotic and political speeches the one on "Receiving the Flag" was delivered at Camp Stevens, Providence, R. I., in 1862, when a flag was presented by the young ladies of Providence to the Eleventh Rhode Island Volunteers; that on "The Scholar in War" before the Annual Meeting of the Rhode Island Institute, in 1864. "The Defense of the War Record of Rhode Island" was spoken in the Senate Chamber of the State, as was also the extended speech on the "Just Limitations of the Pardoning Power." "The Individual More than the Caucus" was a brief response at Jamestown, N. Y., to his nomination for State senator. In the New York Senate were delivered the speeches on "Women in Education," "School and Public Libraries," "The Excise Bill," "Favoring a Constitutional Convention," and the memorial eulogy on "The Character of Hon. James G. Blaine." The scientific lectures treat of grasses, alcohol, photography, and the chemistry of milk. The religious discourses are upon "The Centennial of Methodism," "The Divine Element in Human Thinking," "Sunday Opening of the Chicago Exposition," "The Gospel Standard," "The Light of the World," and "Christian Benevolence." In reading this book of addresses one observes the developing, strengthening, broadening, and maturing of the author's mind from 1862 to 1895, and sees the ideas of an educator and a patriot walking to and fro among practical affairs, in furrow and forum, in laboratory and library, in school and senate, by altar and anvil. Here and there in the addresses is a quoted bit of poetry, like a flower in a grainfield, such as this from Tennyson's "Idylls of the King"—King Arthur pledging the knights of his Round Table:

I made them place their hands in mine and swear
To reverence their king as if he were their conscience,
And their conscience as their king;
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ;
To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it;
To lead sweet lives of purest chastity;
To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
And worship her with years of noble deeds,
Until they won her: for indeed I know
Of no subtler master under heaven
Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
Not only to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thoughts and amiable words,
And courtliness and the desire for fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

This, too, from Celia Thaxter, on the Isles of Shoals, speaking to the little sandpiper which she sees flitting along the beach under a threatening sky between sundown and dark:

Comrade, where wilt thou be to-night
When the loosed storm breaks furiously?
My driftwood fire will burn so bright;
To what warm shelter wilt thou flee?
I do not fear for thee, though wroth
The tempest rushes through the sky;
For are we not God's children, both,
Thou little sandpiper and I?

Travel and Talk. By the Rev. H. R. HAWEIS, M.A. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 340, 331. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

Mr. Haweis is well known by twenty previous books, and by lectures and sermons in several visits to America. This book is the record of a hundred thousand miles of travel through the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Ceylon, and "The Paradises of the Pacific." In lieu of preface the author writes bluntly, "These volumes speak for themselves; those who are interested in me and my travels and observations will read them, and the others can learn them alone. . . . They include only my travels *outside* Europe from 1885 to 1895. I have two more volumes in view dealing with my travels in Europe from 1855 to 1885. But as I wish to conciliate everybody I do not promise to publish them—I only threaten to do so." So lively and interesting a Britisher seldom comes to our shores. Keenly observant, restlessly energetic, bubbling over with sparkling high spirits, he records minutely the significant details of his experiences and blurts out genially with unrestrained English frankness without fear, favor, or apology his opinions of places, people, and things. It is evident that he enjoys himself and the world immensely. A very elate and exuberant perpendicular personal pronoun promenades briskly over the earth in these diverting and instructive pages. His book has no more dullness than a cinématograph. The contents of the chapters which report his visits to our country are indicated by their captions: "Who am I?" "My First Voyage;" "The Hub of the Universe;" "Boston Days;" "Phillips Brooks;" "Oliver

Wendell Holmes, his Table Talk, his Letters;" "Bryant, Longfellow, Emerson;" "Courtlandt Palmer;" "Henry Ward Beecher;" "Andrew Carnegie;" "Bishop Potter;" "President Cleveland;" "Abram Hewitt;" "Charles Sumner;" "John Bigelow;" "Ogoutz;" "Cornell University;" "Vassar College;" "American Girls;" "Walt Whitman;" "Niagara;" "Lectures and Agents in America;" "Profits;" "Reporters;" "Chicago, the World's Fair, and Parliament of Religions;" "San Francisco;" "Leland-Stanford University;" "The Bishop of California Criticised;" "Mormon Land;" "Estimate of Mormonism;" "To New Orleans;" "The Black Preacher;" "A Peep into Mexico." In writing of Tahiti he refers to Charles Darwin's visit to that island in the ship *Beagle*, and recalls the great naturalist's rebuke of those who were ever ready to point out still existing defects in the South Sea Islanders and to blame the missionaries for these. Darwin wrote: "They forget, or will not remember, that human sacrifices and the power of an idolatrous priesthood, a system of profligacy unparalleled in any other part of the world, infanticide, a consequence of that system, bloody wars when the conquerors spared neither women nor children—that all these have been abolished, and that dishonesty, intemperance, and licentiousness have been greatly reduced by the introduction of Christianity. In a voyager to forget these things would be base ingratitude, for should he chance to be on the point of shipwreck on some unknown coast he will most devoutly pray that the lessons of the missionary may have extended thus far." It is but simple truth to say that we do not remember any travel talk more varied and vivacious than that which fills these nearly seven hundred pages.

The Country of the Pointed Firs. By SARAH ORNE JEWETT. 16mo, pp. 213. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.25.

This is the latest of some fifteen bright and racy volumes from the pen of Miss Jewett. It is a story of a summer on the coast of Maine and adjacent islands. The author excels as a writer of short stories, which Mrs. Phelps-Ward considers the most exacting and difficult literary product called for to-day. Most of Miss Jewett's books are made up of brief stories, easily read through in a half hour or less. Such are the volumes entitled: "The King of Folly Island," "A Native of Winby," "The Life of Nancy," "A White Heron" (seventh edition), "Old Friends and New" (thirteenth edition), "Country By-Ways" (tenth edition), and "The Mate of the Daylight" (eighth edition). The following are one-volume fictions: "A Country Doctor," "A Marsh Island," "Betty Leicester," and "Deephaven" (twenty-second edition). Miss Jewett divides with Miss Wilkins the honor of being a sort of prose laureate for rural life and old-time country people in the section to which they both belong. Both give us with delicate appreciation and apt fidelity what one calls "New England idyls—charming sublimations of the homely." In a common field Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins remind us of each other, each being, however, sufficiently original and

individual. Each renders as well as may be the rustic dialects of the region where most of the stories are cast; each knows intimately the ground and its products, animate and inanimate. Their stories are vivid with local color, piquant with the peculiarities of life and character in rural Yankee land, odorous and gritty with the soil. Miss Wilkins sometimes depresses us with an excess of dreariness, too much monotony of the grimy, sordid, merciless woefulness of poverty, too much stern and grim severity of spirit and condition. Miss Jewett is a blither soul; more buoyancy and cheer lift the load along the country roads in her stories, and to most of her quaint, odd country folk life, in spite of everything, is worth living. The shrewd, sly, dry humor of rustic New England is not lacking in her sometimes mirth-provoking pages. Many native and curious personalities are deftly drawn, the stories are astir with action, things happen, incidents move briskly, situations develop into shape out of suggested or surprising possibilities, and webs of human experience are woven out of threads of emotion and event. Miss Jewett writes as one who has a story to tell, and confines herself to telling it directly, consecutively, effectively. Not all of her stories are about New Englanders. The negro and the Irishman and others with their dialects appear. And her writings appeal to all and are readable everywhere, because underneath the local idosyncrasies of custom and character, opinion and expression, she touches and exhibits the universal human heart, the sensibilities of men and women as human beings. And her men and women are genuine, natural folks, not impossible creatures nor artificial wax figures. We lay before our readers this general notice and enumeration of Miss Jewett's books because we reckon them with worthy and desirable, as well as enjoyable literature, and because we would gladly substitute them for much feverish, unnatural, unwholesome, and vitiating reading which seeks and too often obtains admission even to Christian homes, to their serious detriment. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. publish Miss Jewett's books in attractive style at $1.25 per volume.

Whitman. A Study. By JOHN BURROUGHS. 12mo, pp. 268. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Whitman is to Mr. Burroughs "the most imposing and significant figure in our literary annals;" and criticism of the bard is "hostile sissing and cackling." "Talking about Whitman" is "like talking about the universe." It is evident from Mr. Burroughs's book that if Whitman had lived far enough back in mythologic days he would have monopolized Parnassus, and Jupiter would not have held the headship in the coterie of gods on Olympus. Indeed, if all that our author says is literally true, christendom should appoint a committee to investigate and find out whether Walt Whitman may not have been, after all, the real Messiah. Whitman himself veraciously writes that his "poems will do just as much evil as good, and perhaps more"—a statement which we consider exactly true, and which seems to us to invalidate the Messiah theory; but Mr. Burroughs thinks it is all right enough, and on page 178 says that Whitman

"atones for the sins of us all." As near as we can make out from the context it is an atonement by stark naked shamelessness. It is interesting to learn that Thoreau and Burroughs consider Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" a gospel—"glad tidings of great joy," "worth more than all the sermons in the country for preaching." Part of his gospel is that "there is no God more sacred than yourself." It can hardly be denied that Whitman talked like a god and a Messiah. He wrote that whoever would become his follower (and various persons have become such) would have to give up all else, for he alone would expect to be for his followers their sole and exclusive standard; their novitiate would be long and exhausting; the whole past theory of their lives and all conformity to the lives around them would have to be abandoned. Severe as these requirements are, he has his disciples. To those of us who cannot endure this demand for an all-abandoning consecration to Walt (and our name is Legion), he says, "Release me now, before troubling yourself any further; let go your hand from my shoulders, put me down and depart on your way;" in which particular we feel inclined to do just as he bids. So far, but no farther, can we submit ourselves to him. After 267 pages of incontinent, effusive, and effulgent eulogy it seems a tame and timid anticlimax for Mr. Burroughs to write: "After what I have already said my reader will not be surprised when I tell him that I look upon Whitman as the one mountain thus far in our literary landscape." This rhapsodical book should have been entitled *The Apotheosis of Whitman*. That only the last word appears in the title must be a mistake of the typesetter, overlooked by the proof reader.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America. By JOHN ATKINSON, D.D. 8vo, pp. 458. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $3.

This book is intended to illuminate upon the authority of the oldest authentic documents—mostly manuscript—the foundation-laying period of American Methodism; it claims to furnish a new, fresh, original, and complete history of the origin and progress of the Wesleyan movement in this country down to the formal founding of the Methodist Connection here, which was accomplished, not by the Christmas Conference of 1784, but by the Philadelphia Conference of 1778, the Conference of 1784 being assembled to provide for the ordination of preachers and the administration of sacraments in a connection which had been governed for eleven years by the Annual Conference, which was then and for years subsequent to the Christmas Conference a legislative body. The history is brought down to January 2, 1774, when, after a service of four years and a quarter in America, Boardman and Pilmoor returned to England. The author says his book is made up on data unknown to previous writers, and supplies much knowledge hitherto unpublished. The time is divided into three periods: first, from the beginning to the arrival of Boardman and Pilmoor; second, from their arrival to the close of the

First Conference; third, from that Conference to their departure from this country. In these periods Dr. Atkinson claims to furnish full particulars on matters meagerly treated by other historians, especially in the time between 1766 and the arrival of Francis Asbury. Dr. Bangs noted the beginning by Embury under the impulse which Barbara Heck awakened, the increase of the audiences under Webb and Embury, and the building of John Street Church. This was further illuminated in *Lost Chapters* by Wakeley, who developed the fact that Robert Williams came to New York as early as September, 1769; but what he afterward did, and where, Wakeley records not to any extent; and in various other matters, through lack of adequate information, he fell into numerous mistakes, which, being adopted by others, passed for correct history. One mistake, of general currency, is due to Lednum, who says that Williams, who was the first English preacher that came after Embury and Strawbridge, finding congenial spirits in New York, hugged that place closely for two and a half years; whereas we now know that Williams went to Marylaud early in November, 1769, very soon after his landing, as Lee says. From that time to the landing of Asbury, October 27, 1771, previous histories are a blank as to the labors of the ministers and the doings of the churches. Asbury's journals furnish little information of value in the period immediately succeeding his arrival; of his first week in this country he makes no record, not even of his first sermon in America, which Dr. Atkinson describes. Referring to Stevens's account of this period, from the beginning to the First Conference, the author notes that it is made up chiefly of biographical matter respecting Embury, Webb, Williams, John King, Asbury, Watters, and to some extent Boardman and Pilmoor, with little information as to what was done, and when, and where, and by whom; even Pilmoor's Southern labors, extending over a year and constituting one of the grandest itineraries ever made in America, receive small notice, being dismissed with the assertion that Pilmoor left no record thereof. In noting these things our author disavows any desire to depreciate previous writers, who could not use data then unknown or inaccessible, but only aims to substantiate his claim of superior fullness and accuracy for his own work, which is aided by information subsequently discovered. Previous accounts of the First Conference are said to be inadequate, because written without knowledge of the information left by Pilmoor, the same being the case as to the differences which resulted from Asbury's coming and interference with the work under Boardman and Pilmoor. Remarking that Asbury was glorious when nobody disputed with him or challenged his authority, but that he had considerable trouble with those who did, Dr. Atkinson presents, in various connections, some detailed evidence in proof of this statement. Much of the narrative in the book before us is taken up with the labors of Pilmoor, Boardman, Webb, Robert Williams, and John King, furnishing facts not given by earlier histories concerning their travels, changes, and powerful ministry from Boston to Savannah. Among the remarkable characters of early American Methodism brought into fuller light is Mary Thorn,

of Philadelphia, to whom this book gives a long chapter. Although not so much as her name appears in published history, except in Lednum, who gives a few facts concerning her, she is here portrayed with much fullness as one of the most devoted and every way extraordinary Methodist workers ever produced in this country; and is held up for the emulation of this later day as being in fact, though not in name, our first deaconess. Another neglected but now restored name is that of Edward Evans, the first American Methodist preacher, the only published record of him heretofore being the bare mention of his name by Lednum as one of the trustees appearing in the deed of St. George's Church, Philadelphia. Dr. Atkinson's book begins with an attempt to settle finally the much-mooted question as to where Methodism had its first beginning in this country. Most prominent previous historians left the question open. Our author, after an exhaustive examination of the evidence on both sides, affirms that the dispute is entirely settled by the testimony of the fathers, South as well as North, notably by what is found in O'Kelly's writings in opposition to Asbury and Methodist Episcopal Church government. From O'Kelly's *Apology*, Dr. Atkinson quotes this passage as decisive: "In the year 1766 two ministers of the Methodist order, namely, Embury and Strawbridge, emigrated from the land of kings and settled in North America. They taught the people the fear of the Lord and formed societies." This *Apology* was published in 1798, and adds the testimony of this prominent Southerner to that given by the fathers, both South and North, in favor of the priority of the New York society. The author says that there is nothing but tradition in favor of the Maryland claim of priority, and illustrates the untrustworthiness of tradition as to dates by the fact that Paul Heck's will, when discovered, showed the date of his death as recorded on his tombstone to be about two years out of the way. By great labor and the utilization of all known data Dr. Atkinson presents in this large octavo volume what he calls "a story never before told," covering a period to which Jesse Lee, in his History, gives only twenty-six pages; Nathan Bangs, in his History, but thirty-nine pages, and Abel Stevens, in his History, only one hundred and twenty-eight pages. To this work he has been impelled by the conviction that such a denomination as ours "ought to be in possession of all the important facts relating to its origin and establishment in this land," as well as by the belief that no one else was likely ever to attempt the difficult labor of research without which the book could not be written. The least that can be said is that Dr. Atkinson's book, by its character and its claims, challenges the interest and studious examination of intelligent Methodists. That all its claims and opinions will command universal consent is too much to expect; but that it is a highly interesting book, and a distinct and significant addition to historic literature can scarcely be denied. Is there not a pattern for preachers in the description of one man's sermons, quoted on page 214, as "a happy assemblage of doctrinal truths, set in an engaging light, and enforced with convincing arguments?"

The American Revolution. By JOHN FISKE. Illustrated with Portraits, Maps, Facsimiles, Contemporary Views, Prints, and Other Historic Materials. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 351; xxiii, 321. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, glazed cloth, $8.

Professor Fiske's reputation as an historical writer is so well known as not to need a word of commendation. He fitly dedicates these volumes to Mrs. Mary Hemenway, in recognition of the rare foresight and public spirit by which she led the movement to save from destruction the Old South Meeting House in Boston, one of the noblest historic buildings in America, and made it a center for the teaching of American history and the principles of good citizenship. This sketch of the American Revolution stops with the surrender of Cornwallis and the consequent fall of Lord North's ministry, but the story is continued in the author's book entitled *The Critical Period of American History*, the first chapter of which deals with the results of Yorktown; which volume, together with the present work and *The Beginnings of New England*, and *The Discovery of America, with Some Account of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest*, is intended to make part of a complete narrative history of the United States, comprising the whole record from 1492 to 1865, which Professor Fiske hopes to finish in some favoring future, somewhat after the plan of John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People*. Bibliographical notes are omitted in the present work, because Mr. Justin Winsor's *Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution*, which contains a vast amount of bibliographical information perfectly arranged in small compass, is obtainable everywhere and costs but a trifle. From it the general reader can find out where to look for further information concerning any point in these two volumes. A photogravure from the Houdon bust of George Washington is the frontispiece. Gilbert Stuart admitted this bust to be a better likeness than his own famous painting of the Father of his Country. It is shown in this history that the political exigencies of George III at home made him desirous of quarreling with the American colonies in order to divert attention and give him a chance of outmaneuvering his political opponents. It was his hatred of the Whigs, and especially of Pitt, which impelled him to provoke war as a cunning political trick; the result of which, however, overwhelmed him with disaster. That the men who fought and won our Revolutionary battles were brave and noble gentlemen is illustrated in Professor Fiske's description of the surrender of Burgoyne. In carrying out the terms of the surrender both General Gates and his soldiers showed praiseworthy delicacy. As the British soldiers marched off to a meadow by the riverside and laid down their arms the Americans remained within their lines, refusing to add to the humiliation of a gallant enemy by standing and looking on. As the disarmed soldiers then passed by the American lines, says Lieutenant Aubury, one of the captured officers, "I did not observe the least disrespect or even a taunting look, but all was mute astonishment and pity." Burgoyne stepped up and handed his sword to Gates, simply saying, "The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner." The American general

instantly returned the sword, replying, "I shall always be ready to testify that it has not been through any fault of your excellency." When Baron Riedesel had been presented to Gates and the other generals he brought his wife and children out of the dreadful cellar where they had been hiding among wounded and dying men, without food and almost without drink. The baroness came with some trepidation into the enemy's camp, but the only look she saw on any face was one of sympathy. "As I approached the tents," she says, "a noble-looking gentleman came toward me and took the frightened children out of the wagon; embraced and kissed them; and then, with tears in his eyes, helped me to alight. . . . Presently he said, 'It may be embarrassing to you to dine with so many gentlemen. If you will come with your children to my tent, I will give you a frugal meal, but one that will at least be seasoned with good wishes.' 'O, sir,' I cried, 'you must surely be a husband and a father, since you show me so much kindness!' I then learned that it was General Schuyler." Schuyler had indeed come, says the author, with unruffled and magnanimous soul, to look on, while the fruit which he had sown, with the gallant aid of Stark, Herkimer, Arnold, and Morgan, was plucked by an unworthy rival. He now met Burgoyne, who was naturally pained and embarrassed at the recollection of the beautiful house which his men had burned a few days before. In a speech in the House of Commons, some months later, Burgoyne told how Schuyler received him. "I expressed to General Schuyler," says Burgoyne, "my regret at the event which had happened, and the reasons which had occasioned it. He desired me to think no more of it, saying that the occasion justified it according to the rules of war. . . . He did more; he sent an aide-de-camp to conduct me to Albany, in order, as he said, to procure me better quarters than a stranger might be able to find. This gentleman conducted me to a very elegant house, and, to my great surprise, presented me to Mrs. Schuyler and her family; and in this general's house I remained during my whole stay at Albany, with a table of more than twenty covers for me and my friends, and every other possible demonstration of hospitality." Madame Riedesel was also invited to stay with the Schuylers; and, when first she arrived in the house, one of her little girls exclaimed, "O, mamma! is this the palace that papa was to have when he came to America?" As the Schuylers understood German the baroness colored, but all laughed pleasantly and put her at her ease. Brave men are magnanimous and courteous; it is the mean, the selfish, the cowardly, who cherish hatred after the fight and perpetuate spiteful and rancorous grudges.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Poems by Emily Dickinson. Third Series. Edited by MABEL LOOMIS TODD. 16mo, pp. 200. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The Preface says: "The intellectual activity of Emily Dickinson was so great that a large and characteristic choice is still possible among her

literary materials, and this third volume of her verses is put forth in response to the repeated wish of the admirers of her peculiar genius." A man who took her poems with him on a day's car ride wrote: "Miss Dickinson has no care for rhyme or rhythm. This makes it easy for her, if her thought is large enough to make the reader forget arbitrary rules. If any mind can do that, let it caper, I say. Most of us have to be put into thought's straitjacket. She is emancipated. Let her comets fly and meteors shoot." In this new volume are one hundred and forty-three bits of poetry, from four lines to ten verses long. This is characteristic:

When morning comes
It is as if a hundred drums
  Did round my pillow roll,
And shouts fill all my childish sky,
And bells keep saying, 'Victory,'
  From steeples in my soul.

Among the verses on "Time and Eternity" is this:

This world is not conclusion;
  A sequel stands beyond,
Invisible as music,
  But positive as sound.
It beckons and it baffles;
  Philosophies don't know;
And through a riddle, at the last,
  Sagacity must go.
To guess it puzzles scholars;
  To gain it, men have shown
Contempt of generations
  And crucifixion known.

The following about thirst is said as no one else would say it:

We thirst at first—'tis Nature's act;
  And later, when we die,
A little water supplicate
  Of fingers going by.
It intimates the finer want,
  Whose adequate supply
Is that great water in the west
  Termed immortality.

The Return of the Native. By THOMAS HARDY. Crown, 8vo, pp. 507. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is the book which Arlo Bates means, we think, to call "the most notable English novel since Thackeray."

Notes in Japan. By ALFRED PARSONS. With Illustrations by the Author. Crown 8vo, pp. 226. New York: Harper & Brothers. Cloth, ornamental.

It is seldom that a more beautiful book comes from the press of any house; the fairest loveliness of Japan blooms in its pages. The illustrations make the book seem like a garden; the pictures of places and buildings and characters cause the land to pass as in a panorama before the mind's eye. Paper and print are of the best, and altogether it is the perfection of bookmaking.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1897.

ART. I.—THE IDEAL CREED OF IAN MACLAREN.

THOSE who are acquainted with the writings of Dr. John Watson, of Liverpool, under the *nom de plume* of "Ian Maclaren," will promptly concede the singular talent, not to say the genius, of the man. His remarkable literary gifts—too tardily discovered, even by himself—have fairly flashed before an admiring gaze. We have eagerly read his most realistic portrayal of Scotch scenery and character. His little volume, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, commands the admiring, rapt attention of all classes of readers. We have lately had some further glimpses of Scotch wisdom and wit in *The Cure of Souls*, and now he issues for the more thoughtful his *Mind of the Master*.

In character-study, in vivid word-painting, in sly and dry humor, and in tear-compelling pathos he rightly belongs to the latest constellation of Scotland's star writers, and, it may be, star preachers. There is no question as to the literary brilliancy of this gifted man. Some, however, are raising the question of his doctrinal clearness and soundness. His warm human sympathies are most pleasingly evident in his study of the manly character and self-sacrificing career of the hero-physician, Dr. Maclure. It is undoubtedly an inspiration to a noble, self-forgetful life to have known, even in the pages of acknowledged romance, so sturdy yet so sweet a specimen of toilsome, faithful manhood. Lachlan Campbell, one of Maclaren's characters, is the exponent of a cast-iron creed and of a mere mechanical theology. He is censorious and severe in his

judgments and exactions. His was a false idea of God and truth. With the incoming of a great sorrow came new light. "The Transformation of Lachlan Campbell" is one of the most touching pen-pictures to be found in religious literature. We have this character before us as we proceed with a task by no means pleasant, hoping to clear the atmosphere and satisfy honest doubt.

But let us turn to *The Mind of the Master*. There is really so much to admire in this masterful exaltation of the claims of the Christ, so much of genuine love for Jesus, that we regret that there seems to be anything to forbid unqualified approval. In order the better to understand Dr. Watson's position we must remember his own discriminations. They are not always consistent. If he says, in one place, "Theology is the science of religion," he says, elsewhere, "Theology has one territory which is theory; religion has another which is life." Sin is selfishness. With self-renunciation man ceases from sin. If the experience of the new birth is needed, this is not emphasized, and does not prominently appear. Dr. Watson inveighs against "that solitary creed which has raised uncharitableness into an article of faith." For this we will not chide him. The trend of his thinking and theology is apparent from his confessed admiration. They are the key, in part, to the interpretation of his teaching. He says, frankly, "The disciples of Jesus owe a debt that can never be paid to three men that have brought us back to the mind of our Master. One was Channing, for whose love to Jesus one might be tempted to barter his belief; the second was Maurice, most honest and conscientious of theologians; and the third was Erskine of Linlathen, who preached the fatherhood to everyone he met, from Thomas Carlyle to Highland shepherds." Dr. Watson is an exponent and champion of the "new theology." He is representative of the Broad Church idea—the progressive orthodoxy, it may be called, of his branch of the Church in Great Britain.

As such he has given us a passage, among others of like liberal character, in *The Mind of the Master*, which affords special warrant for not unkindly criticism. We venture the suggestion that the passage seems to call for further expansion, or, at least, for some qualification. As it stands it seems to be crude, immature, and incomplete, regarded

from a theologic point of view, however fresh and pleasing may be the rhetorical simplicity of its phrasing. It is: "I believe in the fatherhood of God; I believe in the words of Jesus; I believe in the clean heart; I believe in the service of love; I believe in the unworldly life; I believe in the Beatitudes; I promise to trust God and follow Christ, to forgive my enemies, and to seek after the righteousness of God." The conviction of Dr. Watson, ever borne in mind by him in all his study of the mind of the Master, is this: "There is nothing on which we differ so hopelessly as creed; nothing on which we agree so utterly as character." It is this conviction which affords us so much that is inspiring and elevating in his work. But it is this, also, however much we may admire the independence, not to say the originality, of the man, which makes him liable to the suspicion of erroneous teaching. We understand him to be the outspoken foe of mere traditional teaching, of theologic dogma, and of metaphysical subtlety of every kind. He exalts the value of being, in contrast with believing. He prefers the possession of a true-hearted Christian character to the profession of the most exact Christian creed. Holy living with him, as with all good men, is paramount in importance with sound thinking. Yet the brilliant Scotchman, in his chapter on "Fatherhood the Final Idea of God," himself insists that the "first equipment for living is a creed."

We do not wish to misrepresent Dr. Watson. His spirit is most genial; his heart is most philanthropic; his loyalty to Christ and to the teachings of Christ, as he honestly interprets those teachings, is most exemplary. His love for his Master is seen at its best in the beauty, and even pathos, of his admirable chapter on "Devotion to a Person the Dynamic of Religion." We simply raise the question whether his ideal creed is as ideal as the very cream of all the creeds should be, both ethically and spiritually. Moreover, we do not criticise this so-called life-creed altogether in the light in which Dr. Watson honestly intended it, so much as in the view in which it is likely to be received. To know his real meaning it will not do to take his ideal creed entirely by itself. We must see it in its literary framework. We must consider it illumined by the sidelights afforded by the fifteen chapters of his thoughtful and stimulating book. But, even in this painstaking effort to be unprej-

udiced and impartial, we find that this imaginary creed is still shadowed by serious doubts. The passage is liable, we fear, to be misapprehended as a substitute for all the creeds of Christendom. We are assured that Dr. Watson really "offers it as an interpretation of them." If this be so, may it not justly be urged that this interpretation needs to be interpreted? To say nothing about the great cardinal doctrines comprehended in all the great historic creeds, here purposely eliminated, what shall we say of some of the affirmations themselves? Can it be claimed that they are either clear or comprehensive? Is it not evident that some of them are ambiguous? May not such an "interpretation" be, in effect, unscriptural, insufficient, and misleading?

Take, for example, the affirmation, "I believe in the fatherhood of God." So far as the unregenerate are concerned, may this not point to a fanciful sentiment, rather than to a scriptural truth? Is it, or is it not, the mere echo of Pope's "Universal Prayer?"

> Father of all! in every age,
> In every clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.

The prayer which our Lord taught his immediate disciples began, it is true, with "Our Father which art in heaven." It was in a message to his disciples only that Jesus said, "I ascend unto my Father, and your Father." And is it not the explicit teaching of Scripture that we are God's children by adoption, or through the process of the new birth? Did not our Lord say, speaking to the Pharisees, "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do?" Both John the Baptist and the gentle Jesus characterized them further as a "generation of vipers." Was this empty vituperation? Or was it not exact classification? In view of their real, inner character, the hypocritical Pharisee and Sadducee, according to the verdict of Omniscience, belonged to the serpent brood. Their genealogy is, with one swift glance, traced back to "that old serpent, called the devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world." Did not Paul qualify the idea of God's possible fatherhood in the words, "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus?" But what does Dr. Watson mean

when, in his last chapter, he persistently affirms, "Two finds have been made within recent years, the divine fatherhood and the kingdom of God?" Dr. James McCosh, in *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, speaks of Scotland as possessing an "intellect as hard as its rocks;" but excepting when he speaks of "the sentimental view of God" he may have the view of Dr. Watson remotely in mind, we shall discover nothing, even in the way of allusion to what the latter is pleased to claim as a "new find."

For many years, in the narrow thought of one school of theology, only the elect were warranted in calling God Father. Now the pendulum of belief has swung to an opposite extreme. The modern idea with many, even in Calvinistic circles, is likely to be much too broad. The secret thought, and even public teaching, of many is that the fatherhood of God is not a strictly spiritual, but rather a constitutional, relation; that, good or bad, we are "his offspring;" and that the relation is in no wise dependent either on the grace of God or on compliance with what once were regarded as necessary conditions prescribed in God's word. The doctrine of the divine sovereignty, even among Calvinists, is fast giving place to that of the sovereign fatherhood of God.* The divine government is pronounced to be purely paternal. The claim is made by some that we become the children of God only as we realize his fatherhood, and that the expressions, "children of the evil one" and "children of disobedience," represent simply an aspect of life, and not a fact of nature. If this claim is just it needs to be more plainly verified. Can it be proved by the word of God? The condition of sonship in the professed believer and the recognition of his own fatherhood, on the part of God, are plainly stated and are insisted upon in the New Testament Scripture. Only those who are Spirit-born and Spirit-led are the sons of God. There must be, in a sense, a certain separation from the world, or we have no encouragement to appropriate the conditional assurance, "I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Paul says, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." This witness is to a marvelous change, a change

* *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, by A. M. Fairbairn, p. 444.

of condition, and a change of relation. But if we are the children of God by natural constitution where is the significance of this Scripture, and what becomes of the doctrine of assurance?

No argument for the universal fatherhood of God can, we think, be based on the absolute, yet occult, relation which Christ, the Son, sustains preeminently to the first person of the Trinity. As Abraham is spoken of as the "father of the faithful," so, in a real but infinitely exalted sense, is God the father only of those who have been "born from above." Is it conceivable that God was the father of Judas, the betrayer, in the same sense that he was the father of John, the beloved; or that he was the father of the impenitent multi-murderer, H. H. Holmes, in the same sense that he was of the spiritually-minded Madame Guyon? We are being forced to face the seemingly needless question, In what view is the true Christian distinctively "a child of God?" If we universalize the fatherhood of God, why should it not extend to all the created intelligences in the entire universe—to the angels, bad as well as good—and so, at last, to Satan himself? If this, in any sense, is a *reductio ad absurdum*, is it not the evident consequence of a confusion of ideas? God is, by revelation, the almighty Maker of all men, the rightful Ruler of all men; but is he necessarily, therefore, the Father, in any well-defined sense, of all men? In the reaction from the old-school teaching of God's rigid and relentless sovereignty must the new-school teaching swing entirely over to the other extreme of God's all-inclusive, undiscriminating, fatherly love? Is there no middle ground which is tenable? Must those of the Scotch school of theology, who revolt from the sterner teaching of John Calvin and John Knox, find their final resting place, by even remote possibility, in the creed of Hosea Ballou, or of James Freeman Clarke? To steer between the Scylla of Calvinism, on the one side, and the Charybdis of Universalism, on the other side, may still be the peculiar province of pilots of the Arminian faith.

If we are assured once in the Old Testament that "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him," we are likewise assured, and that repeatedly, in the New Testament, that Christ is "the only begotten of the Father." In this view we see a definiteness of statement in the Apostles'

Creed which admits of no misunderstanding: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, . . . and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord." It is a striking admission on the part of Dr. Watson that neither prophets nor psalmists were ever "so carried beyond themselves as to say 'My Father.'" The creature, then, is not necessarily the child. The possible fatherhood of God to the believer, through the work of the regenerating Spirit, is one of the plain revelations of the divine Son of God. In all the systems of divinity—those greater interpretations of the mind of the Master with which we may happen to be acquainted—regeneration is ever the ground of sonship. Did not John the evangelist say, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God?" Will the genial author of *The Mind of the Master* claim, in rebuttal, that these are the words of John, but not "the words of Jesus?"

We have no "dogmatic ends to serve." Yet it is by no means so plain to some as it appears to be to Dr. Watson that Jesus had "no exoteric word for his intimates." What was hid from the wise and prudent was revealed to babes—babes in Christ—the children of God. The "universal note in Jesus's teaching" is not so obvious to some as it is to this gifted author. Even he admits that "it would not be fair to rest any master doctrine on a single parable," as that of the prodigal son. We have a sort of hermeneutic restriction which appeals to our good sense: "A parable must not be made to walk on all fours." It may be overworked. An old school of typical or allegorical teaching would convert a parable into a theological centipede. In this view, even the parable of the prodigal son may yet have to be reconsidered. To speak of the sonship of the sinner as a divine possibility is one thing. It is for this we contend. To speak of it as a relation which is actual and real, while a man is yet "dead in trespasses and sins"—this is quite another claim. This view we feel constrained to oppose. Does not Dr. Watson himself at last unguardedly surrender it? Does David say, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth" all human kind? "Like as a father" expresses the idea

of similarity only. Are not the qualifying words, "them that fear him," filled with restrictive meaning? We have long thought that even supposed orthodoxy has been corrupted, insensibly but too really, by the insidious teachings of Universalism. The drift of things, in these closing days of the nineteenth century, is toward doctrinal laxity, and hence toward ethical lawlessness. Not only are the words of inspiration thus suspected, but the books of the Bible are being repudiated. A too apprehensive Church may yet take up a wail similar to that of the afflicted Jacob, "Moses is not, and Daniel is not, and will ye take Jonah away? All these things are against me."

The necessary limits of this brief critique will not admit of a full discussion of the question of the divine fatherhood in its various aspects and with its scriptural limitations. In any view there are difficulties to be faced and differences to be feared which may not readily be reconciled. Children, we believe, are recipients of all the benefits of the atonement. As John the Baptist was "filled with the Holy Ghost" from the hour of his birth, each infant may be the subject of the latent regenerating grace of God, and so remain a child of God until, by conscious sin, it falls from grace. Yet Dr. Austin Phelps, writing on the work of the Holy Spirit, finds grave difficulties; and Dr. John Miley said in his class room at Drew Seminary, in answer to an inquiry: "I frankly concede the profound mystery, and as frankly admit I have no light to give. Nor have I been able to receive light from others. The fact of infant salvation, in case of death, I do not question. But its philosophy is a mystery as yet without solution."

If we have dwelt at some length on the first affirmation of Dr. Watson's imagined new creed we may be excused in the view of his own statement: "It is open to debate, indeed, whether Jesus said anything absolutely new, save when he taught the individual to call God Father." Yet, with Dr. Watson, "the words of Jesus" constitute the true evangel; the utterances or acts of the apostles are comparatively of little worth. In his estimation the epistles lack directness, if not authority. They are not regarded by him as of equal inspiration or accuracy with the reported words of the Master. However presumptuous or profane it may seem, even to this author, he does not hesitate to hint at imperfections in the apostle to the Gentiles,

or to criticise his style, his illustrations, his doctrine, and his spirit. Dr. Watson, it must be admitted, does this in loyal insistence upon the supreme excellences of the great Teacher. It may be this fact, with others, was not charitably borne in mind by the ministry of a certain city, who felt called upon publicly to repudiate the doctrinal teaching of even so brilliant a writer as Ian Maclaren. And, just here, is it not a somewhat unexpected admission which the author makes, "The lonely supremacy of Jesus rests not on what he said, but on what he did?"

"I believe in the words of Jesus." This seems an affirmation moderate and comprehensive enough, perhaps. In one view it certainly is. For Christ claimed, "I and my Father are one." But—as another has already noted—many a Unitarian will affirm that he believes the words of Jesus who will nevertheless resolutely reject the claim he makes to be divine. If one says Dr. Watson intended this second affirmation to include all Christ said about his sacrificial atonement as being the divine Son of God—the one Mediator between God and man—and other lofty spiritual teachings, then why not make this single affirmation all-inclusive? Why should not the ideal creed be, simply and only, "I believe in the words of Jesus?" This would include all that is theologic and ethical. Why proceed with the remaining affirmations of belief? Yet he further says—we think needlessly—"I believe in the clean heart; I believe in the service of love; I believe in the unworldly life." This may be all true, beautiful, and good, both in thought and in expression, but we look in vain for any recognition of the person and work of the Holy Spirit; and, while we do not wish to be understood as implying that a belief in the Holy Ghost is no part of Dr. Watson's own creed, we do wish to express our surprise that, in the highly spiritual and ideal creed which he "imagines," the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has no place. We have here also no word concerning repentance, though Christ's first public deliverance seems to have been, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Again, why say, "I believe in the beatitudes," and not say, "I believe in the Ten Commandments?" "Are not the beatitudes indeed the "words of Jesus?" Are the Ten Commandments—sufficiently ethical, it would seem—to be regarded as abrogated? And are the beatitudes, by implication, all that is left by a sort

of destructive criticism of our Lord's more lengthened majestic discourse? The moral elevation and the spiritual heroism which Dr. Watson sees in the beatitudes alone are most attractive. His paraphrases and eulogiums are fresh with new life and eloquent with fine feeling. Yet we are confident our author's full meaning is not included in the brief words he employs, by way of ideal creed, concerning even the beatitudes. He elsewhere claims that the Sermon on the Mount is the authoritative creed of the Christian Church, the divine constitution of the kingdom of heaven. He also says, "The ten words are only eclipsed by the law of love." It is with this in mind, then, that he speaks of the "service of love." He has had the "courage to formulate an ethical creed," it is true. But is there not an underlying fallacy in the "stand" which he takes and on which he conceives an ethical creed should be based? Was the Sermon on the Mount the only deliverance of our Lord? Are there not other "words of Jesus" which were uttered supplementary to this first public discourse? Did Christ ever intimate that this first sermon was substitutional for all other scriptures—that it was so comprehensive and complete that there was no need of any further deliverance on his part?

Dr. Watson's views, we repeat, while sufficiently broad, are likely, in the light of this ideal creed alone, to be somewhat widely misunderstood. If it is urged that the creed imagined by Dr. Watson is intended to be a purely ethical creed, then we must object that belief in the divine fatherhood or in the words of Jesus is not purely ethical, whatever else may be fairly insisted upon. The broad view of Dr. Watson, if we rightly represent him, is a new departure in theologic thought. Orthodoxy, so called, has never entertained it. It has had neither the respect nor the recognition of the great Church councils—which Dr. Watson himself admits—nor of the great representatives, individually, of theologic learning or authority. Calvinism, as interpreted by Charles Hodge, is antagonistic to it. Arminianism, as interpreted by John Miley, gives it no countenance.

We need say little more. However unimportant it may seem to some, we think we have made good our point that the passage referred to is neither a good substitute for any of the great symbols of the Christian Church, nor is it a fair interpretation of their choicest spiritual meaning. It lacks the dig-

nity that would commend it to the favorable consideration of a "congress of all religions," the comprehensiveness that would receive the indorsement of Christian scholars, and the evident scripturalness and spirituality that would satisfy the simple-hearted believer. We can only conclude that what some of us have esteemed to be necessary forms of belief hitherto are thought by Dr. Watson to be altogether unimportant, and hence, in his view, have no place in the Christian's conception of what an ideal creed should be.

It may be thought by some that this brief critique is too moderate. By others it may be regarded as severe. Whichever judgment may be passed, we have sought to be appreciative, tolerant, and fair. Whatever we may think of Dr. Watson's ideal creed, we will admire, not only the genius, but the actual Christian character, of the man. We do not say that he even inclines to the acceptance of Universalist or Unitarian ideas. But we do say that, in the light of his so-called creed and of at least one chapter in his book, his doctrinal meaning is not perfectly clear, and may be used in the propagation of error. Nor are the best results to be obtained by mere expedients or by the spirit of compromise. We are sure that nothing can be hoped for by timid surrender. True evangelistic leadership will insist upon the recognition of the "exceeding sinfulness of sin," of the need and efficacy of a sacrificial atonement, and of the regenerating power of the Holy Ghost. Concerning these Dr. Watson has but little to say.

John J. Reed.

Art. II.—THE MEANING OF PRAYER.

All men are in their way theologians. Everyone has some deity at whose shrine he bows in prayer. It may be a false god, a deified ancestor whose failings are hid by a halo of reverence, or even the sun, moon, stars, or other natural objects and forces. It may be the true God, whose unseen power is manifested in righteousness and benevolence. The fact of prayer, of adoration to some deity, true or false, is a significant phase of human history and life.

A glance at the religious history of the world shows the universality of prayer. In ancient India over two thousand years ago petitions were chanted by the Vedic priests—hymns of propitiation to Indra, the sky god; of thanks to Agni, the fire god; of fear to Varuna, the great destroyer; and tenderly beautiful supplications to Yama, the god of death. The temples of old Egypt, dedicated to Osiris, god of the dead; to Amen, giver of victory; to Ra, the sun god; and to Ptah, the creator, resounded with entreaties to their patron deities. In the Western world the Aztecs in ancient Mexico brought tribute and human sacrifice to Mexitli and to Quetzalcoatl, god of benevolence. From the altars of classic Greece incense arose through many centuries to Athene, the wise; Zeus, the thunderer; Poseidon, the sea god; Apollo, the princely healer; and Aphrodite, the foam-born beauty; and votive offerings enriched the shrines of the oracles of Delphi, Lesbos, and Dodona. The Romans, with all their genius and endurance, owed their conquests as much to prayer as to warfare. They had their Lares and Penates, gods of the home and family; Vesta, goddess of the quenchless hearth fire; Trivia, goddess of the streets; Jove and Juno, Mars and Venus, Neptune, Pluto, and Bacchus; naiads and nymphs, fauns and satyrs; a deity for every place and condition, to which the devout Romans offered fervent and frequent prayer. Our nearer ancestors, the ancient Saxons and Norsemen, held communion with the mighty Thor, ruler of storms and thunder; with the gentle and beautiful Balder, god of summer; with Frey, giver of rain and harvests and peace; and with Odin, the great all-father. And savage tribes, Indians of America, idolatrous blacks of Central Africa, fetich worshipers

of the sea islands, these and all other peoples have gods to which they offer a sincere but benighted adoration. And the true God has never lacked worshipers. The Hebrews, with clearer insight than their polytheistic neighbors in Chaldea, Assyria, and Egypt, prayed to him as El Shaddai the mighty; as Elohim Sebaoth, God of the hosts of heaven and earth; as Jehovah, the living one. And the petitions spoken with incense and sacrifice at the altars of Israel yielded at last to the purer prayers of the early Christians, to spiritual communion with the great Comforter. Thus in prayer the Church was founded by Christ and extended by Paul and his brethren. In prayer its missions were spread from India to Britain. In prayer the martyrs died in the arena. In prayer the Church councils were held. In prayer battles have been fought and nations founded. In prayer Luther established Protestantism, Columbus claimed the New World for Spain and the Church, and the Huguenots and Puritans sought the freer life of the Western world.

Prayers rise incessantly in the daily life of the world. Today, as in ancient times, the Brahman priests supplicate hideous idols, and Buddhists in Japan tie their paper petitions to the lattice screens at the shrines of the great Gautama. Many times daily the muezzin calls the faithful of Islam to prayers, and many millions of worshipers still bow before gods of metal, wood, and stone. In Christian nations prayer is offered in public meetings and on national occasions. Congress and legislatures have their chaplains and services. In educational institutions prayer has a permanent place. Universities, colleges, academies, and some public schools have stated times for it. In the religious world it is a vital part of the regular services, Sabbath school, official and social meetings, and is peculiarly prominent in the weekly prayer meetings. It enters into domestic life, as family prayers or as the blessing at meals, and is part of the personal experience of all believers.

A fact so prevalent in the history and life of the world must command the attention and interest of every thoughtful mind. It seems a just claim that everyone, whether a Christian or not, should have an intelligent understanding of the meaning of prayer. All prayers are petitions from a worshiper to a deity. In the church services the minister says, "Let us unite in prayer." The worshipers then kneel, or stand, or bow their

heads. All eyes are closed. The preacher, in a similar attitude, with clasped hands, leads them in prayer. In subdued tones, which may sometimes tremble with emotion or rise in throbs of supplication or melt in fervent thanksgiving, he talks to this invisible and inaudible Being, which he addresses as "God," or "Lord," or "Our Father in heaven," or "Almighty God." His words guide the thoughts of the listening people. He prays for the "sick and afflicted," for "those weak in the faith," for the unconverted, for all good causes, such as the Church, Christian temperance, Christian education, and missions. He confesses and asks forgiveness for the sins of his people and of the world. After speaking thus for a short time he ascribes holiness, glory, and power to this supreme Being, and says, "All this we ask in Christ's name," or merely uses the phrase "for Christ's sake," and then closes with the word "Amen," a Hebrew adverb meaning "firmly," "certainly," "so be it." Then the congregation resume the ordinary position in the pews, and the service proceeds. An act so unique as this communion of a sinful human being with an infinitely holy Deity suggests various queries which may perhaps be answered by scrutinizing prayer from several points of view:

I. The psychological. The act of prayer is the culmination of normal mental conditions. One who prays does so because he cannot help it. He is in mental distress which demands relief. Into that desert land of the self, where each of us dwells in loneliness, has suddenly flashed a revelation of weakness, selfishness, and guilt; and far away on the heights of consciousness the dweller sees a splendor of unattained possibilities. And toiling toward this transfiguration of his latent powers his futile struggles declare his need of One who, knowing infinitely better than he the hidden dangers of the psychic wilderness, can guide him aright. This Guide can be no other than the supreme mind, God. For all other finite minds are making the same weary journey. Prayer, therefore, is the spontaneous yearning for the Companion. And, as the brilliant and genial Professor James aptly says, "The impulse to pray is a necessary consequence of the fact that, whilst the innermost of the empirical selves of a man is a self of the social sort, it yet can find its only adequate Socius in an ideal world." * Thus, in

* *Psychology*, p. 192. New York, 1892.

prayer, the petitioner communes with the ideal Self whose holiness he vainly strives to realize. His sorrows and longings are understood, and his burdens are lightened, because his secrets are known, by an infinitely compassionate Friend.

The act of prayer involves some definite and important psychic processes. The habit of prayer is an advantage and a danger. Habitual prayer is easier, and by care and accompanying works may become a controlling power in every life. But it is liable to degenerate into a subconscious routine, like eating and walking, and its efficacy is thereby endangered. The mind that would commune with its Companion must be properly secluded. The quiet Sabbath, free from the turmoil of business; the evening hour, after the cares of the day; the sanctuary, from whose dim light all harsh sounds and sights are excluded; the worshiper's closed eyes and subdued tones are requisites for shielding the spirit from the disturbances of sense. In true prayer the attention must be directed to God. Thus, only by effort can there be access to the divine consciousness. Grouping its petitions around some definite need, daily noticing new beauty in the changes of Christian experience, finding the shock of disappointment only a stimulus to closer scrutiny of failings and possibilities, all valid prayer requires voluntary attention. Those who pray are led to greater delicacy of moral discrimination. The holiness and sin, the gold and dross, the slime and cleanness in others and in himself, stand out in their true proportions and vividness when seen through the correcting transparency of prayer. Viewed through its achromatic purity, the pomp and glory of the world vanish, its colors fade, its great dwindle, mammon's jewels become baubles and its robes tatters, Rome is a wilderness and Nazareth an empire, Cæsar a servant and Paul dictator, and the despised Galilean is King of kings. The last is first and the first last, death is life, prosperity is doom, the tipsy world grows sober, and superficial contrasts disappear when by prayer we discern amid life's seeming chaos the dominant purpose of the great Judge who judges all things well. In prayer the scope of this purpose is revealed. By the silent, swift bonds of association the remotest and minutest objects and events are united into a spiritual system wherein the meaning of the world is more clearly seen. In suggestive influence

upon a wavering mind a dewdrop may outweigh the ocean; a casual greeting may do more than a learned dissertation; a name, a touch, a familiar refrain may reach the hidden springs of life. The wings of lowly faith sweep in association from India to China, Africa, Armenia; from Rome to Ephesus; from David to Christ; from doubt to faith; from Calvary's cross to the heavenly throne, and take many a refreshing journey in the realms of spirit. Memory, too, darkens or chastens the present with recollections of past failures or blessings. Imagination secures through prayer an insight into the ideal world. It shows us the gates of pearl, the precious streets, and jeweled corridors leading to the great white throne. It sees there the ineffable radiance of the thorn-crowned King, the chanting choirs of cherubim and seraphim, and the adoration of the white-robed kneeling throngs of the redeemed. And, borne on their melodious hosannas, it transports us away from all the crudity of earthly longings.

Further, all prayer is rational, an intelligent and normal act. By reason we pass from the things seen, which are temporal, to the things unseen, which are eternal; and the concrete world of houses and trees, books and furniture, men, weather, sky, earth, stars, universities, battles, debates, newspapers, and money, resolves into a few simple facts and principles—a holy God and a sinful soul; after sin, forgiveness or condemnation; after life, death; after death, judgment; after judgment, heaven or hell—and these are the essentials of life. Obscured in ordinary living, they stand clearly revealed in prayer. The emotional nature is preeminent in prayer. Throbs of remorse for sin, gratitude at forgiveness, grief and reverence, fear and entreaty; anger, doubt, and despair; wonder, awe, and peace; the exultation of Miriam's triumphant song, Elijah's thanksgiving for rain, David's penitence, Simeon's rejoicing, Christ's agony in Gethsemane, and over all the love that passeth understanding—all these find a true and necessary place in communion with the living God. The deepest psychological significance of prayer is its volitional nature. The bended knee, bowed head, and clasped hands fitly express the submissive will, which has listened to the inner voice, has deliberately chosen God, has renounced self, and has determined upon a new life. Thus it was that the

publican cried, "God be merciful to me a sinner;" and the persecutor on the Damascus road, in his crushed zeal and broken purpose, asked, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And the volitional element in prayer is consummated by the "Amen" of consent, the fiat of the worshiper.

II. The metaphysical. A psychological analysis of prayer is inadequate. Psychology at best is only a natural science, and—like chemistry, with its atomic theory, astronomy, with its nebular hypothesis, and all other natural sciences—it rests upon unproven assumptions, and all its explanations are provisional. A clearer understanding of prayer requires the aid of metaphysics, which defines it as a special relation between the absolute and the finite spirit. The nature, method, and results of this relation may be determined, as involving the categories of personality, being, and relation. The relation of the worshiper to God in prayer is the "second personal" relation of communion or direct address. As a scientist the theologian studies about God, as a worshiper he is acquainted with him. The fact of prayer presupposes that the same essential nature is characteristic of deity and worshiper. The Universal and the particular are therefore spirits whose reciprocity of life is the choice of both, and the fulfillment of the conditions which make prayer valid is the duty of the suppliant. The method whereby the particular secures audience with the Universal is peculiar. The two are radically distinct—finite and infinite, creature and Creator, sinful and holy, ignorance and omniscience, weakness and omnipotence, limitation and absoluteness, human and divine. Prayer bridges this dualism by a third element possessing the essence of both Absolute and conditioned. This mediation must be the Universal particularized, the absolute idea uttered in a finite form, the eternal Logos incarnate, the servant of Jehovah, Jesus the Christ. In his name only and for his sake alone can the soul have access to God, and there is no other name under heaven whereby prayer can have validity. The phrase "for Christ's sake" is necessary in all effectual prayer, and has a clear metaphysical authority. The beauty of prayer is further shown in its results, in the insight so gained into the life of both the conditioned and the Absolute. This knowledge is more extensive and reliable than any other. All physical science is neces-

sarily "through a glass, darkly." Mental sciences are more accurate in that the observer is "face to face" with his psychic specimens. But in both departments the knowledge has two limitations—the observer is fallible, and the mental and physical specimens are inadequate revelations of reality and are studied under necessarily defective conditions of experimentation. But, in prayer, that unique attitude of the particular to the Universal, there is only one limitation to knowledge—the worshiper. The revelations of the Absolute in prayer are more direct and extensive than in the ordinary mental life or in the cosmos, and, if made at all, are wholly sincere. The finite spirit, illumined by the shekinah of the unconditioned, sees painfully its own most secret faults; and he who prays in humble faith can thereby view the unveiled glory of reality, forever hidden from the intellectual scrutiny of him who studies but prays not. The action of the religious consciousness in prayer is the metaphysical acme of cognition. It yields to ontology and epistemology their most precious data.

III. The theological. The divine participation in prayer is more important than the human. A thorough understanding of prayer can be found, not in a description of its mental accompaniments, nor in an analysis of its basal principles, but only through theology, which—being the interpretation of the divine life as revealed in the facts of the religious consciousness of man in history, in the cosmos, and in Christ—is the most accurate, comprehensive, and important of all the sciences. Thoughtful minds may have difficulty in harmonizing prayer with the attributes of God. It seems to contradict his omniscience. Is not prayer, they suggest, absurd in relation to an omniscient spirit? If he knows us infinitely better than we do ourselves, is it not a farce, they ask, to tell him the sins we commit, the longings we have, the gladness we feel? Some prayers, doubtless many, do undertake this ridiculous task of tutoring God. But prayer should not attempt to add to that life in which there are no shadows of ignorance, no fluctuations of passion, no maelstroms of doubt. In act, word, and thought we do indeed express what is eternally known to him; but thus only can a relationship to him be established which is not intellectual but volitional. Prayer is a communion, not a recitation; companionship, not coercion; petition

with compliance or refusal, not question with answer or silence. Conditioned by faith, it presupposes our receptivity, obedience, and cooperation, recognizes God's perfections and sovereignty, and acknowledges in him the solution of all life's puzzles.

A greater difficulty is to reconcile prayer with God's omnipotence. His eternal purpose is to reveal himself through an orderly system of finite spirits, objects, and events. Does prayer disturb this revelation and alter the course of events? If this purpose should require a rainstorm, an earthquake, the ruin of a nation, the success of a battle, the death of a loved one, the salvation of one of our friends and the damnation of another, can our prayers prevent these occurrences? When President Garfield was shot, the Christian world agonized in prayer for his recovery; but he died. What good did all this praying do? Such queries may be answered by distinguishing the principles of the divine character from their revelation in objects and events. God is almighty. But he is not an almighty brute, or machine, or lunatic. He is an omnipotent person whose life, being regulated by reason, is one of infinite love. The principles of that life are unalterable. If all the Christians of all ages should unite in prayer to change a principle of the divine character, the petition would be unheeded. The eternal reason cannot be absurd. He cannot deny himself. But the revelation of reason in concrete events is not unalterable. The fact of prayer, and of its influence upon events, is presupposed in the system of finite spirits constituting the kingdom of God. Prayers are dynamic. They cannot change God's eternal purpose. But they do influence the manifestation of that purpose in the cosmos and in history. Hence the "accepted prayer" of faith commits itself to God in complete confidence that it will be disposed of in wise accord with his ultimate purpose.

But can prayer be reconciled with foreordination? If our friend's damnation is predetermined from all eternity, why commit the absurdity of praying for his salvation? We do so pray because such events are not foreordained. God is responsible for, and does foreordain certain elements in, all objects and events. The cosmos, the moral system, our own powers are predetermined. But the use of these powers, our sins and consequent damnation, we alone control. God's knowledge and power are not limited. His responsibility is. He is not responsible

for sin or for righteousness, but only for the freedom whose expression they are. And that this expression—either the unselfish choice of God as the supreme object of love, or the sinful choice of self as that object—is completely within our control is overwhelmingly proven by the testimony of consciousness. The remorse and penitence of the millions who have found peace only in prayer to a forgiving God; the lives of the martyrs, of Luther, Bunyan, and Jerry McAuley, are convincing proof that our destiny is in our own power. Consciousness, the soul's impartial tribunal, pronounces its sentence, not upon an innocent deity, but upon the deliberately criminal self.

Prayer is connected with the origin and continuance of the Christian life. It is potent in conversion and in Christian culture. Prayer "without ceasing" is the unbroken sequence of a Christian's acts and thoughts. Time and place are nonessentials. If business men prayed over their counters, farmers in their dairies, mechanics at the lathes, and cooks in the kitchen; if students in class rooms used swift, brief, silent prayers instead of sly peeps into text-books; if prayer were offered steadily and silently, not merely at church or at night and morning, but everywhere, on the streets, in stores, on railway trains, the world would be better. There would be more answers to prayer. One who prays thus secretly, not thrice but a hundred times a day—thirty-six thousand five hundred prayers a year, short ones—will be surprised to see the delicate touch of God in the details of life. And prayer is not merely language, or thought, or action. "Prayer" is ordinarily pronounced as a monosyllable, like "there," "where," "care." But the word is a dissyllable. The stem is "pray;" and the suffix *er*, like the Latin *or* in *orator*, and the Greek ωρ in ῥήτωρ, means actor or agent. A pray-er is one who prays. The Christian is himself a pray-er; and the Christian civilization which, despite its depreciation by skeptics and its competition with baser creeds, is enhancing every phase of life, is the modern world's sterling tribute to the Pray-er of pray-ers.

John Bigham.

Art. III.—DID THE GAELIC CHURCH REVIVE PRESBYTERIAL ORDINATION?

High Churchmen are apt to make poor historical scholars. Certain elements of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, nay, of the papacy, unquestionably occur in the New Testament. A High Churchman is one who, fastening on the elements of which his own system is the specific development, slights the others, and thereby makes out his own polity to be the exclusively legitimate and divine frame of the Church. Among Protestants the Episcopalians and American Congregationalists appear at present to be the most strenuously active in this reversal of history, this backward projection into the pregnant fullness of the apostolic age of the hard exclusiveness of later antagonisms. Among the latter, however, this folly is no longer perpetrated by scholars. Methodism, by its youth and its history, is not much exposed to this temptation. Presbyterianism itself, so far as we can judge, is at present not greatly inclined this way. What we once heard the illustrious Henry Boynton Smith declare from the pulpit is, we fancy, very widely applicable in his denomination: "We are Presbyterians, but not *jure divino* Presbyterians." All the more, when we do find a presbyterian High Churchman, we find one of the most thorough grain. Such a one is the eminent Dr. Killen, of the Assembly's College at Belfast. We hardly know which to admire the most, the bishop who informs us that the threefold ministry was universally accepted in the Church by the year 100, or the presbyter who informs us * that it was first established at Rome, about 140, and from there spread elsewhere, and who interprets Cyprian's phrase, *Roma, unde sacerdotalis unitas exorta est*, as meaning this. That the individual episcopate at Rome first came to distinct development about 140 is highly probable; but that it spread from hence eastward, instead of being the westward term of a process of some seventy years, beginning where heresies first began, in Syria and Asia Minor, is as fine an instance of historical preposterousness, in the literal sense, as could easily be adduced.

Dr. Killen is equally heroic when he quotes Polycarp's modest

* Killen, *The Old Catholic Church*, p. 53.

address, "Polycarp, and the elders with him," as proof that he was not then supposed to have been specifically bishop at Smyrna; and when he quotes the fact, apparent by the same letter, that Philippi was then governed simply by presbyters, as a proof that "the churches" were then presbyterially governed, as if there could be no bishops in Asia because there was as yet no bishop in Philippi. In this forming period of the Church, as Jean Réville emphasizes, there might easily have been twenty varieties of Church government in as many regions. Christians were not yet bound up into any uniformity of administration, nor had they yet discovered that we are not justified by Christ, but by Christ and church government.

However, we are not proposing to argue with Dr. Killen as to the date when the individual episcopate had become universal throughout the Catholic churches. All will allow that by the time of Cyprian, at the middle of the third century, no other polity is accepted as legitimate among the orthodox.

This, however, does not necessarily imply that presbyters might not as yet have been held capable of ordaining presbyters. Indeed, Dr. Killen gives overwhelming proof * that in the second century the presbyters still set apart their own bishops. And aside from this the distinction between bishop and presbyter was at first only administrative. Both Jerome and Augustine declare it to be valid "because the custom of the Church has made it valid." There was not supposed to be any intrinsic necessity in the fact that the bishop alone commonly baptized and celebrated the eucharist, and there was no more any intrinsic reason why he alone should ordain. It sufficed all the purposes of episcopal government that the bishop should have all the sacred offices under his control. The actual functions of baptism and the communion he might delegate, and why not of ordination? That bishops did, in fact, more or less delegate to presbyters the right of ordaining presbyters seems plain from the fact that, as late as 314, the Council of Ancyra forbids *chorepiscopi* to ordain presbyters or deacons, but allows city presbyters to do so, if specifically commissioned by their bishop, who could keep a keener watch over his urban subordinates than over his rural colleagues.†

* *The Ancient Church*, chap. ix.

† We have here no occasion to consider Anglican exceptions to this interpretation of the Council of Ancyra. We give the statement of the learned Anglicans, Smith and Cheetham.

Yet there was a growing tendency to confine to the bishop not merely the power of authorizing, but that of administering, ordination, at least ordination to the presbyterate. The inferior orders, from deacon down, were hardly vital. Even yet it is a moot point in the Roman Catholic Church whether the pope might not, if he would, authorize a presbyter to ordain a deacon (as indeed was once done in Cyprian's church), while all allow that he could not possibly authorize a presbyter to ordain a presbyter. Nor is it held by anyone that an invalid diaconate vitiates a subsequent presbyterate. When we speak of ordination, therefore, let it, unless otherwise required, be understood only of the ordination of presbyters. As the Church multiplied the bishop became increasingly incompetent to exercise the ministry alone, but remained perfectly competent to transmit it alone. And, as it became more and more necessary to station presbyters at a distance from the bishop, it became increasingly necessary to guard against their possible usurpation of episcopal authority. We see this from the action of Ancyra itself. The most obvious precaution, therefore, was at length absolutely to inhibit presbyters from ever ordaining presbyters. This appears to have become the Egyptian discipline before 350, for some time earlier we find an Egyptian council disallowing the standing of a claiming presbyter on the ground that he had not been ordained by a bishop. It should seem, therefore, that not long previously presbyterial ordination had been recognized, or else why should this man have resorted to it?

For the reasons given, the tendency to confine the power of ordaining absolutely to the bishops continually gathered strength. It seems well made out that originally the country bishops, the *chorepiscopi*, had full episcopal competency. Yet in the East the city bishops gradually deprived them of the right of ordaining presbyters and deacons. No wonder, then, that they finally withdrew this power from presbyters, who appear to have exercised it very rarely before. By the year 400 the incompetency of presbyters to ordain appears to be unconditional. Jerome, writing to the Roman pope, and exalting the presbyterate against the episcopate, which he rightly declares to have been distinguished from it rather by the Church than by Christ or the apostles, adds, "And even now, what can a bishop do which a presbyter cannot also do, except ordain?" The

argument would have been triumphant if he could have added, "And he can even ordain, if episcopally authorized." He does not add this, doubtless because he could not, because presbyters by that time were absolutely inhibited from ordaining.

Yet Dr. Killen maintains that presbyterial ordination, thus by 400 absolutely extinct in the Catholic Church at large, survived, or was revived in the monasteries, and was exercised for centuries by the abbots within the Latin Church, and that it was an unquestioned competency of the abbots in the Gaelic Church, though he allows that it was very commonly exercised, even in this, by bishops.

It is hard to prove a negative. We cannot undertake to show that from 400 to 800, or later, some abbots of the Latin Church may not have ordained some monks presbyters, and shuffled them in among the authentic clergy. We only adduce some general considerations adverse to this assumption, and then examine Dr. Killen's positive proofs in favor of it. We will afterward take up the Gaelic Church. The question whether presbyterianism existed far into the Middle Ages is certainly an interesting and curious one.

We have seen that by the year 400 presbyterial ordination was extinct throughout the Græco-Latin Church. Dr. Killen also gives this date. The power of the bishops was growing daily, and the rights of the presbyters were daily declining. The bishops were jealously vigilant against all attempts to renew obscure and half-forgotten prerogatives of the second order, as they were steadily curtailing the rights of the humbler members of their own. Can anything be imagined more likely to provoke them against the rising monasticism (of which we know them to have been in fact the zealous patrons) than the knowledge that the abbots pretended to the right of ordaining presbyters, even had the abbots been presbyters themselves? But they were not. Most of the abbots were simple laymen, say Smith and Cheetham, till into the seventh century, and lay abbots are found till into the eleventh.* They were therefore wholly incompetent, on any theory, to ordain. Yet, in his *History of the Old Catholic Church*, Dr. Killen takes no account of this vital fact. He shows that he knows it, as of course he does, by saying that the abbot Eutyches, the heresiarch, "was

* These were real abbots, not, like later lay abbots, mere commendataries.

also a presbyter," which implies that abbots generally were not presbyters, just as, when we say that the Benedictine abbot of West Australia "is also a bishop," this implies that abbots are not usually bishops. Now, the three or four early monastic rules which Dr. Killen supposes to make for him provide for the rights of abbots generically, not merely of abbots who are presbyters. But a layman, abbot or not, is not capable, nor is it to be supposed that he has ever been capable, of ordaining so much as a doorkeeper. The nonsacramental minor orders may in modern times be given by an abbot, but only if he is himself a priest. The *potestas ordinandi*, therefore, ascribed in these rules to the abbot, without regard to order, is assuredly not "the power of ordaining." It is simply the power of admitting to the monachate, as the episcopal *potestas ordinandi* is the right of admitting to the priesthood.

However, before going further into this point, let us dispose of a much earlier instance, in which Dr. Killen sees, and we are inclined to think warrantably, a case of presbyterial ordination. He quotes Cassian, who says that Paphnutius, a presbyter and abbot—not the noted Nicene bishop—advanced a young brother Daniel to the diaconate, and then to the presbyterate. As this was hardly twenty-five years later than the Council of Ancyra, in Asia Minor, which had expressly permitted episcopally authorized presbyters to ordain presbyters, it looks as if Paphnutius may himself have ordained Daniel. Yet this is doubtful, for this was in Egypt, where the orthodox Paphnutius might well have hesitated to contravene the express decision of the great Athanasius against presbyterial ordination. The term *provexit* is not decisive. If Paphnutius procured Daniel to be ordained by some bishop to whom the sanctity of the abbot was a command, *provexit* would be perfectly in place. Abbots of to-day are continually "advancing" their monks to the priesthood, not by ordaining them—to which they are incompetent—but by procuring their ordination. This therefore may have been a last lingering exercise of presbyterial ordination, or it may not.

To return to the monastic rules. We are all given to astonishing oversights, and since the time of George Primrose and his journey to Amsterdam to teach the Dutch English without once remembering that he did not know Dutch, we

have noticed none more astonishing than Dr. Killen's entire oblivion of the fact—the hinge of the whole discussion—that *ordinare* and "ordain" are as far as possible from being equivalent terms. *Ordinare* goes beyond on every side. We have *ordinare presbyterum*, to ordain a priest; *ordinare monachum*, to profess a monk; *ordinare consulem*, to appoint a consul; *ordinare monasterium*, to regulate a monastery; *ordinare regem*, to consecrate a king; and so on indefinitely. To "ordain," as a function of the Latin Church, means exclusively to admit to the eight hierarchical grades of doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, bishop. *Ordinare* means to admit to any office, grade, status, whatever, in Church or State; to regulate affairs or institutions; and we know not what besides. Ordaining clergymen and enacting ordinances are the two points of meeting, but all the wide sweep beyond belongs only to *ordinare*. Indeed, so far is the earlier Church Latin from jealous rigor of use, that the still higher term *consecrare* is once used by Innocent III of the mere translation of an already consecrated bishop. *Ordinatio* is also the name of a part of the papal inauguration service, although, as the pope is almost always a bishop already, he is usually no longer capable of being "ordained." Yet he is still capable, it seems, of receiving an *ordinatio*. So it would be perfectly good Latin to speak of the *ordinatio cardinalium*, although a man is neither ordained nor consecrated cardinal.

Therefore the *potestas ordinandi* of the rules is not the "power of ordaining." It is the "power of admitting." Admitting to what depends on the connection. Ordination is an ecclesiastical act, and the early abbot was not an ecclesiastical functionary. He was not usually in any grade of the ministry. Gregory the Great sets the monastic and the ecclesiastical life sharply in antithesis. "An abbot," says he, "ought not to exercise any grade of the clericate." Yet Dr. Killen supposes him to have exercised even the specific function of the episcopate. Benedict, Gregory's great master, had been a simple layman, and that is the monastic ideal which Gregory upholds. He will have the abbot the obedient subject of his bishop. The ordinations in the monastery, of every grade, he ascribes to the bishop; yet he is equally resolute in defending the properly monastic authority of the abbot. We know how much occa-

sion there was for this during centuries. The bishops, almost inevitably, but often very provokingly, would insist on confounding their own general right of ecclesiastical supervision with the abbot's right of interior monastic government. This Gregory forbids. "Let not the bishop," says he, "administer even the most inconsiderable ordination—*levissimam ordinationem*—within the monastery, save by the abbot's request." These are the ordinations of the monks to the various grades of the hierarchy, which, though strongly discouraged, could not be altogether forbidden. The *ordinatio monachorum*, the admission, or as now called, "the profession," of monks, was an entirely different thing. It is not an ecclesiastical, a hierarchical, but a monastic act. Therefore it properly appertained to the abbot, whether he were a priest or a layman. Yet the bishops, it appears, often arrogated it to themselves. Against this abuse various rules, sanctioned, it appears, by great bishops or by councils, make provision. Aurelian, a bishop of Gaul, who is quoted by Dr. Killen, draws up a rule for the abbots subject to him, and perhaps in commission of a council, by which it appears that he was himself accustomed to admit their monks. Indeed, as he was an abbot as well as a bishop, this was the more natural. Yet he allows that this right exists in their monasteries only by their good will, for he says: "*Et quando (abbas) voluerit ordinandi habeat potestatem.*" Assuredly Aurelian is not intending to part with the prerogative which St. Jerome a hundred and fifty years earlier had regretfully admitted to have already become the incommunicable jewel of the episcopate. He is not trying, at the risk of deposition, to convey to his abbots, or those of his neighbor bishops, an attribute which the Catholic Church would have voided in the use. What possible motive could he have had for this heretical superserviceableness? He is simply assuring his abbots that although he commonly exercises not only the *potestas ordinandi ad ordines*, which is inherent in his episcopal office, but also, even in their convents, the *potestas ordinandi ad monachatum*, which was inherent in theirs, he does the latter only by their good will. It never seems to enter Dr. Killen's head that *ordinatio monachorum* and *ordinatio monachorum in presbyteros* are two fundamentally different things. There is an ecclesiastical *potestas ordinandi*. This appertains to the

bishops. There is a monastic *potestas ordinandi.* This appertains to the abbots. A rule for bishops, giving them this power of admission, would mean the ecclesiastical power. A rule for abbots, giving it to them, means the monastic power. How far these two powers are delegable, or interchangeable, rests on entirely independent data. Aurelian assures to all his abbots, whether presbyters or laymen, his colleagues as abbots, the equal monastic *potestas ordinandi.*

Certainly the wildest theological theorist of that day—had there been any—would never have dreamed of claiming for laymen, of whatever monastic standing, the power of ordaining priests. Yet this is what Dr. Killen's interpretation involves. Moreover, he supposes that Aurelian, in contradiction to Catholic doctrine and practice, is making over to his abbots an indeterminate power of obtruding upon him a swarm of new priests for whose clerical conduct he alone is responsible. For the official worthiness of every priest, whether monk or secular, the bishop himself was then accountable. It seems to us, at least, that a more astonished bishop would be hard to imagine than Aurelian would have been, could he have been told that he was supposed to be giving away his episcopal right of admitting presbyters simply because he assures to the abbots their monastic power of admitting monks. This right, *ordinandi monachos*—now commonly called "professing" monks—abbots and other superiors enjoy to this day, while abbesses must resort to a bishop. A monastic rule giving to the abbot *potestas ordinandi monachos suos in presbyteros* Dr. Killen does not cite, and probably will never find one to cite. When, as occasionally happens, an abbot is also a bishop, he has this power by virtue of his episcopate, but of that only.

On one page the author quotes an old English rule, of perhaps A. D. 630, saying that an abbot "*non potest aliquem ordinare de suis propinquis, neque de alienis, nec alio abbati dare si non voluerint fratres,*" as a proof that in England also abbots originally had the power of ordaining. So they had, as they still have, everywhere. But it is the monastic, not the sacramental, power. It admits, not to the priesthood, but to the monastery. In modern English, as we have said, it is commonly called "professing a monk." The abbot is here forbidden to burden the monastery with new monks unless the

brethren consent, and subordinately and subsequently is forbidden to transfer an already accepted monk without their consent. Whether a monk already an inmate should be admitted a priest or not was a matter of inferior import. The abbot is not forbidden to ordain a monk a priest, for the very sufficient reason that he could not. He is not required to consult the brethren as to the ordination of such a monk by the bishop, for it would add no new burdens, nor make any essential change. A monastic priest would wear the same garb and follow the same rule as a lay monk. Not till sometime between 1000 and 1200 did the possession of holy orders distinguish between governing and serving brethren.

The ordination of abbots themselves requires few words. Gregory the Great refers it to bishops. Some other rules commit it to abbots, apparently only when presbyters, or to other priests. Gregory's rule has prevailed, but not universally. Sometimes abbots consecrate abbots. It is of no special importance. An abbot's consecration, it is true, is often a great solemnity. If of the higher rank, he is consecrated almost like a bishop. He receives imposition of hands, though not the chrism; is invested with buskins and gloves, with the pectoral cross, the miter and crozier, and proceeds through the church blessing the people, exactly like a new-made bishop. Yet to all this stately ceremony is attributed not one least vanishing touch of sacramental virtue. Its efficacy is purely *ex opere operantium*, not at all *ex opere operato*. It exalts the rank of the new prelate, but leaves him in point of order and of sacramental capacity precisely where he was before. Indeed, so little necessary is it that there are various abbots who, when once chosen, are, without any ceremony, *ipso facto* consecrate.

Now comes the question, Did the Gaelic Church, after her foundation under Patrick in the fifth century, or after her extension into Caledonia under Columba in the last of the sixth, revive presbyterial ordination? The Gaelic Church, existing in Ireland and Scotland, was the daughter, not of the Roman Church specifically, but nevertheless of the Latin Church. Succath (St. Patrick), whether born at Dumbarton, or, as Dr. Killen holds, we think with reason, to be more probable, in northwestern Gaul, was a Roman citizen. His father was a decurio, or Roman functionary of some rank. His name, or

rather title, of Patricius, "nobleman," expresses this. His father was a deacon, his grandfather a presbyter, of the Latin Church. The Celtic Bretons were not very exact in conformity, but they were both in doctrine and polity orthodox Roman Christians. Even Dr. Killen allows that Patrick, son of a deacon, grandson of a priest, himself obtained episcopal consecration to give him full competency for his mission. Here we have the three fundamental orders of the Catholic Church. From his time we have an uninterrupted succession of bishops in Ireland. Indeed, there was small likelihood of interruption, for the little island, not larger than South Carolina, had three hundred bishops at the least account, and each seems to have exercised his right of transmitting all the orders nearly at his absolute discretion, although in a vague subordination to Armagh.

This brings in the question, Was the Gaelic Church episcopal or not? In one sense it was, in another it was not. It was episcopal assuredly in having an almost unbounded affluence of bishops that enjoyed an uninterrupted succession—not in particular sees, but as a body—through a great bishop and missionary, from the Latin episcopate.* It was nonepiscopal in the sense that, had it begun without the specific episcopate, there was nothing in Gaelic society that would have suggested the necessity of establishing this episcopacy among the Gael, which, though never interrupted and always exercising its specific function of ordaining, really existed in large measure by traditional habit and by fraternal accommodation to the Church at large. As the Scottish historian, Dr. Burton, well says, the interviews between Gaelic abbots and distinguished bishops resemble the reception of a king by a republican magistrate. The magistrate honors the august rank of his visitor, but as something extrinsic to his own system. The episcopate was really an outgrowth of the urban life of the Græco-Roman world. Though it spread into the country parts it could not maintain itself there. To this day, with very few exceptions, every Catholic bishop has a civic title, even if it be of a city now vanished. For ages, in the Latin countries, the bishops had no authority outside the precinct of their own cities. But among the Gael the city did not exist, or was a wretched aggregation

* Of course, we are not talking about an unbroken inward validity. As Cardinal Newman says, this can only be believed on the faith of a miracle.

of cabins that signified nothing. The organizing unit of society was the clan, or perhaps rather its subdivision the sept, easily detaching itself into a new clan. The Irish Church was the most intensely ascetic and monastic Church that has ever existed. The severity of the Irish discipline was extreme. Each monastery, with its surrounding colony, became a new sept or clan, of which the abbot was chief. He was sometimes a bishop, sometimes a presbyter, sometimes a married layman, supervising the monks but not properly himself a monk, sometimes a lay monk. On the other hand, the nonmonastic bishops had no strictly defined jurisdiction, and were not much reverenced. They, therefore, had no power to compete in importance with the abbots, who, especially in Caledonia, seem to have acted very much as their metropolitans. They largely sank into simple agents of ordination.

This metropolitan rank belonged above all to the presbyter abbot of Iona. From this great foundation almost all Celtic Scotland had been evangelized. As the great mother-house of Benedictinism, Monte Cassino, signified much more in the Church than a good many common bishoprics, although its abbots never acted as bishops, so by incomparably stronger titles the abbey of Iona did not merely influence, but actually governed, the whole Caledonian Church, bishops, presbyters, and people. This Bede explicitly sets forth, declaring that the bishops of the mainland were subject to the presbyter abbot of the island.

Now, the question is not, Did the Gaelic Church revive presbyterial government? In a profoundly modified form she did. Yet her form of government was much farther from primitive use than that of the Latin Church. In every episcopal town of the Continent the bishop and his chapter are still, however deeply modified, the lineal representatives of the original moderator and college of presbyters. In Celtic Scotland the metropolitan supremacy of a great monastery and its abbot corresponded to nothing whatever primitive. It was legitimate, doubtless, for it sprung from the soil and long did good work, but anything less scriptural in form or lineage could not be found. It revived presbyterial government, but only partially and casually. The Gaelic abbot, like the Latin, might be indifferently bishop, priest, or layman. In

Iona, it is true, he must be a priest. As a subordinate bishop could always be found to ordain, most abbots seem not to have cared to take a degree which had no other vital significance in their Church. It was not presbyterianism, but monasticism *versus* episcopacy. It was a very peculiar form of the great mediæval struggle between the dioceses and the monasteries.

Dr. Killen does not deny that the distinction of bishops and presbyters prevailed in the Gaelic Church from the beginning to the end of her independent history. It is true, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* he shuffles and equivocates in every possible way to make us forget this. He is fond of calling the bishops—who had each, from their numbers, a very limited range—parish ministers. Yet their districts were not smaller than various Italian dioceses now, although here and there there were curious aggregations of them. And he owns that the bishop was commonly served by eight or nine presbyters—a very decent staff for a small see. Many undoubted Latin bishops had only two or three presbyters. Some had not even one. The two indispensable ministers of a small Latin see were a bishop and a deacon. Presbyters were added as required. On this showing the Irish bishops were very comfortably provided with subordinate clergy.

Even so the author, when describing the final reduction of Ireland, about 1150, to some thirty dioceses, represents the bishops as country pastors, long accustomed to "presbyterian parity," who were not likely to relish diocesan subjection. Yet he has told us that these "country pastors" had each of them eight or nine subordinate presbyters. By his own showing, therefore, there had never been "presbyterian parity," but a multitudinous episcopal parity, served by a much more multitudinous presbyterial subordination.

Dr. Killen lays stress on the want of all signs of episcopal influence in early Ireland. True, where austere monasticism was the ideal, and where abbeys were numerous, at once rigorous and learned, these petty prelates and their subordinate presbyters amounted to little except to celebrate the rites of religion. But they were none the less bishops and presbyters. The distinction between these two orders did not lie in an eminent difference of rank or power, although, according to our author, both distinctions were found in Ireland. It lay

essentially, through all the ages of Irish as equally of Græco-Latin history after 400, in the fact that the bishop alone, as Jerome says, had the power to ordain. This distinction of degree and function was received from Patrick; it prevailed throughout Christendom; and the Irish, who were eminently and, as in the Easter question, sometimes unreasonably tenacious of ancient use, could have no possible reason for departing from it, especially as it was still connected with vague rights of superintendency. Nevertheless, Dr. Killen affirms that both in Ireland and in Gaelic Scotland the abbots always possessed, and not unfrequently exercised, the right of ordaining presbyters, and even bishops. Above all, he ascribes this prerogative to the abbot and monks of Iona.

Now, setting aside Iona for the present, what evidence does he produce? We may remark that he plays fast and loose here, as he does regarding the country bishops and presbyters. It is this which makes his works significant, for it shows the intrinsic weakness of this widely spread contention. In his Irish history he repeatedly speaks of "the bishops or abbots" in connections plainly showing his claim that the two terms had the same force. Indeed, he expressly cites a letter of Archbishop Laurentius, of Canterbury, addressed to "our eminent and dear brethren—*dominis caris fratribus*—the bishops or abbots throughout Scotia"—that is, Ireland and Gaelic Scotland—as proof that the Roman Catholic bishops regarded the two terms as virtually equivalent among the Gael. Yet, according to his own showing, the vast bulk of the Irish bishops were not abbots, but country pastors. Moreover, he expressly contrasts the presbyter abbot of Iona with his subordinate bishops. Moreover, he expressly mentions the courage of the young Columba in that, being only a presbyter, although already the abbot of several monasteries, he had the boldness to bring a leading bishop to terms. Yet, according to Dr. Killen, this same man, at this same time—before there was an Iona—was more than a bishop! Furthermore, he describes him as entitled to peculiar deference as a presbyter abbot, showing him to know that in Ireland, as on the Continent, most of the abbots were still laymen, and therefore incapable of ordaining to even the humblest Church office. Nevertheless, every abbot had been ordained a monk, and then an abbot. Yet, as Dr. Killen shows himself to be aware, these two *ordinationes*,

being of only monastic, not ecclesiastical, value, left the abbot still a layman, so that a presbyter abbot ranked much higher. Yet we are told that Laurentius, Justus, and Mellitus, three Roman bishops settled in England, conceived these lay abbots —for the letter makes no distinction—to be the same as bishops. They did, indeed, address their letter indifferently to bishops or abbots, not because abbot and bishop meant the same thing, but because either one or the other meant an influential dignitary. The letter, as quoted by Dr. Killen himself, and as given by Bede, expressly distinguishes Dagan, the Irish bishop, from Columban, the Irish abbot. Again, the author tells us that St. Malachy, on the edge of transition, but still under the old model, became a priest, then an abbot, then a bishop. He was plainly unaware that an abbot was *ipso facto* a bishop, nay, if a presbyter, more than a bishop.

The fact is, that between Dr. Killen's solicitude to make out the Gaelic abbots to be *ipso facto* bishops, and the stubborn, contradictory facts that fly in his face at every turn, he does not half the time seem to know what he is saying when on this topic. Everywhere else he is perfectly clear and strong, even when, as in talking about the Roman Catholic division of the Decalogue, he is grossly ignorant and calumnious. Dr. Killen declares that the Irish bishop sometimes received investiture, which he makes equivalent to ordination—but which, since the early ages, has been a very different thing—in the monastery to which he belonged, and sometimes was ordained by a neighboring bishop. Of this alternative he gives no proof. If the abbot had the intrinsic power of ordaining a bishop, why should he have summoned a bishop to ordain, or sent his monk to a bishop? He was not, like the pope now, too great a dignitary even to consecrate a bishop, except occasionally. The story told about Columba may be unauthentic—though Dr. Killen's criticism of it seems trivial, and even unmeaning—but it illustrates the usage of the Gaelic Church. His own abbot, St. Finnian, was only a presbyter, but desired to have a bishop in his monastery. He therefore sent him to Etchen, the resident bishop of another abbey, for consecration. He found Etchen plowing, and in the hurry—this was before the days of spectacles—St. Finnian's message was misread, and instead of bishop the young man was ordained priest. This story, true

or false, is redolent of the elder Gaelic times. Everything in it is simple and primitive. It sees nothing amiss in a presbyter abbot using the episcopal services of a subordinate bishop. Dr. Killen is very scornful over such "puppets," but his contempt of them does not annihilate them. He cannot deny that for several centuries such monastic bishops existed throughout the Church. Professor G. T. Stokes * shows that they were found from Ireland to Mount Sinai. Dr. Killen has a great spite at them, but all the comfort we can give him is that though they assuredly once lived they are all dead now. They have modern successors, more or less, but somewhat differently circumstanced.

Dr. Killen is so determined to make out early Irish abbots *ipso facto* bishops that he will even have them to have carried their episcopate with them into the Latin Church, where no such strange discipline has ever prevailed. Even those rules which the author distorts out of their meaning, as we have seen, by his mistranslations of *ordinare*, give the abbot only a monastic authority. He will have it that Virgil, or Ferghal, was, about 750, an ordained abbot in Ireland—although the high authority of Dr. Lanigan disputes the identity, and although Virgil's contemporaries and later biographers know nothing of it—and that, going to Germany, and becoming abbot of St. Peter's, at Salzburg, he for two years "dissembled his ordination," and put forward an Irish bishop, Dobda, to perform episcopal acts. Now, first, this statement comes from a source four hundred years later, a cleric of Salzburg. Second, this cleric knows nothing of Virgil as either abbot or monk, either at Salzburg or at home. The abbey of St. Peter's contained the episcopal chair, and Virgil, who was bishop designate, appointed by the Duke of Bavaria, may have been, like many bishops—notably Canterbury—*ex officio* abbot of the monastic chapter. His successor in the see speaks of "Virgil, abbot of St. Peter's." The elder authorities say nothing of his having been himself a monk. His biographer is not describing his government of an abbey, but of a great bishopric, although Dobda probably had his home in the monastery, for he bears the specific title *proprius episcopus*. *Ordinatio* may mean indifferently "ordination, benediction as abbot, designation, episcopal consecration."

* *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 105.

The writer of 1180 cannot, possibly, by the *dissimulata ordinatio* mean "benediction," for whatever Dr. Killen, by dint of mistranslation, may endeavor to make out for the earlier centuries, it is certain that to a Roman Catholic clergyman of 1180 such a thing was inconceivable as that a mere abbot could ordain. It cannot mean "episcopal consecration," for the biographer expressly says that only after two years was Virgil persuaded "to receive the episcopal unction" at the hands of his comprovincial bishops, and "was ordained," that is, to the episcopate. It may mean his designation, for this came from the duke—prompted by the king—and he may easily have concealed it from the people, as if he had a mere temporary commission, until after two years he made up his mind to remain, and then at length receiving consecration, no longer needed the episcopal offices of Bishop Dobda, whom he established in a subordinate see. This gives a perfectly good sense, and is accepted by the learned Franciscan Pagi. Lastly, it may mean "sacerdotal ordination." If supposed a layman, he could still govern a bishopric, but could evidently slip out of it more easily than if known as a priest. It agrees with this that, if he really is the Virgil who quarreled with Boniface over Antipodes—which, as Pagi remarks, is far from certain—Boniface did not know him to be a priest, or else the archbishop must have been curiously negligent in his report to the pope; for Zachary says, "We do not know whether he has the style of presbyter." Dr. Killen says that, if he had been supposed a layman, he could not have acted as abbot. He could have acted perfectly well, then and for the two hundred and fifty years ensuing. He could do something much more, he could govern a bishopric. Laymen have often governed far greater bishoprics, sometimes for years together, only, like this supposed layman, using auxiliar bishops for necessary offices. Dr. Killen's argument, therefore, breaks down at every point. Whatever Virgil's biographer may mean by "*dissimulata ordinatione*," there is one thing which he cannot mean. He cannot mean ordination as abbot, for, first, abbatial ordination gave no such rights in the Latin Church; and, secondly, the biographer does not know that Virgil was an abbot, or a monk at all. So much for Dr. Killen's attempt to extend over Germany from Ireland monastic rights not existing at home.

Dr. Killen's strong card, however, is Iona. He is greatly helped, moreover, by a confirmed habit of his. In his *Old Catholic Church*, *Ancient Church*, and *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* alike, he is completely ruled by an unrelenting—we had almost said an unblushing—High Church Presbyterianism. Whatever facts interfere with this must reckon with a flood of suppositions and *a priori* assumptions that could dissolve anything or create anything. This is what makes his works so valuable as a type of a habit of mind still perniciously strong in the Church. Thus he tells us that Columba, in Ireland, being only a presbyter, was admired for his courage in resisting a bishop. Yet when he goes over to Scotland, Columba suddenly discovers himself to be more than a bishop, and begins to ordain and send out bishops. In other words, he becomes a revolutionary reformer, remaining wholly unconscious of the fact, while his brethren in Ireland remain wholly unconscious of it too. Moreover, he effects a revolution in polity in an age not at all troubled about polity, but quietly resting on traditional use. The very conflicts which ensued between the Roman Catholic and the Irish clergy rest on this quiet and firm adherence to tradition. Of a radical revolt against the settled doctrine and use of the Church as to the ministry, and of a reversion to a supposed New Testament model, as with the Presbyterians and Independents at the Reformation, there is not a trace among the Irish. The Romans never accuse them of it. The long separation of the two parties by a wall of intruding heathenism had developed a wide divergence of use and of important points of polity, leaving, however, the common basis—the threefold ministry—intact. The Romans, from their coming to England, in 597, down to the Irish Synod of Kells, in 1152, never impeach the Gaelic ordinations of invalidity,* but only of irregularity. They allege (1) that the Gael, in ordaining a bishop, only call in one bishop instead of three; (2) that they had no metropolitans to give their bishops due investiture. A third charge, which would in Roman Catholic eyes have absolutely annulled the Irish ordinations—namely, that they ordained bishops by presbyters—the Roman Catholics never bring. A solitary reordination of a Gaelic bishop by

* It would be more accurate to say that they sometimes insisted on a *confirmatio ordinum*, which may sometimes verge on reordination, but, as Professor Bright shows, seems rather to denote the rectification of an irregular but valid ordination.

a Romanizing bishop is found—that of Chad by Theodore. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as, all through the Middle Ages, invalidity and irregularity were perpetually confounded, the Augustinian doctrine that even a schismatic ordination, otherwise sufficient, holds good, not having been definitely established until after the great schism. We might therefore expect to find numerous reordinations of conforming Irish; yet we find, it would seem, only this one.* At the final submission of Ireland to Rome such a thing is not suggested. Even the English Synod of Celcyth, in 816, which shuts Irish priests utterly out of English churches, does not allege the invalidity, but the extreme uncertainty, and also the uncanonical irregularity of the ordinations of these wandering Levites, which ought not to be encouraged in England. Bishop Gillebert also, in 1105, having been consecrated by Archbishop Anselm, of Canterbury, addressing his countrymen, does not reproach them with invalid, but only with schismatical, customs. Even on the Continent,† where some regulations direct the Irish priests to be reordained, they are expressly designated as having been already ordained "by the bishops of the Scots." Nothing is said of any ordination by presbyters. Nay, the direction is extended to those ordained "by the bishops of the Britons," that is, of the Welsh. The common ground alleged is, for both nations, the uncertainty of the credentials produced by their wandering clergy, their irregular customs, but especially their schismatic Easter observance, which assuredly had nothing to do with their ordination. The annulment of their ordinations is simply a truculent expression of contempt for an utterly unassimilable class of irresponsible wanderers. Since then there have been ordinations annulled on far less tenable grounds, and still more inconsistently with St. Augustine's doctrine of order, to which Rome, since Constance, has reverted in theory although not always in practice. In the Britons, however, we find only one instance of such annulment,‡ and that apparently hesitating and provisional.

The evidence of Bede is of inestimable value. This great and good man, a North Englishman, never left the region in which the monks of Iona had labored. Living in the eighth

* That is, of a bishop.

† This rule, we find, was English, not continental. (See the explanation under note on the preceding page.)

‡ That is, of an episcopal ordination.

century, he was perfectly familiar—by fresh tradition, by wide converse, and by abundant reading—with the customs of Iona, which were still in full vigor in Scotland, although in his time repelled from England. A loving Christian, he was none the less a firmly orthodox and obedient Roman Catholic monk. The most learned man of his age, he knew perfectly well that, whatever shadowy rights presbyters may have had in the beginning, the whole Catholic Church, Eastern and Western, had for at least four hundred and fifty years declared heretical and void all attempts of theirs to ordain, even to their own order, but above all to the episcopate. Familiar with every application of Church Latin, he was of course incapable of falling into any of Dr. Killen's whimsical blunders over *ordinare*. Writing as a Roman Catholic priest for learned Roman Catholics, it doubtless never once occurred to him that when he spoke of the *ordinatio* of a Scottish bishop by a presbyter abbot anybody could suppose that these thoroughly orthodox, though highly irregular, brethren assumed for a moment, being only presbyters, to have the sacramental power of conveying even the presbyteral character, which the supreme jurisdiction of the Catholic Church had, before the very foundation of Gaelic Christianity, definitely withdrawn from their order. Still less could he suppose it possible that he could be taken to mean that these orthodox presbyters—as good Catholics as he, though of a widely different observance—imagined themselves to have the sacramental power, by the imposition of their own hands, of conveying the still higher episcopal character. He gently laments over their uncanonical, never over their invalid, ordinations. The constant accusation of the Romans against the Irish is that in ordaining a bishop they only summon one bishop. That they ever ordained a bishop without any bishop is never alleged. Bede's mind is not fixed on the self-understood imposition of episcopal hands in raising the saintly Aidan to the episcopal degree. It is fixed on the more important *ordinatio*—the solemn designation by which Aidan was sent forth by his abbot and his brethren as a missionary bishop to heathen England. Troubled as Bede is by the canonical irregularity of this monastic act of metropolitan authority, he recognizes its supreme Christian importance, and nowhere breathes a doubt of its validity. A Roman pope once

calls a much less important investiture even *consecratio*. Bede has not troubled himself to remember the name of the bishop who, under monastic direction, celebrated the consecration; for though his office was most honorable the mission did not proceed from him. Bishop Reeves remarks here that the jurisdiction for Aidan's ordination came from the Abbot Segienus, but that the essential function, the conveyance to Aidan of the episcopal character, must have been ministered through the hands of a bishop. To this Dr. Killen scornfully replies that it should seem then that "the essential function" of episcopal ordination was of very slight account—hardly worth the keeping. As he pleases. These good monks would have thought so too had they been Irish Presbyterians. But though gloriously Irish, it so happens that they were not Presbyterians, nor even Protestants. They were Gaelic Catholics, differing widely in observance, but not at all in doctrine or in fundamental use, from *Roman* Catholics. That which the unswerving tradition of the Church had for many generations declared essential to a valid ministry they, long so unswervingly faithful to an Easter tradition confessedly not fundamental and demonstrably incorrect, were not likely to reject as a superfluity.

The author next declares the functions of such an ordaining bishop, acting under direction, rather pitiable. Is, then, the discharge of a sacred and august function, under a higher authority, so very pitiable? Would a bishop summoned to consecrate such a man as Aidan have been likely to feel very much humiliated by the summons? Dr. Killen talks as if these subordinate bishops had been mere animated implements, allowed no exercise of their own judgment or conscience when summoned to ordain. There is not the slightest reason to believe this. Dr. Killen quotes, and does not repel, the comparison of these subordinate bishops to the Moravian bishops. It should seem, then, that he regards the position of these latter as "pitiable."* Protestant Christendom thinks very differently. It would indeed be pitiable if they were obliged to ordain every one presented to them, however well assured of his unworthiness. But the very thought is an insult to the *unitas fratrum*. And it is an equal insult to the godly monks of Iona to suppose

* *Old Catholic Church*, p. 294, compared with *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. I, p. 104.

that they could not have bishops liable to a call for ordaining services without forbidding them the exercise of their manhood and conscience. Had that been the spirit of Iona she would hardly have evangelized northern and middle England. Even the Jesuit rule, however it may be applied in practice, expressly reserves to every brother the right to refuse to sin. In brief, neither Bede nor his Roman Catholic readers, believing as they did that Aidan and Finan were true bishops, can have supposed anything but that the ordaining monks called in the ministrations of a bishop.

Certain it is that bishops more or less subject in their functions to superiors have existed in the Church ever since Augustine was consecrated bishop at Hippo as helper to Valerius, and that the number has gone on increasing until it is now greater than ever. At present more than one fourth of the Roman Catholic episcopate is made up of titular bishops, who, except when vicars apostolic, can only act episcopally at the request of friends or at the direction of superiors, which last are often simple presbyters. Yet these titular bishops are not regarded, either by themselves or by other Catholics, as either "puppets" or "scullions," which last vulgarly abusive epithet, however, is not Dr. Killen's. He does not use such phrases. Bishop Hurst quotes it, with the just remark that it may be vituperation but is not argument. There is no argument in it. These titular bishops are reverenced as holding an august and sacred function, though, of course, unequal in rank to that of actual diocesans. Nor, being far from unfamiliar with Roman Catholicism, have we any reason to believe that a vicar-general, or vicar-capitular, or administrator, being only a presbyter, is accustomed to view an auxiliar bishop as a mere animated implement, not warranted to make any use, if required to ordain, of a possible better knowledge of his own. The very superiority of his degree, notwithstanding inferiority of jurisdiction, can never have failed of its effect on a member of the second order.

As to the case of Aidus and Findchan, which our author cites to prove that a Hebridean abbot could ordain, it proves that he could not. The bishop summoned, believing the prince and monk, Aidus, to be grossly unworthy, refused to ordain him, unless the abbot, Findchan, a man worse than the prince,

would first put his right hand on the head of the candidate, *pro confirmatione*. Notwithstanding this express distinction of the imposition of hands *pro confirmatione* from one *ad ordinationem*, Dr. Killen will have it that the abbot thereby ordained the young villain. Yet he says that thereupon the bishop "completed the ceremony." In other words, the bishop declared he would not ordain Aidus a priest unless the abbot ordained him first! The author thus represents the bishop as having merely consented to perform some supplementary ceremonies over the already ordained presbyter. If Dr. Killen will not admit this his interpretation is unintelligible. We would inform the author—what he does not appear to know—that to this day no bishop can ordain a monk a priest without the previous authorization of his superior. Whether this is given in writing, orally, or by significant gesture, is merely a matter of present use. In a worse than doubtful case like this the bishop might well require all three. The significant gesture, expressly declared to be *pro confirmatione*, must, of course, precede the ordination. That Columba's indignation descended chiefly on the head of the scandalous abbot is of course. It would be so to-day in any Roman Catholic abbey in a similar case. A vigilant pope would deal with the abbot, not the bishop. And if, as might easily be by ancient use, the abbot's *confirmatio* had consisted in an antecedent imposition of hands, a thundering rebuke of this act would certainly never be taken as confusing it with the entirely different meaning of the subsequent episcopal act.*

Dr. Killen's supreme and concluding argument, however, is yet to come. In his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* he writes as follows: "In A. D. 574 he, Columbkille,† performed a ceremony which the Churches of Rome and England have always reserved for their highest functionaries. He ordained Aidan king of the Scottish Dalriada. The minister who ventured to ordain a king would not, surely, have scrupled to ordain a deacon or a bishop." Now, what are we to think of the ingenuousness of this? The author knows that in English ears "or-

* Dr. Killen shows that, during the Irish penal laws, the bishop and his priests used to impose their hands so confusedly on the head of the candidate that he could not swear which had been the bishop.

† Columba *of the cell*, so called to distinguish him from his great namesake, who is usually called *Columban*.

dain" irresistibly suggests admission to an ecclesiastical ministry. He knows that it is no more requisite, nor indeed admissible, to translate *ordinare regem* "ordain a king" than to translate *ordinare consulem* "ordain a consul." Yet he thus mistranslates, evidently of set purpose, in order to avail himself of the unconscious effect of the word "ordain" upon English imaginations. And as the rank of king is supreme, he knows that by the same unconscious necessity, to those that are not on the watch, the supremacy of the regal rank will communicate itself to the supposed ordination, and minds will shape themselves in this way: "If the abbot of Iona could administer the highest of all ordinations, how much more easily that of a mere bishop!" And yet all this is a transparent sophism. A *rex ordinatus*, an inaugurated king, is admitted to not even the lowest ecclesiastical order. He remains absolutely a layman as before. A *regina ordinata*, an inaugurated queen, is incapable of order. Yet Dr. Killen, a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, which is indissolubly associated in doctrine and testimony with her mother, the thrice illustrious Church of Scotland, has dared, for the sake of bringing in a mere controversial fallacy of the grossest kind, to abrogate the steadfast testimony of Presbyterianism against all confusion of the temporal and the spiritual order. How unworthy of a fellow-presbyter of Knox, of the Melvilles, of the royally descended and more than royally minded Robert Bruce! Who was it that said to a usurping monarch: "Sir, there are in Scotland two kingdoms and two kings. Of one kingdom James VI is the head. Of the other Jesus Christ is the head, and James VI is not the head, no, nor yet an office-bearer, but a simple member?" And yet, for the sake of setting a wretched trap of mere words, the author is content to turn his back on the august and steadfast testimony of his own great Church! In the eyes of all Churches, from Rome to Edinburgh, the right of instituting to the supreme temporal dignity is a matter of purely variable and human use, not implying the right to admit to even the humblest office of the spiritual order. Even in the days—long past—when the regal unction was accounted sacramental it was expressly likened to confirmation, which, even in the Latin Church, is often deputed to a simple presbyter. Let a priest be chosen pope, and he would instantly be competent,

by virtue of his supreme dignity, to hallow any king or emperor in the Catholic world.* Yet he would not, until himself made bishop, have power to ordain even a subdeacon. Even the Church of England, so submissive to the regal authority, expressly declares that she does not attribute to the monarch the ministration of the word and sacraments. At a communion the queen receives after all the bishops, all the priests, all the deacons present. The youngest boy, just admitted to the lowest ministry, here precedes his sovereign. And with good right. Though highest in the temporal order, her majesty is, as a lay person, only fourth in the spiritual order. Nor is it otherwise in the nonsacerdotal Church of Scotland. When the queen joins in the communion at Balmoral, who receives the sacred elements first? The parish minister of Crathie. Who second? His assistant. Who third? Her majesty. The highest sovereignty on earth, in the eyes of every true Anglo-Celt and Anglo-Saxon, is hers. Yet in the spiritual order this daughter of a hundred kings has, even among these Puritan haters of Hildebrand, only the third place. So utterly unsubstantial is this author's supreme and conclusive argument, so utterly treacherous to the noblest traditions of the land of Knox.

In conclusion, the present writer wishes to remark that, as the Moravian Brethren say of themselves, the question of episcopal succession has for him not a doctrinal, but simply an historical, significance. Had Rome in the twelfth century really received a presbyterian ministry into the body of her priesthood, it would have indicated a great amount of spiritual enlightenment. This, however, appears to him to be strongly against historical probability and against multitudes of plain facts. If it is ever proved, it will have to be in some other way than through such a course of confused and confusing argument as that which Dr. Killen has not disdained to use.

* Usage commonly requires previous consecration; but usage only, not doctrinal necessity.

Charles C. Starbuck

ART. IV.—THE HUMAN BODY IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE revival of the Olympic games during the last year in the city of Athens, and the award to the victors, made by the King of Greece, of the olive branch from historic Olympia, emphasize in the public mind the great esteem in which the human body was held by the ancient Greeks. All wars among the Greeks must cease while these famous games brought together in peaceful contests for physical supremacy those of pure Hellenic blood who, too frequently, were engaged in civil war. It was believed that the victories of Greece were really won in the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean, and Isthmian games, as Wellington declared that Waterloo was won at Eton and Rugby. But while the Greeks established these games in the name of religion and dedicated them to Jove and Apollo and Neptune, and prided themselves upon the perfection of the human form which was secured, the bodies of the victors were subject at death to cremation as really as the bodies of the peasants. In fact, cremation was accounted an honor which only suicides, unteethed children, and persons struck by lightning were denied. Grecian regard for the human body after death was less than what was common among the Egyptians, who embalmed their dead, the Jews, who buried them in sepulchers, and the Chinese, who buried them in the earth. Aside from these three nations cremation was universal until Christianity taught such reverence for the human body that some form of burial was generally introduced, the very catacombs in Rome being used, if they were not excavated, for that purpose.

However much esteemed in life, the human body had no future to those who knew nothing of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. Nor was it until the incarnation of our Lord that an adequate idea of the sacredness of the human body and of its glorious destiny ever entered the mind of man. Christ brought life and immortality to light, and made clear and unmistakable what had been before dimly conceived. But it needed his own resurrection to make this possible. After that, those who had doubted were so fully convinced that they boldly proclaimed the resurrection of Christ, "whom God raised

up, having loosed the pangs of death: because it was not possible that he should be holden of it." It is the right estimate of his body which alone renders possible a correct view of the teachings of Christianity respecting the human body. An erroneous view on this question has led many to doubt the reality of a future life and to deny the necessity of the atonement.

Our Lord put in the forefront of his teachings the final proof of his divinity which was to be given in the resurrection of his own body. His power over his own body, to raise it from the dead, challenges still the faith of the world. "What sign showest thou unto us, seeing that thou doest these things? . . . Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. . . . But he spake of the temple of his body." No language used by our Lord so deeply impressed the Jews, who quoted it against him at his trial. The temple belonged to the whole nation, and to no one tribe, the boundary line between Judah and Benjamin running through the middle of it. Of those coming to Jerusalem "none ever lacked means of celebrating the paschal festivities, nor had anyone lacked a bed on which to rest." Such was the boast of the rabbis; and it helps to explain the desperate conduct of the Jews, who, while a trusted though unknown disciple could be depended on to furnish the upper room where Christ might celebrate the passover, themselves violated all the rites of their boasted hospitality by putting to death the Prince of Life. In his death agony on the cross he heard the railing of the multitude as they passed by and wagged their heads: "Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross." Was anything more unlikely than that the quivering temple of his body, racked with pain and burning with thirst, should ever live again? Yet, though he must shed his blood for his murderers, not one bone of that precious body could be broken, nor could his flesh ever see corruption.

The pencil of the architect has attempted the task of restoring on paper the temple which Julian the Apostate attempted in vain to restore in fact, and thus disprove the prophecy which predicted its final overthrow. The theme so inspiring to Fergusson has quickened the genius of many an architect until, following the minute descriptions given by sacred and secular writers, the noble structure as Solomon planned it and as

Zerubbabel and Herod rebuilt it has stood before us the most imposing temple of antiquity. When the emperor Justinian built the great Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople he brought columns from all the heathen temples of the world to support its dome, which rises one hundred and eighty feet above the floor. These one hundred and seventy columns of marble and granite and porphyry remain to-day to tell of the splendor of the temple which the emperor ever had in mind, as he sought, if possible, to surpass even the glory of the temple which Herod and his successors were eighty-two years in building. When Justinian had completed his work he was so impressed with its magnificent altar of gold and silver, adorned with all manner of precious stones, and with the stately proportions of the noble structure erected for Christian worship, that, rushing with outstretched arms from the entrance to the altar, he cried, "O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!" Like Solomon's temple, a king was its architect, and from afar came the costly stones which were to form part of the massive structure. So St. Mark's in Venice and the Washington Monument have been built of stones from distant lands or historic structures.

But the brush of the artist has attempted a nobler task than ever architect dared conceive, even to bring before us the matchless features of the body of the Son of man. From Leonardo and Raphael down to Dannecker and Hoffman this has been the lofty ambition of devout artists, to show us the Christ. They have succeeded in idealizing the human form as a vehicle of grace and truth, of noblest thoughts and tenderest sympathies. They have shown us what Christ is to them. But "there is a better Christ in every broken heart than can be found among the artistic treasures of man—a Christ full of sympathy, very pitiful and gracious, stooping with infinite condescension and counting no service mean."* There is a kinship, too, between the devout soul and its Lord, which has been recognized in all ages and among all nations. The blood of all the race was in the veins of the Son of man, who had only a human mother, and whose ancestral line included such names as Thamar and Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba, David and Mary. Gentile Moabitess and saintly Jew, kingly psalmist and peasant maiden, were among the ancestors of Jesus. In him all distinctions

* Joseph Parker's *Paraclete.*

mingle, for there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, for we are "all one in Christ Jesus." The first Adam was no more made of the dust of the earth, so that his body represented all that preceded him, than our Lord's body; the second Adam was made of the dust of our common humanity. From the ruins of the first great temple of humanity there was raised up this new temple, which did not need to be cleansed, because it was never defiled by sordid uses.

It was not manhood simply that Christ represented, but humanity. No more did other lands help to furnish the material for the great temple than had different people helped to fashion that body of the Son of man with its manly brain and womanly heart. In him we lose sight of time, of place, of earthly distinctions, of race and language. The wisest philosopher is instructed by his lips; while a Magdalene, delivered of seven devils, throws herself at his feet and cries, "Rabboni." Nicodemus, the ruler of the Jews, comes to learn of this teacher sent from God; while the nameless woman who was a sinner bathes his feet with her tears and is ready to sob, "Mother! Mother!" as she realizes more than a mother's forbearance and love from the friend of publicans and sinners. Old age, waiting for him in the temple, holds the child Jesus in its arms until his touch makes death easy, as the satisfied soul longs to depart in peace; while mothers see their infants folded to his heart, as he says, "Of such is the kingdom of God." The bravest remember the iron hardness with which he faced the tempter in the wilderness; and the most weary, his tired body resting at the well's mouth under a Syrian sun as he asks for a drink of water. He provided bread for the multitude with all of a woman's thoughtfulness, and with a sister's care calls his wearied disciples aside to rest a while, and yet faces a murderous mob with unquailing courage and calmly pronounces the doom of Jerusalem that stoned the prophets. The Lamb of God is the Lion of the tribe of Judah. Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, is the contemporary of all ages.

More than this: Jesus came saying, "A body hast thou prepared me." The body of Jesus, fashioned as a temple for the indwelling Holy Spirit, was prepared according to an ideal which had been in the mind of God from all eternity as the form in which his Son should become incarnate and which he

should bear back to the highest heavens. Jesus bore the human form not because men bore it; but men bear the human form because it was the form in which Christ was to appear when he should become flesh and we should behold "the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." It was a form fitted for the scenes of the transfiguration and the ascension that had been prepared for Christ. And it was a body such as was prepared for our Lord that was also prepared for Adam, a body which was to become a very temple for the divine shekinah; and while Christ comes in this body to show us what God is, he comes also to show us what man should be—man whose kinship is not with animals about him, but with Christ above him. Our true humanity is to be found in him. The purpose of God in humanity is to be found in the mission of the Son of man on earth. The destiny of humanity is to be traced as we see the ascending glorified body of our Lord, who is able to change the bodies of our humiliation and make them "like unto his own glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself." His brethren are no more made like him, in being permitted to wear just such a body as was prepared for him from all eternity, than they are in being destined to become like him when they shall "see him as he is." The risen body of Christ now glorified confers on all partakers of flesh and blood a patent of nobility. It is in his risen and glorified manhood that Christ exercises the mighty power of subduing all things unto himself and changing our bodies until they shall become like his glorified body. It is to this risen and living Christ that we pray that our souls and bodies may be preserved unto everlasting life. Our very bread of life is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is the living bread which came down from heaven.

We are led thus by the language of our Lord to consider what Liddon fitly called "the glorious destiny of the human body." It is a human body that Christ spoke of, which should become the first fruits of the resurrection and the pledge of our resurrection. If the first Adam became a living soul, with the power of continuing his posterity on earth, the second Adam became a quickening spirit, the very resurrection and the life. The human body was made for more than food, or clothing, or service in the industrial arts to some other animal made to have

dominion over it. It is a temple which, though connected with the earth and supported by it, lifts its head toward the stars and tells of the God who has built it and promises to make it his abode. Admire as we may the wonderful structure so many years in building, feast our eyes on the Beautiful Gate or on the vine of pure gold with clusters of gold, each of the height of a man, and all the votive offerings of a devout people, what is the Temple without an altar and offerings that tell of penitence and consecration, and without songs of praise that reach beyond its gilded towers?

The very completeness of the human body tells of higher uses than those which are simply animal and earthly. When an organism was reached through which thought was possible, nothing more was required of matter or was indeed possible to it. There are three distinct creative acts mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis; each is introduced by *bara*, to create, namely, the primordial creation of matter, the creation of animal life, and the creation of man. No scientific investigation has ever been able to find any shading off of the one into the other in such a way as to afford satisfactory proof that, however closely connected, animal life can come from that which is not animate, or that human life can come from any lower form of existence. Physically, man is the summary of all the perfections scattered through the animal kingdom, of which he is the head. He represents in his body, so fearfully and wonderfully made, the different forms of animal life which are below him. It would almost seem as if the Creator before modeling the human body had experimented on all conceivable adjustments of bone and muscle and nerve, to obtain the best that was possible when he should come to make man. It is not strange that, as in a great masterpiece we are reminded of the "studies" of the artist, so men find resemblances to the fish or to the higher forms of animal life which abound on the land when they study the human frame. They find seventy vestigial structures in the human body. Eminent anatomists like Dr. Cleland have been compelled to say, "Thus there is anatomical evidence that the development of the vertebrate form has reached its limits by completion in man." Nor have those who have made the nervous system a study been able to conceive of anything more perfect than our nervous organism. The propor-

tion of brain to the spinal cord rules the animal world, starting with the fish, with its proportion of two to one, until it reaches the mammal, with its proportion of four to one. Then, as if by a new creative act in fashioning man's physical frame, the proportion becomes twenty-three to one. It is not believed that any substantial difference will ever be made to appear. The dome of the human skull, with its curve of one hundred and eighty degrees from front to base, expresses the mind of the Creator as to the completeness of man's frame. With expansion of height or width would come a curvature or bending on itself, so that the base would be crumpled together while the roof is elongated. Abnormal development usually awakens great fear of attendant insanity, as a dwarfed brain is the badge of imbecility. Curving of the base of the skull involves a change in the position of the bones of the face which would require the cutting off the nasal cavity from the throat. There is such adjustment as shows that God has in the human body expressed his last thought in matter. The Greeks, with their love of beauty, found its highest expression in the human form. They saw the ideal face divided into three equal parts by the line of the eyes and the mouth. They saw the extended arms equal to the height of the entire body. They found such proportions as revealed the perfect harmony which is the essence of beauty, and that these proportions were not capable of disturbance in the interest of perfection. The human form cut in marble by the Grecian sculptor has served as the model for centuries, and to maintain these right proportions was ever kept before the contestants in the Olympic games. To the Greeks there was but one word for both the noble and the beautiful. A noble man, a perfect man, was an harmonious man. Religion degenerated into the arts. The artist who achieved a beautiful statue was almost worshiped. The very gods were sculptured in the likenesses of men, and not made many-headed or hundred-handed, as Hindu gods. It was the old story of the power of sensuous beauty, the witchery of form and color, of music, of architecture, to produce a semireligious feeling. It was doubtless the best, the most perfect of its kind, and it is the best which satisfies us. The Greeks worshiped humanity, of which the physical man is the type and expression.

But, under the conditions where mere animal life becomes

more luxuriant human life grows less so; that is, near the equator. In Africa four fifths of the country is in the tropics, and in South America, five sixths; and while ferns become trees and grass grows into bamboo forests sixty to seventy feet high, and while a single tree is a garden where a hundred different plants intertwine their branches and display their flowers, and while animal life is marked at once by lofty stature, variety, and brilliant colors, man is seen at his worst. The history of the race is the history of temperate regions. The tropics have only an exotic history, the history of conquerors from regions more favorable to the development at once of man's physical and intellectual nature. The dwarfs of equatorial Africa are so repulsive as to seem to belong to some other than the human race. But where is mere animal or vegetable life more luxuriant than where these beings shoot their poisoned arrows and dig their treacherous pitfalls? It is not physical nature which develops man, but the struggle against nature. A mere animal with the form of an Apollo Belvidere, if without a soul, could awaken only pity; while a scarred and maimed veteran, the hero of a hundred battles, would be borne upon the shoulders of a shouting multitude, who would proudly be eyes and limbs and ears to his martial soul. This shows the real purpose of the human body—it is the vehicle of the human soul, not of the mere animal soul, whose chief concern is food, self-defense, and the continuation of the species. In man the animal is arrested, that the spirit may grow. The highest possibilities open to flesh and bone, nerve and muscle, have been realized. Nature has come to consciousness in man. The soul comes to look upon the body as its tool and for holding other tools which human intelligence may devise.

Thoughtful men since Galen's time have long admired the human hand and the human eye. The hand of man seems made for the brush, the chisel, the pencil, the pen, the sword, the scepter. Jointed at the shoulder, elbow, wrist, how varied its uses as the handler of tools! The thumb opposite each finger endows the hand with its capacity. Man's is the ultimate hand. None better can be conceived. Henceforth it depends on its skill with tools in making man able to arrest the speed of the deer or subdue and control the strength of the horse. Wonderful as is the human eye, its achievements depend on the skill of the human hand. Future improvements

in sight will not depend on muscle and nerve and tissue, with their liability to waste and pain. The hand offers its aid to the eye, with appliances of crystal and metal which may increase the power of vision, bring near the distant, and resolve mere points of light into double or triple stars. The body is thus complete as the vehicle and the tool of the human soul. It ceases to be an end and becomes a means. There is nothing more for the animal in us to hope for, aside from the soul. The real growth is that of the rational soul, and the very animal soul becomes a servant while none the less a partner.

But the human body is more than the temple of a rational soul. It is the temple of the Holy Spirit. Christianity teaches that through the human body the moral world is planted in the material world to subdue it and uplift it. Even Plato held that the soul was compelled to tenant the body as a sort of punishment. He saw the time of the soul taken in feeding the body, in warming it, in clothing it, and in resting it. The Gnostics and Essenes held that all matter was only evil, and were of the opinion that the soul was defiled by contact with a human body. It was only by constant bathings and purifications that the body could be tolerated. In opposition to all this hatred of the body Christianity comes in and teaches us to reverence it as the temple of the Holy Ghost, not simply the temple of a human soul. Burial was deliberately substituted for cremation throughout the pagan world, wherever Christianity went. Children who were deformed or diseased were no longer exposed to death. Sensuality and suicide began to disappear before the holy religion that taught the voluptuous Corinthians and the no less sensual Romans that "neither fornicators, . . . nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God." It was not simply necessary to purify the body with water, but it must be kept free from all defilement through "fleshly lusts, which war against the soul." Because the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost it should be kept in temperance, in soberness, in chastity.

It was not only for the use of the human soul that Christianity taught reverence for the body, but for the use of the Holy Spirit. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile

the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." What appeals were made to our Lord by men possessed of devils—evil spirits which usurped the place of God in the human body, bestializing men until they made their abode in graveyards among the tombs, like wild animals, or were bound with chains. No more grateful disciple ever worshiped his divine Lord than the Gadarene whose evil possessions were numbered by the legion, and who exchanged his fetters and tormenting demons for liberty and peace, and published throughout the whole city how great things Jesus had done for him.

Why were nearly all of our Lord's miracles done on behalf of the human body? Why did he still tempests when men were in peril, and feed multitudes when they were faint? Why did the palsied and blind seek his healing touch, and sightless balls turn where his voice was heard, and importunate souls cry, "Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me?" Why did lepers beseech, "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean," and messengers hurry across the Jordan with the tidings, "He whom thou lovest is sick?" Why twice a miraculous draught of fishes for his hungry disciples, and why the feeding of five thousand, deemed of so great importance that it is the one miracle recorded by all four of the evangelists? Did our Lord teach us to despise the human body, or to cherish it? Did he come to destroy life, or to save it? When only the relatives of the dead touched the corpse, because of ceremonial defilement, our Lord's hand was laid thereon with its life-giving touch, and the dead rose at his command for new life and service. It was for this that he restored sight and hearing and health and reason and life, that we might glorify God in our bodies, which are his. No more was our Lord's own body a temple of the Holy Ghost, which came upon him at the Jordan and abode with him in all that wonderful ministry, than are our bodies temples of the Holy Ghost. The true shekinah is a holy man. "We will come unto him, and make our abode with him." It is for this reason we regard the world's great seers as inspired men, whose consecrated genius itself is called a spark of the divine fire. There is no divinity in nature without men.

Constituted as man is, the union of spirit and body is necessary to a perfect life. The alliance is a natural one between

body and spirit. For this reason we are repelled by a corpse; we are frightened by a spirit. The very spirits of the departed await the resurrection because, without us, they shall not be made perfect. Death is a disturbance of the relation between spirit and body so necessary to constitute man in his completeness. Christianity shows that relation reestablished through the resurrection of the body. Its defiant cry, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" is only another form of the Saviour's utterance, "Destroy this temple, and ... I will raise it up." We who have the first fruits of the Spirit "groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body." The soul first knows itself through the body, and even "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God" shines only "in the face of Jesus Christ." Perfect humanity becomes the vehicle of divinity to man. The adoration of the beautiful is not worship; we must reverence the good, the union of the divine and human, in Christ. God reveals himself, not in physical nature, but in human nature.

The Scriptures take peculiar pains to assure us of the continuance of the humanity of our Lord. We are permitted to see his risen body in all his ten appearances until his ascension. Our ascended High Priest, with a heart of human sympathy, but of infinite reach, can be "touched with the feeling of our infirmities." How much more than any father delights to give good gifts to his children will He delight to help us who wept with the sisters at Bethany, healed the spots of the leper, and was the universal friend of sinners! Our humanity, perfected and glorified, gives our best conception of heaven.

Just with what body the dead are raised up we cannot say, nor need we be much concerned. The soul which knows how to use the brain and nerves may find something of a yet more refined and spiritual substance in the spiritual body which it shall wear. Carbon has yet more brilliant combinations in the diamond than appear in the charcoal, but a worker in charcoal all his life may never have seen a diamond. The only two conditions of organized life are these: an organ connecting the individual with the past, and such a frame and such a universe that he has the power of varied action in the present. It is thus a question of the power of God over our bodies to change them from the bodies of our humiliation and make them like the

glorious body of the Son of God, which was endowed and interpenetrated with some of the properties of the Spirit ere its ascension. "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption." But it is the union between the soul and body that makes the perfect, the complete, man. Hence in every dispensation there was given a sample pledge of the resurrection. In the patriarchal age it was Enoch. In the Levitical dispensation it was probably Moses. In the prophetical age it was Elijah. In the Christian age, and for all times to come, it was the glorious body of our Lord. The principle of continuity and the doctrine of a future life go together. Nothing has been better established in our day than the conservation and correlation of force. Matter may undergo countless changes, and yet it cannot be annihilated. Out of the same dust whence was formed the original human body, the Creator can form such bodies as our spirits require for the completeness of our life hereafter. Our Lord gives to each seed a body as it pleases him, and much more will he give to us the right body, for it will be like his glorified body, "according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself."

Pope in pleasing numbers gives us the emperor Hadrian's address to his soul when dying. But it is not the body which takes farewell of the soul at death. Such a notion is essentially pagan. "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord." It is his real self which lights up with the very consciousness of immortality. We have bodies, but we are spirits. The invisible is the real and the enduring. We need therefore a Christian poet who shall write the soul's farewell to the body until the two shall be reunited to make the perfect man, as this mortal shall put on immortality. There is no divinity in nature without man, and man is divine as he is an expression alike in his soul and body of the very mind and purpose of God. The humanity of Christ is the Spirit's perfect work in creation, and exhibits how every faculty of our human nature, spiritual, intellectual, and physical, may be enlisted and vitalized by the divine energy. It is the perfect union of spirit and body, the body so responsive to the spirit, and both so obedient to God, that none of the slower processes of the laboratory of the grave are necessary to render the body more capable for

the heavenly duties, when the spirit shall be clothed upon with a spiritual body more quick to obey the behests of the Spirit than the electric fluid is to obey the will of man. Such complete union appeared between the spirit and body of our Lord, during the forty days after his resurrection, that the very laws of gravitation were reversed as the ascending spirit took the body, also, from Olivet, until the bright cloud received him out of sight.

The Christian religion thus teaches reverence for the human body as the most perfect of the divine creations and designed to be the vehicle of divinity itself. Part of the mission of the Son of man was to relieve its diseases and disabilities; and the credentials of our religion which have most impressed the heathen, as in the case of Li Hung Chang, are loving ministries to the sick and bedridden, the deaf and blind, the lepers and the insane. Christianity has lengthened human life, not only by proper care of the young and helpless, but by better sanitation, by more nourishing food, by more perfect knowledge of the needs of the human body, and more skill in ministering to them. Pestilence and famine have long since been virtually confined to the Mohammedan or heathen world, where medicines and supplies are eagerly sent from Christian lands. The horror of defiling the temple of the Holy Ghost has diminished in Christian lands the sensualities and nameless sins against the human body which Paul denounces in his Roman epistle. The belief in the resurrection of the body has led to greater care for its proper burial, until our cemeteries are like gardens where our Lord's body was laid awaiting the resurrection. The reunion of soul and body in our complete resurrection life settles for us the perplexing question as to the very possibility of any life after death, and becomes the inspiration of ceaseless activities here. It is only those who have felt the force of Paul's overwhelming "Wherefore" who are found "steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord," forasmuch as they know that their labor "is not in vain in the Lord."

Eugene R. Hendrick.

ART. V.—WHY PREACHERS SHOULD STUDY BROWNING.

IT is scarcely needful at this late day, after all that has been written and spoken about Browning, that we take up the general question of his place in the world of letters or the importance of his contributions to modern thought. This work has been well done during the past dozen years by a variety of most competent hands. The labors of the Browning Society in England, founded in 1881 and broken up in 1893, were especially effective in this direction; and in America men like Professor Hiram Corson and Mr. George Willis Cooke, together with others of similar high standing, have left the reading public no excuse for failing to know how mighty a genius passed from earth when Robert Browning went away, December 12, 1889. Among the brief tributes fitly paid him by the highest critical authorities we simply cite the following four:

> The profoundest intellect, with widest range of sympathies, and with universal knowledge of men and things, that has arisen as a poet since Shakespeare.
>
> Preeminently the greatest Christian poet we have ever had; a teacher who is as thrilled through with all Christian sympathies as with artistic or musical.
>
> The poet of thoughtful persons, essentially the exponent of the best movements of English mind in this age.
>
> Browning's poetry embodies the profoundest thought, the most complex sentiment, and, above all, the most quickening spirit of the age.

These culled characterizations, which might be indefinitely extended, may seem exaggerated to those who have not as yet come under the sway of the influence they so imperfectly portray. But, by those who have learned to love the productions of this great master, they will be recognized as in no way overdrawn. It is not our purpose, however, to attempt an elaborate discussion either of the poet or his poems, but rather, in a brief, quiet way, to note some reasons why ministers, in particular, should study Browning, and to point out some benefits which will accrue to them from the effort.

I. The study of Browning will enlarge their vocabulary. It

is mentioned by Mrs. Sutherland Orr, in her *Life and Letters* of the poet, that as a primary qualification for his literary pursuits he read and digested in early life the whole of Johnson's Dictionary. One can readily believe it. "People accuse me of not taking pains," he said in later years; "I take nothing but pains." He devoted the most conscientious labor to the perfection of his work, and the knowledge he exhibits of the capacities of the English language is certainly marvelous. No one can read him understandingly without a pretty frequent consultation of large lexicons. And it is not so much the unusual number of rare words that deserves emphasis as it is their subtle quality and the happy selection of strong, pictorial expressions which flash the thought and gleam with light. Browning was not satisfied with common terms. He picked out those choice, condensed vocables which hold whole sentences in solution, and live in the memory because they are windows through which a landscape laughs or stilettos that strike a victim dead. Specimens? Here is a handful:

"Stung by the splendor of a sudden thought." "Pedestaled in triumph." "The motley, merchandising multitude." "The puissance of the tongue." "Mute in the midst, the whole man one amaze." "Lamb-pure, lion-brave." "Cold glories served up with stale fame for sauce." "Some wonder of a woman's heart." "The straight backbone thought of a crooked speech." "Worn threadbare of soul by forty-six years of rubbing on hard life." "Not by the grandeur, God, but by the comfort, Christ." "A good girl, with the velvet in her voice." "Silenced the scruple between soul and sense." "The stone strength of white despair." "Lean, pale, proud insignificance." "Wormy ways, the indirect, unapproved of God." "Unimaginative ignorance." "Cloudlets scudding under the bare blue." "All one couch of crassitude." "Hell, eruptive and fuliginous." "Diamond, slipping flame from fifty slants." "Pearl, that great round glory of pellucid stuff, a fish-secreted round, a grain of grit."

One can scarcely read these, and hundreds of similar sentences, without having his verbal taste decidedly refined. He will be more apt in his choice of words, satisfied with nothing but the best. He may not think it worth while to read through the Century or the Standard Dictionary, but he will be on the watch, wherever he does read, for terms crowded with significance. He will become an artist in language, skillful in applying literary color, a discerner of the beautiful and the terrible in speech. To compass an acquirement of this sort one may

well spend laborious days and meditative nights. For it is the power of making one's thought pass with swiftness into the minds of other men, and hook itself to their souls.

II. It will beautify their style. Browning is no mere poet of prettiness, taken up with dainty devices and idle conceits. He is too great for that. He is not a maker of rhymes, or a turner of phrases, but an interpreter of life. He distinctly rebelled at the too prevalent demand for jingle to which many poets have unbecomingly succumbed, and he absolutely refused in any case to subordinate sense to sound. Thought with him was the main thing, and if matter or form had to be sacrificed, he always let the latter go. The popular clamor that everything must be smooth and sweet and easy was an offense to him, and he voiced his protest against this by a frequent ruggedness and harshness of verse that has been something of a stumbling-block to many readers. They complained loudly of his obscurity. Obscure—chiefly because of the great condensation employed, and the wealth of recondite allusion used, as well as the abrupt transitions—very much of his work unquestionably is. He says himself, in a private letter, in 1868:

> I can have little doubt that my writing has been in the main too hard for many that I should have been pleased to communicate with. But I never designedly tried to puzzle people, as some of my critics have supposed. On the other hand, I never pretended to offer such literature as should be a substitute for a cigar or a game of dominoes to an idle man. So, perhaps, on the whole, I get my deserts, and something over; not a crowd, but a few I value more.

But while in the general tenor of his poetry he is a seer rather than a singer, differing in this from the common run of rhymers, a painter dealing with the eye rather than a musician dealing with the ear, he knows well how to put rich melody into his lines when there is real call for it in the meaning which he would convey. His subjects are rarely such as readily admit of musical treatment. They more generally demand the grand, deep roll of the ocean instead of the merry tinkle of purling, babbling brooks. He does not sing of happy days in leafy June so often as of harsh December's pelting storms. Nevertheless, the "concord of sweet sounds" is very manifest and very attractive in many of the poems. So that both he who strives to grasp greater strength of expression and he who aims

at harmonious numbers, a liquid diction, and a fluid movement, will find abundant help in the study of Browning. What, for example, can be more mellifluous than the opening verses of "Fifine at the Fair:"

> O trip and skip, Elvire! Link arm in arm with me!
> Like husband and like wife, together let us see
> The tumbling troop arrayed, the strollers on their stage,
> Drawn up and under arms, and ready to engage.
> . . . . . .
> They pace and promenade; they presently will dance;
> What good were else i' the drum and fife? O pleasant land of France!

Note also the poem beginning, "Over the sea our galleys went." Indeed, from the immense mass of Browning's productions—the largest since Shakespeare—a good-sized volume could easily be compiled that should supremely illustrate beauty; and he who wishes to read mainly for the cultivation of this element can easily confine himself for a season to poems of this sort, for they are plentiful. And whoever thus trains his ear to appreciate the proper balance of a sentence and the true martial movement in words has distinctly added to his power, whether for writing or speaking. If the arrow of truth be feathered aright it will go the straighter to its mark.

III. It will stimulate their imagination and kindle their emotion. For these are chief constituents in all true poetry. It makes a demand upon the imagination in its perusal, because only by the vivid and prolonged exercise of that power can it be produced, and, similarly, the reading it arouses feeling, for only when facts are intensified and sublimated by feeling do they grow poetic. Rhyme and rhythm do not constitute poetry. The vehicle of expression is always of less importance than the thought expressed. If emotion and imagination are lacking, whatever the form of language, it cannot be called other than prose. The question with reference to any piece of writing which claims to be a poem is, What inspiring quality has it, does it stir to great deeds, does it reveal the inmost side of truth, has it glow and thrill, or comfort and sustaining power? If there be a creative spirit in it; if deepest feeling be idealized and monumentalized; if it be suffused with the white heat of passion, or so surcharged with sentiment that it transports us into the higher regions of human experience; if it be, as

Matthew Arnold says it should, "thought and art in one;" if it contain, as Wordsworth declares essential, "the breath and fever spirit of all knowledge," then we may call it poetry, even though the technical rules for such construction are audaciously or magnificently ignored.

A poet is thinker, feeler, artist combined. He is a man who "sees the infinite in things," who, by his imagination, gets nearer to the heart of life and penetrates closer to the core of truth than the cool reasoner or the scientific investigator. He is a man of intuition, insight, and genius, an inspired man in the best sense, magnetic to God, and a prime medium for divine communications to the world. A great poet must have a great intellect, capable of comprehending the deepest problems of man's relation to the universe; he must also have a very exceptional susceptibility to impressions from all conceivable quarters, together with such a command of musical speech that he can easily turn these impressions into durable, beautiful, and visible, if not vendible, verse.

Such, in the most emphatic sense, was Robert Browning. Is it not evident, then, that to con his conceptions, to think his thoughts after him, to catch the swing and sweep of his majestic pinions, must tend to develop those germs of poetry lying latent in nearly all of us, and give exercise to those highest faculties which are in no little danger of becoming dwarfed or shriveled by lack of use in the hurrying pressure of life's dull daily drudgery? Browning's imagination, it may perhaps fairly be said, did not soar so loftily and steadily as that of some other poets has soared, because he exerted it mainly upon real things, upon the thoughts and feelings of human beings. He was not visionary, but intensely practical. All the more, on this account, is it thoroughly wholesome to follow the leadings of his mind, and through the glowing golden gates of imagination and emotion enlarge one's acquaintance both with the world without and the world within.

IV. It will increase their knowledge of human nature. As just intimated, Browning dwells for the most part upon the internal, rather than the external. His main work is the analysis and portraiture of personal character, of human life, past, present, and to come—an analysis of the most subtle kind, reaching to the inmost impulses of the heart, and a portraiture that

brings before us the most vivid, as well as most picturesque, images. He is the "poet of psychology," from whom human nature has no secrets. It has been well said that the subtitle of most of his poems might be "incidents in the development of a soul." It was clearly his chief calling to paint the souls of men; to pursue, through all the winding mazes of the mind, the elusive motive; to catch the shifting fancies and celestial, or infernal, lights. The soul seemed to him the one thing best worthy of study, the one thing of intensest interest. He was fascinated by it, and by the spectacle of man seeking his destiny amid the countless combinations of circumstances and conditions that confront or surround him. He has been often likened to Shakespeare, because of this absorption in human nature with all its varieties of good or ill, and because of his power to throw himself into the most diverse individualities and to think and feel as they would in the situations depicted.

His favorite method, followed through nearly all the longer poems and many of the shorter ones, is monodramatic—not truly dramatic, where a number of characters appear upon the stage, each speaking in his own person and directly affecting the welfare of the rest; nor yet after the nature of soliloquy, where a single individual speaks to himself alone; but something between. In the monodrama, while one person does the speaking he speaks in the presence of others, addressing them, so that their thoughts and words as well as his own come freely out, in one way or another, during the course of the narration. The story is told, in every case, not for the mere incident, but for the unfolding of passion and the play of feeling. And the poet's preeminent genius appears in the wide range of characters through which, with consummate skill, he speaks. How broad must be the sympathies, how keen the observation, how deep the insight into human nature of one who can so completely identify himself with hundreds of separate and dissimilar persons, entering into their most private thoughts and ardently defending their doings from their own point of view! In his masterpiece, "The Ring and the Book"—which marks the high tide of his poetic insight, the zenith of his literary power, contains twenty-one thousand one hundred and sixteen lines, and is called by the *Athenæum* not only "the supremest poetic achievement of the time," but also "the most profound

and precious spiritual treasure that England had produced since the days of Shakespeare"—he tells the story of a Roman murder, as one half Rome sees it, then as the other half regards it; then he gives the medium view as to why the things happened thus; then sets forth the villainous murderer's side; then the side of the hero of the plot; next the heroine states her version of the facts; then the attorney for the defense takes up the tale, followed by the attorney for the prosecution, after which the pope as final judge reviews the case; and, lastly, the criminal once more pleads his cause. It is safe to say that no other single poem, perhaps no other equal number of verses, shows such close familiarity with the workings of the mind and heart of man, or contains such plentiful material for enlarging one's acquaintance with the human soul.

V. It will tighten their moral grip. Among the trials to which ministers are distinctly, if not especially, exposed is the temptation to lower their standard for the sake of heightening their popularity. The world around them constantly demands conformity to itself as the price of its favor. And while the young man starts out with a high ideal to which he proposes to lift others, confident that he will never show a white feather in the fight, it is found after a while that in most cases he weakens before the solid masses of the foe and consents to compromise, that he may gain peace or position or profit—a sad history, continually recurring. Browning was confronted by this danger. It stood squarely across his path. Did he yield? Not for an instant. There are few facts in the history of literature more remarkable and significant than the treatment meted out for half a century to this peerless poet. The British public, as he pathetically remarks, liked him not. All his earlier poems were published at his father's expense, and proved a financial loss. And many years subsequently, when he had found a publisher, the report from that firm for a certain six months was that not a single copy of his works had been sold. His friends, especially his devoted and gifted wife, were exceedingly indignant over this neglect. But it never seems to have troubled the poet himself. He made no complaints. Still less did it induce him to modify in the slightest degree that message and method which he profoundly felt God had in-

trusted to him for his age. Not till the publication of "The Ring and the Book," in 1868, was there any adequate recognition of his genius, even by critical minds, and his wide acceptance was still far in the future. But, as to this, he was little concerned. Writing to a friend in the last decade of his life, when larger praise had come, he says: "As I never felt inconvenienced by hard words, you will not expect me to wax bumptious because of undue compliment." On another occasion he wrote: "As I began, so I shall end, taking my own course, pleasing myself, or aiming to do so, and thereby I hope pleasing God. As I never did otherwise, I never had any fear as to what I did going ultimately to the bad." He never would consent to conciliate public opinion at the expense of what he felt to be the true principles of his art. He kept calmly on his way, and patiently waited for the justification which he was sure would eventually come. He was willing to bide his time. He maintained his right to be himself, not a pale copy of somebody else. He said straight out what was in his mind, in the way in which it presented itself and after the style natural to him, without inquiring closely whether the people would sustain him or not. His independence is refreshing. And he conquered, as every such man must conquer, give him scope enough. He cared nothing for success in the ordinary, worldly meaning of that term. To have a right aim, a lofty ideal, and to be unswervingly true to it under all circumstances seemed to him the only real success. No failure is possible to such. He counted that the only failure consisted in doing less than one's best. He held it "better to have failed in the high aim than vulgarly in the low aim succeed." "It is not what a man does which exalts him, but what a man would do," he said. And again, "What I am, what I am not, in the eye of the world, is what I never cared for much." He moved steadfastly on, regarding very little the praise or blame of his fellows, untouched by the world's voices, in a higher, diviner atmosphere. He has much to say about "the chivalry that dares the right and disregards alike the yea and nay o' the world."

> Aspire, and break bounds! I say,
> Endeavor to be good, and better still,
> And best! Success is naught, endeavor's all.

There is no duty patent in the world
Like daring try be good and true myself,
Leaving the shows of things to the lord of show
And prince o' the power of the air.

And still more beautifully comes out this thrilling thought, still more brilliantly flames this fervent faith, in his very last poem, the "Epilogue" to "Asolando," written just before his death-illness. After reading it from a proof to his daughter-in-law and sister he said, "It almost looks like bragging to say this, and as if I ought to cancel it; but it's the simple truth, and, as it's true, it shall stand." Here are the words:

What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly?
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel,
Being—who?
One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

We see not how anyone can enter into the spirit of such lines as these here quoted, together with many others of similar import which he wrote, without having his grip perceptibly tightened on the fundamental moral axiom that duty is to be done, and truth spoken without faltering, whether men will hear or forbear. No preacher can lower his banner, or strike his flag to fear, who stamps these words upon his brain and drinks from the cup of him who first set them forth. Appreciated or not, recompensed or ridiculed, promoted or relegated to the rear, the genuine hero will stand to his guns and fire his last shot with as straight an aim as the first, cheerfully leaving his vindication to God. One might bend long over Browning and feel well repaid if something of this power passed into him.

VI. It will strengthen their religious faith. Browning's whole being is wrapped round the central thought of God. The most vital thing in his conception of man is his relation to duty. The visible universe is but a veil scarce covering the ever-present, all-important unseen world. Says one, "He never loses consciousness of the supreme eternal will, the intelligent first cause underlying all manner of systems of causation." Another said, "Take away the religious tissue from Browning's

tapestry with its vast variety of figures, and almost everyone would be a *caput mortuum.*" "Forward to the infinite," is his cry; in this tabernacle life no rest can be found. He asserts the eternal reality of the soul as the most vital truth that can come within the ken of man. There can be no doubt that he is the most thoroughly Christian of all our great poets. Mr. James Thomson, an avowed atheist, belonging to the Browning Club, wrote:

> I must not fail to note, as one of the most remarkable characteristics of his genius, his profound, passionate, loving, and triumphant faith in Christ, and in the immortality and ultimate redemption of every human soul in and through Christ. Thoroughly familiar with all modern doubts and disbeliefs, he trampled them all under foot, clinging to the cross; and this with the full cooperation of his peerless reason, not in spite of it and by its absolute surrender and suppression.

Dr. Edward Berdoe, as he himself narrates in the beginning of his recently published volume, *Browning and the Christian Faith*, was converted from Agnosticism to Christianity by the study of Browning. He also relates that a student at one of the theological schools once consulted a divinity lecturer as to the best books on modern theology which he could present to a skeptical friend. And the prompt, decisive answer came, "Give him a set of Browning." Such a one would find blazing on almost every page of the voluminous works, in one form or another, the declaration, "I believe in God." And he would see that this life, according to the poet, could in no way be explained, except with close reference to the life beyond. The unity and continuity of life, together with its magnificent meaning as a place and instrument of discipline, everywhere shines forth. Browning never hesitated to say, or clearly imply, that God alone is responsible for all the trials and sufferings of our mortal existence, and that no one of them could be dispensed with in view of the end for which we were created. He will have it that no experience is wasted, that the perfection of character is the one result that never need fail; whether our work is to rule a kingdom, or sweep a crossing, or lie on a sick bed, character is ever being upbuilt. Hence life is well worth living, come what may. Failure here is a pledge of success there. Browning seems to bend all his energies to casting out the demon of pessimism. It is in this, perhaps, most of

all, that his influence has proved so gloriously wholesome and splendidly sane, a tonic of the healthfulest sort, full of refreshment, invigoration, and inspiration. One more persistently and invincibly optimistic in his faith, one more suffused with hopefulness and high trust, it would be very hard to find or conceive. He is perpetually saying, in substance, to the despondent and downhearted: "Courage, the battle shall yet be retrieved; dare seem to fail, for only thus, by calm endurance and loyalty to high aims, shall you reach true success and prove yourself a coworker with the Almighty; come not down from the cross till he gives the word, and you shall have the crown." Such teaching must make men stronger, more earnest, truer to their better selves, more genuinely Christian in the large, substantial, vital way which alone is of primary importance. We would like to fill many pages with quotations embodying these truths, but a few must suffice:

> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world.
>
> Let one more attest,
> I have lived, seen God's hand through a lifetime,
> And all was for best.
>
> I trust in God—the right shall be the right,
> And other than the wrong, while he endures.
>
> This world's no blot for us, nor blank;
> It means intensely, and means good.
>
> I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by the reason solves for thee all questions
> In the life and out of it.
>
> But where will God be absent? In his face
> Is light, but in his shadow healing too.
>
> I find earth not gray, but rosy;
> Heaven not grim, but fair of hue;
> Do I stoop? I pluck a posy.
> Do I stand and stare? All's blue.
>
> Then welcome each rebuff that turns life's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
> Be our joys three parts pain! Strive and hold cheap the strain
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe.

VII. It will acquaint them with a charming character. No space can here be given to an extended sketch of the poet's life; but when we say that the life was every way worthy of the

work, and stands squarely behind the poems, we have said very nearly enough. He is described by his biographer as having been, in early years, "passionately religious," and, though this feeling became modified later, God was throughout his days the center of all things to him. This strong religious bent came chiefly from his mother, born and brought up in the Kirk of Scotland, a thoroughly evangelical Christian, and, according to her son, "a divine woman." He loved her with an intense devotion rarely seen. His relations with his wife, the marvelously gifted Elizabeth Barrett, were of a similar ideal sort. They almost worshiped each other. He was capable of the largest self-sacrifice and the smallest self-denial, and would exercise either whenever love or duty clearly pointed the way. He was a Liberal in politics, fond of society, a brilliant talker, and especially at home with clergymen. He believed in a direct divine Providence and in making a virtue of happiness. There was no quality he so loved and admired as truth.

He will always remain, perhaps, the poet of the few, one for whom a love must be acquired by some study. He is too unconventional, makes too great a demand upon thought, mixes too little water with his ink to suit the many. He is not shallow enough to be popular. But one can scarcely understand the age in which we live who does not understand Browning. He is the best interpreter of our time, uttering our needs and our aspirations, our fears and our faith. He is a great prophet, who spoke in numbers because he felt that poetry is the appointed vehicle for all lasting truths and inspiring thoughts. He is a philosopher, profoundly interpreting the main problems of human existence. As a poet he stands apart, a unique figure, with no forerunner, no successor, an original force in literature. No one can read him diligently without great benefit to both intellect and heart. The profound personal indebtedness to him expressed by his admirers, and their intense devotedness, are most significant. The keynote of his teaching is love. Love and faith are the instruments of his analysis and the explanations of his wonderful insight into character. Love, art, and religion are his principal themes. How manly, robust, energetic, and wide-awake his thought! They who sit at his feet are helped by him to understand the meaning of life, are enriched in their sympathies and broadened in their views. He

always sees a soul of good in things evil, and shows how God's purposes are being wrought out by means the most unpromising. When he looks at criminals, of whom there are many in his pages, he looks deeper than their crimes. He finds evidence of the divine presence in all the various entanglements of human doings, and in individual souls of every sort. At the heart of much that passes for wickedness he perceives a germ of good, and notes the pulsations of the life of the Highest in all history. "Hardly any conception is more prominent in Browning's writings," says Professor Henry Jones, of St. Andrew's University, "than this of endless progress toward an infinite ideal; he recognizes that growing knowledge is an essential condition of growing goodness." In other words, he holds that perfect love would be perfect knowledge, and perfect knowledge perfect love, no separation being possible.

Says Dr. Alexander McLaren, the great Manchester preacher, who is an enthusiastic student of Browning: "In wealth of genius, in loftiness of reach, in intensity of creative imagination I know of nothing to compare with the highest work of Browning. The crowd of men and women, alive and tingling to their finger-tips, whom he has made, are only paralleled by Shakespeare's. There is nobody else that can stand beside him." And Owen Meredith has voiced the feelings of all who are best fitted to pronounce judgment, when he writes of him as one

> Than whom a mightier master never
> Touched the deep chords of hidden things;
> Nor error did from truth dissever
> With keener glance, nor make endeavor
> To rise on bolder wings,
> In those high regions of the soul
> Where thought itself grows dim with awe.

Art. VI.—THE PERMANENT AND PROGRESSIVE IN HOMILETICS.

According to some men the pulpit is an institution, and no more. As others look at it they see only an evolution. The former view, if pressed to its extreme limits of restraint of liberty, would have no message for the new day that it could understand; and the latter would abolish the pulpit when, on an evil day, the low-flying arrow of an unexpected foe had cut the vulnerable heel of the otherwise invincible warrior. But we need have little fear of this. For the "Achilles tendon" of the pulpit has been not bathed at the Styx but baptized at Pentecost. Yet the truth is somewhere between the two extremes. An institution may be none the less an appointed method for tremendous results, if at the same time it is to have an unceasing unfolding of powers, such as could not have been expected in the initial stages of the enterprise. The world is a changing one, and the old power must be supplied with new channels. We shall be sure of ultimate victory only as we give an ever-widening compass to the words of the Master, "into all the world." There is more to go into than when the order was first given.

Our duty is to watch the unfolding plans of God, and to make as plain to our day as possible the relation of the old that is ever new to the new that grows older and more useless each passing day. The old man with the scythe is evermore taking off the top and leaving the roots ready for a fresh growth. The green field of our race growth is in constant need of a removal of the surplus, and so is able to guarantee the larger crop to follow by reason of the new and unencumbered energy that fills every fiber of the fruit-bearing life. The question for the present-day pulpit is to find out what is the upper growth of homiletics that is to be discarded, and how to put to finer uses the homiletic matter and root principles with which we confront a day our fathers desired to look into and could not.

Is there such a thing as a "universal homiletic?" The complete answer to this would carry us beyond allowable limits; but one could scarcely measure a more fundamental question, nor one more far-reaching, to put to a man anxious to

preach the word of life to his fellow-men. In the effort to find the proper answer to what so much concerns us we stand up with the ruler of nations, the poet, the scientist. The man in the pulpit is the last man to allow himself to be dubbed a "back number" and not compel his opponent to either swallow or make good the fling.

The present-day pulpit breathes the oxygen of two texts, "The faith which was once delivered to the saints," and "Into all the world." It is evermore moving out into the young day with the memories of the old day. And these memories are to achieve the mastery of the coming ages. There is more momentum at the call of the man in the pulpit than for any other man on earth. He holds more truth for instant use than belongs to any other profession. If any man should be in quick touch with the passing day he is the man in the pulpit. The two sides of his calling—according to Spener, substance and personality; according to Brooks, truth and personality—must be ever in mind. He is the holder of the past for the use of the present. If now, looking at the latter of these, he exalts movement above matter, he should remember that movement implies not only change, but continuity of life. Dead matter moves only when it is carried, and not for the reason which must be assigned for the triumph of the Church of God.

So the question of the "universal homiletic" depends upon the meaning of the two halves just named, truth and personality. If the eye is fastened upon the first, we get an affirmative; if upon the latter, a negative. The unprevailing gates of hell have tested the permanence of the Church of Jesus Christ. There have been at once unity and continuity of faith. "Certain fundamental ideas of the Gospel have never been lost, and have defied all attack." So says Harnack. In the emancipation of the human soul the chief agent from a human point of view is a changing yet continuous homiletic; not the protean witchery of the Greek myth, but the power of God unto salvation. Below all change is fundamental life. This is the stay of every unpracticed builder. All other considerations are of minor worth compared with this. This is the guarantee of our permanent embassy. The preacher is sent with a revelation. If there is to be any sort of an evolution it will be in the line of the better understanding of that revelation, and not in that of any substan-

tial additions thereto. Any so-called "preservative additions" will prove to be like the "fool's" gold with which the voyagers laded their vessels, only to be made the laughingstock of their fellows at home.

Yet a highly refined articulation of this revelation in creed form is not needed for triumph over error and sin. We have the strongest evidence that a short creed will be able to work out a loving life and a lasting reformation. The grip of the creed that is lessening in quality but growing in power is mightier in our day than ever before. In the effort, however, to throw aside confessional elaborations of faith as the basis of advance some may harm their cause. We are liable to have reproduced in the pulpit effects similar to those in art, wherein "impressionism" seeks the reproduction of scenery in its larger and less defined outlines; no more the twig and leaf, but the dim and distant view as it melts into the far-lying horizon. Some pulpits mistake the gloaming of sentiment for the glory of spiritual power. It may be that this is another way man has of straining for the true method, and that in the pulpit "impressionism" is a sort of declaration of independence against literal elaboration. In wise following of the Aristotelian "middle way" the pulpit will combine both spirit and letter. In one way we may portray God as unapproachable by syllogistic process, as the undescried One who dwells in eternity; but, on the other hand, let us bring him into the very closest touch with the morose and wounded lives of the embittered all about us. It is plain that we are moving to a drumbeat in human progress which our fathers would have disowned, and that the present pulpit is more disposed to grant to each individual more rights of faith in details than formerly; but we shall not sigh for the restrictions of other days, in the shape of uniformity acts, to give us a surer hold upon the hearts of men. It is no just reproach against the preaching of the times that it allows much freedom to the private conscience in the matter of creed building. As to matters of faith, the compulsory swallowing of food, when the food offered is indigestible, is puerile in homiletics and untrue to human nature. The practice of a score of virtues is bound up with the belief in a mere handful of articles of faith. In ethics, many goods; in creed, few articles. A short creed will serve for a long life. Lake Itasca starts the Father

of Waters. In the flow of the mighty stream there are supplies for a million acres. The golden rule will do for the divine standard to measure off goods to clothe a hundred thousand waifs, and to insure just judgment between embittered nations whose hostile interests force them apart as do the waves of the restless seas that roll against both shores.

If John Wesley were living would he not chide us for mint, anise, and cummin homiletics? On the one hand, no one would deprecate a creedless Church with more emphasis than he. But the essential truths of the revelation of grace are not hard to find in the book—God manifest as a Trinity through the God-man and the mission of the Comforter; man taken out of sin and introduced into a state of holy living through the pardoning grace of the suffering Saviour; man made a colaborer with God in bringing about the consummation of the desires of the Son of God for an eternal kingdom of believers out of which shall be formed the new heaven of the Father's purpose.

The struggle between the old and the new will work out good in the end. The pulpit simply takes its share in the general movement. Here, as elsewhere, there is something to be dropped and something to be carried forward. There is also a foreshadowing of the truer thought and of the wiser evangelism of to-morrow, in the unwillingness to pinch the growing foot of the swifter herald of to-morrow in the tiny toy of a past day's pride in custom, tradition, or rule. Faith will have its increase, both in quality and quantity. If our movement is a vital one, and not a mechanical one, we shall without a shadow of doubt see more faith when the Son of man comes. For there is no power in which there is not also much of prophecy. Power is itself prophecy.

Only thus can we fairly represent the Master. The vitality of the pulpit is blood kin to its power of vision. Its three words are, "anchorage," "adaptation," "advance." As any circle can be drawn by means of three points, so the world may be included in these three. Harnack has a significant passage in his *History of Dogma*, in which he shows how the early Church planted itself on Christ, aimed for the whole world, and used the Græco-Roman world for its agent. "The Gospel became a world religion in that, having a message for all mankind, it preached it to Greek and Bar-

barian, and accordingly attached itself to the spiritual and political life of the wide Roman empire." In all this the anchorage is none the less firm, though the adaptation demands change; it may be confidently asserted that modification of statement is often a declaration of the mastery of essential principles. It may be said that error is an effort at adaptation. Yes; but error steals a little stock, and then waters it into manifold size. Not so with truth. The chameleon versatility of unbelief, that creeps with credulous eagerness upon each new substitute for the truth and absorbs the hue of every last guess at truth, serves to make plain that error becomes visible and attracts notice only as it fastens itself to some distorted or fractional discovery. One error gives way to another, to be in turn displaced. For instance, there are two kinds of fatalism, the Calvinistic and the scientific. They differ in this, that the former does not allow a man who is doomed to know his fate, while the latter oppresses him with the feeling that this is about all the knowledge he can claim. The old-time denial of free will has had its day, and another is passing. Until of late much emphasis has been put upon the scientific doctrine of heredity, and many have enlarged upon its gloomier phases. It is an important truth, but not all-explaining. Some who, as experts in penology, gave in their adherence to this gloomy fatalism, have of late renounced their former belief, and are now denouncing the pessimism that lurked in the doctrine they once advocated. In a late paper Mr. Round, Secretary of the National Prison Association, argued that criminals are not the victims of heredity. "I wish to put myself on record," he says, "after a study of the criminal, and contrary to my previous utterances, as going squarely back to the doctrines of free will as laid down by our fathers." Dr. Williams, of Randall's Island Hospitals, holds to the same view. Heredity is not the transmission of conditions so much as of tendencies, and environment has more to do with the formation of character than inheritance. So the latest science gives new force to the old faith, and we may confidently assert that no living appeal of the pulpit will be permanently poisoned by the mischievous notions of the foes of truth. The basis of the "universal homiletic" is divine.

When we address ourselves to the other side of our question

we find a tremendous burden of responsibility rolled upon the living pulpit. Not the least reason for this is that there is here no "universal homiletic." For the preacher must be first of all a witness. No sorcery, no charm of speech, no wealth of knowledge, can transform the man who is not a witness into a preacher of the Gospel. The wisdom must be both of the head and the heart. It is as true now as ever that the distinction of St. Augustine holds good between *sapientia* and *eloquentia*. *Sapientia* without *eloquentia* will do good; *eloquentia* without *sapientia* will do no good. In the union of the two there is the world-transforming pulpit. Induction never yet made a true preacher. Inspiration alone can do that.

Nor can we hope that the office will do for the man what nothing else on earth has ever done. Officialism and efficiency are not destined to the highest sort of union. Ordination papers are a poor substitute for the oracles of God. The man must be authorized, as well as his place. Yet even here there is peril. Hence the true witness is always loath to bolster up his sermons by a too ready reference to his own personal experience of the truth which is taking hold of the world. The emotion of the passing day is too small a mirror for the sun of truth. No one should be stripped of his well-grounded conviction of the power of his personality in the pulpit, but he should beware of making too frequent trips to that storehouse. It will give out before the truth which embraces the world. One's own life cannot be the standard of God's dealings with men. God is at work upon a world problem in which one man's life is a small fraction. The too frequent use of autobiographical material is apt to seduce a man from the hard study of the age-long purpose of the Redeemer. Autobiography errs in substituting the feeling of the day for the philosophy of the ages. The present day is not to set up the petty tyranny of the day over the truth of the centuries. God has a thousand ways of affecting men, and it is our duty to follow him out on the lengthening pathway trod by the saints of all ages. The man is not the first thing in the sermon. He is the first thing the sermon is to flow through in order to achieve its expected end. Corot's devotion to his art suggests a most important lesson: "Truth is the first thing in art, and the second, and the third." One may not tell the whole truth in one sermon, but what is

told must square with all other truth in the universe, so far as one may hold the two in equipoise. The imperative need is system in our thinking if ever the pulpit is to become the Moses of Red Sea crossings of the twentieth century, stretching a mighty wand over defiant waves and drying a way for the safe passage of even little children.

The true witness will not misuse his place of power. The practice of pulpit tricks and the violence of pulpit acrobatics suggest to all sane and devout souls the circus antics of a clown, and the church becomes a ring where song and sawdust are inextricably mixed. High duty is travestied, and the whistling strokes of rapier scorn justly circle the head of the man whose only halo is a fool's cap. If one man errs on the side of a strained originality, the man whose ambition is to duplicate a brother's splendid efforts turns the pulpit into a cage where the parrot reigns supreme. It is hard to decide upon the proper penalty for these two opposites, the parrot plagiarist and the clownish original. Men are not so much to blame for enduring a homiletic harness as when, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, the clergy were compelled to abstain from their own sermonic efforts and to use those ordered by the rulers, all of which was contrary to the judgment of Archbishop Grindal, who was sequestrated for his importunity; but when the preacher is himself the victim of his own conscious surrender to the homiletic helps on his shelves the case is pitiful indeed. The advance of the kingdom is not to illustrate the Master's willingness to give premiums to pulpits erected upon ready-made sermons. If in any man's library there be a volume that looks as if its title should be—no matter what it is—*Preaching Made Easy*, let him start for the encomium which the men of Ephesus won in Holy Writ for their brave firing of their old volumes of magical prescriptions, and add heat, if not light, by a kindred conflagration. It is to be feared that some without these various homiletic helps would be like the Ephesian wrestler who, lacking the incantation of the mystic scrap of parchment on his person, was worsted by his opponent. The recipe for pulpit power is not in homiletic confections. They are rather the sweet poison of pulpit giants. There is a definite increase of logical skill, of imaginative insight, of substantial exegesis, of wholesome sympathy for the flock, in a manly preference of

one's own second-rate skeleton to the first-rate one of the ablest preacher on earth. Imagine the good to come from a sermon upon "Thou shalt not steal," taken bodily from another's sermonic coop. Emerson's definition of a scholar, "man thinking," is yet more true of the real preacher. Some such motto should spur us to fresh effort, as that which on the walls of the old Winchester school in England fired the boys to their tasks: "*Aut disce, aut discede; manet sors tertia, caedi.*" The mind that turns to the world of action, of letters, that watches the tides of social life, that feeds the imagination and fashions according to living methods the message for the day, scorns with joy the fear that haunts the man whose path some braver pilgrim has had to "blaze." It is a woeful waste of hard-won cash to invest it in any sort of "homiletic helps." The mental independence which wastes no time in unshelving dusty illustrations is one with that originality which spurns the offer of an unchanging homiletic, with as much pride and far more sense than Johnson showed when he hurled from his door at Pembroke the shoes some friend had laid there for the indigent scholar.

Homiletic folly is never so absurd as when it cherishes the hope of discovering an absolute standard of homiletic art. From the standpoint of art the sermon is not a piece of sculpture, but a tool of might, with which men are sent of God to carve his name upon the forefront of the ages. The sermon is too much coupled with its time to attempt an absolute standard. There is both limitation and liberty in this. The very close contact of the poem and the sermon with their time is evidence of life. We are not to count this necessary "orientation" as weakness. The permanent vitality of the Gospel is the bride of each new age, arrayed in the evermore radiant garments of the bettered art of the last thought man gets of God's will and purpose. A real preacher of the Gospel cannot be content to seek that far-off absolutism of an artistic and unchanging form when his hearers are dying for lack of bread. The very power that seems flawless is a failure. Emerson's discovery of weakness in the "Iliad," because of the freedom with which Homer lays on the local colors and indulges in constant allusions to the petty things of his day, is hardly worthy of the name. The "localisms" of the poet, are they not the proof

that the crown of Grecian art was won when it refused to waste its vigor upon the misty generalities of the farther East? So the great pulpit thinkers have followed a goodly throng of giants in art when they have turned from the griefs of the Goths to the struggles of socialism. The power of God is the permanent thing. The power of the devil is the ever-vacillating thing. It is of small use to fire into the ranks of the Hittites, Perizzites, Amorites, or other available ancients, when the hypocrisy of sham, the pride of place, and the avarice of the saloon are joining hands to inaugurate a dominion of demagogues, while the *dilettante* patriotism of the day declines to rule save by the vicarious authority which each reeking caucus assumes only to profane.

We live in an age in which the poet and the preacher are united by a common sympathy against an unjust criticism. The scientific iconoclast has played the part of the highwayman against their peace. Huxley, in speaking of poetic expression, called it "sensual caterwauling," and Stedman justly calls him to account, and as a poet looks forward to the time when men shall not give attention to the analysis of tears, but shall endeavor to create them. The heart must have its food. Poetry and preaching are not to become obsolete influences in the scheme of progress. If the German poet be right in declaring that the last man is to be the last poet, then the last man is to test the uplifting power of two wings, one of them poetic and the other sermonic. If the seers who stand on tiptoe behold the day of reconciliation between the scientist and the poet, so may we, who have been classed down with the poet in a day of loss of power in which the analyst is the fore, behold our day rising in the new east of a better knowledge of the proper relations we sustain toward all the classes and all the masses of mankind. The world is far from being done with us. The very ship that bore the Indian sage, Dharmapala, back to India had on board a band of Christian missionaries. A great day is about to dawn. The hour is ringing its optimistic chimes. We are on the verge of vaster domains to be won to Christ than ever in the past. So our own Haven was convinced, and so Whittier sang:

> The day is greatening to the dawn;
> The century's aloe flowers to-day.

Now are we able to see in what true originality consists. That pulpit which puts itself in the hand of God for the lifting of this dolorous time out of its selfishness into the finer service of the coming age is the original pulpit. It may be unable to point out the details of the new struggle or show the splendor of the new morning in all its freshness. What of that? It is none the less original. The sun that smiles over the sea cliffs of the east is none the less original because our fathers washed away the stains of their sleep in the mellow radiance of his beams. He is to us the new light of the new day, and as he climbs up the steep of the sky to stir the world to action he is as original as when he called Abraham to his tent door.

It is a small ambition that a man of God should be anxious to merely keep up with his time; let him rather go ahead of it in every good word and work. The fly on the axletree of the chariot, in Æsop's fable, saying, "What a dust do I raise," is too often the man content to share the unearned victory and to claim all the honors. Like the fly, such a man is too small to be thrown off; if he were heavier he would either fall to the roadside or go to the front. The great chariot of the Captain of our salvation is moving on with quickened speed; but it is a matter of regret that its velocity should become a test of the tenacity with which insect incumbrances hold on, with heads too small to be dizzied and with feet more used to adhesion than to progression. Not to hang on, but to hasten on, should be the aim. We must hasten. We have come too far not to go farther. Our power is not a meager revenue we get by taxing the glorious memories of the dead, but the capital of God's omnipotence which feeds with its compounding interest the hungering hosts of the unsaved. The real pulpit is not weakening. Its very limitations are an evidence of magnificent endowments and a surety of mightier triumphs. The philosopher's stone of the pulpit is not a "universal homiletic," but an ever-changing, Christlike charm of the adaptable message, in whose all-comprehensive service the travel-stained feet of pilgrims without number find washing and the pulseless forms of the dead find life.

Just now we are the witnesses of a phase of social unfolding that indicates the necessity of the adaptation of permanent principle to a new need. We are in the midst of a tidal move-

ment toward a fuller recognition of the corporate life of the human family. This is a comparatively new thing. There are several causes for this. The impersonal laws of the scientific realm, the new and combining efforts of the industrial world, the widening democracy of the political world, all tend to increase the sense of the mutual responsibility by which the world is being drawn together. The humblest reporter has a higher notion of the "people" than even Shakespeare could have had. His standard was concrete and individual, and he had no praise for the impersonal "many-headed monster." The one thing for the pulpit to grip firmly is the new idea that has forged to the front, and to show clearly that, as it has had the Gospel for the one man, so now it will not fail with a Gospel for the composite social estate that is rising up all about us. It is for us to offer an anticipatory attitude toward every new ill, that we be not caught napping, that we believe in the cure we proclaim. It is an ominous thing when men, stirred by an intense desire to know the truth, and knowing no anchorage save the effort that holds them to their daily task, turn away from the Christian pulpit and look to the ephemeral counterfeits of eternal verities for satisfaction. Not all the blame can be put upon the restless nonchurchgoing crowd, sadly prodigal of powers which, if they were trained in righteousness, would give the King his kingdom in a day. Are we in default? Is our culture a clog? May it not be a lever? Is our place to be trusted with scholarship? Are we ever inclined to trust to inheritance, and not to try achievement? Is not the pulpit set here to illustrate how much of a burden God can afford to put upon men's shoulders? It is the Atlas of all time, not bearing the great round burden as a penalty of angry deity, but as the honored colaborer of the loving God who would save men through men.

We are in line with the utmost advance of the new day, as well as in touch with the certified principles of the Founder. We ought to make it plain that we know no poison for which we lack the antidote, no misery for which we lack an anodyne, no waning vigor for which we lack the tonic of life. Homiletic literature, at its best, very brightly mirrors the passing day. If the spirit of the age emphasizes the individual, the sermon notices this accent. It may even be drawn to excess in

its accent of the prevalent idea. Only vigilance will enable it to hold a firm course between the rock and the whirlpool. But it should not allow the new need to run too far in advance of the supply it alone is able to offer. It has been said that there has been a threefold issue of dogma as represented in Romanism and in Socinianism and in Protestantism. May we not add another, about to take shape due to the efforts of the great blind giant men call Socialism, which struggles to get the race a little further on its way? Can it be that the prospects held out before men by street-corner oracles are utterly without recognition in the basal attitude of the Gospel toward the future of society?

We must admit two things, first, that Jesus has exhausted the idea of a perfect religion; second, that the future is needed to bring its accumulations of effort to be measured by the Carpenter's rule. His very vastness of comprehension of plan precludes the possibility of our seeing clearly with our fathers' eyes; in order to see Jesus our own eyesight must grow hourly keener. For he rises to new levels with the evolution of each new age. Jesus is first revelation—we should say, *was* first—then he was redemption, then regeneration; we now see him in his latest manifestation of might as the regulator of society. No homiletic can hold the ages to their various destinies without the kaleidoscopic personality of Jesus Christ. The ability to propagate truth comes from him. He prefers the life of an enthusiasm that has blemishes to the deadness of a restraint that is flawless. Men will be led to say with Arndt, "When I am thirsty I prefer a troubled spring to a dry well." The *abandon* of a courteous, courageous, scholarly pulpit is the "desire of the nations." Such a pulpit need have no fear that the power of the Lord of the world will become less through effort to cover vaster territory. A constant inspiration lies in the feeling that all progress is permanent which has Jesus for its monumental file-leader. It is as Freemantle has said, "When the Church is seen to be the constant inspirer of human progress there will be no skeptics but those to whom human progress is indifferent." When it comes to pass that worship shall go with Christ to the house of God to hear him read the lessons; and the family shall repeat the scenes of the Nazareth home; and knowledge shall learn of the great Teacher, and art ask how

the Carpenter in the little shop of the hill town toiled; and trade be not compelled to absent itself from the Lord's table because it has the money of the land; and society shall have no feast to which the chief Guest is not invited; and statesmanship shall make no war without the Captain; and philanthropy shall break no bread till it has his benediction; and the pulpit shall ignore its commission and doubt its inspiration unless from him—then it may be known that the King has come to his kingdom.

Let but the pulpit covet a passion for reality in preaching the Saviour akin to that possessed by Holman Hunt in his paintings. Ruskin has a significant contrast between Rossetti and Hunt:

> To Rossetti the Old and New Testaments were only the greatest poems he knew; and he painted scenes from them with no more actual belief in their relation to the present life and business of men than he gave to the "Morte d'Arthur" and the "Vita Nuova." But to Holman Hunt the story of the New Testament, when once his mind entirely fastened on it, became what it was to an old Puritan, or an old Catholic of true blood—not merely a reality, not merely the greatest of realities, but the only reality. So that there is nothing in the earth any more that does not speak of that, there is no course of thought nor force nor skill for him but it springs from and ends in that.

Shall the perishable canvas tell to few generations the tale of such devotion, and shall the preacher fritter his time away in the passionless pastime of giving pleasure to a select few, when he might be fashioning a vast volume of "living epistles?"

The world is to be saved by preaching. A mere matter-of-fact obedience to the divine call has its fair reward. But there is a richer quittance in store for the man who, out of his partial successes and painful failures, out of mingled fears and hopes, out of the tremulous utterances of tremendous truths, has learned to count his place of power far beyond his deserts, and to rejoice that the largest accumulations of knowledge, the severest training, the most sinewy skill, can never be hampered by the size of the position he is striving to fill. If the young preacher be a true man, the sense of the worth of the few square feet set apart for him in front of his fellows, the feeling that here is no common bush but one "aflame with God," and which he dare not approach with sandaled feet—this sense can never grow dull with the passing years, and he afterward

comes to chide himself, when amid new marvels and sterner struggles to achieve his ideal, that his early wonder had no wider horizon. He who does not find his conception of the pulpit growing as the other influential factors grow, and outgrowing them, may well be alarmed.

Preaching—a man's standing before men, and by force of mind and grace of address and heat of soul trying to put God's thought into their lives—this shall have evermore its own crown as chief among the princes of progress. Neither familiar acquaintance nor furious antagonism can ever diminish the colossal size of the pulpit. Here the rarest souls win rarest triumphs. He who clings to the surpassing value of his calling, and with the true preacher's double passion—now for truth and now for souls—never fails to scan new skies, and to try untrod paths, and to answer the freshest challenges of his foes with more than their daring—he will know no "dead line" save the one in the city of the dead. Of such men may say, as was said of Moses, "No man knoweth of his sepulcher." Of others—well, no matter.

The pulpit is a chariot, not a hearse. What a difference between the man who, a few years ago, left the pulpit for the stage, and the man, now dead a hundred years, who hewed his desk of stone with the same hands that wrought the immortal *Checks*, and found his dying couch transformed into a flaming phaeton such as even the heat of the pagan poet's frenzy never fashioned for the madcap of the mythic sky! Miln thought to find in the drama an educator more engaging, more wise, and more enduring than could be secured in the Christian pulpit. Fletcher cried out with failing breath: "Shout! Shout aloud! I want a gust of praise to go to the ends of the earth!" Who knows of the preacher-actor? Who has forgotten the preacher-seraph?

R. L. Stevenson

ART. VII.—THE ATMOSPHERE AND THE PERSONNEL OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

IF one has a real love for English literature, or for English Church history, he must also have an appetite more or less developed for Oxford. We say less, as well as more, developed, because there are many men of true literary instincts whose longings for Oxford are not at all pronounced. But, if these were once, by chance, to drink at this fountain head, their whole soul would cry out with unwonted delight.

The true university is before all things a vast conservatorium, a treasure-house of human achievements already wrought. It is a broad, lofty platform reared upon the unshaken pillars of established truths, where the laborers of to-day may accurately lay down their base lines, and from which they may confidently project their angles, deducing legitimate conclusions concerning the things not known from the things which do appear. Such a university is Oxford, rich in its historic traditions, which are as old as the English people, rich in its endowments of books and buildings, and ever rich in its cultured society of earnest scholars.

It is difficult to write with any degree of satisfaction about Oxford, it is so large, so varied, and so unique. If one can imagine a score or more of Wesleyan universities or Princetons all clustered together in convenient proximity, in the center of a city of fifty-five or sixty thousand inhabitants, he may get some idea of its size. Then, if he can imagine that each of these several groups of college buildings bears a marked individuality or style of its own, including kitchens, dining halls, dormitories, libraries, chapels, museums, observatories, conservatories, laboratories, churches, a great publishing concern, and an ancient cathedral, he may get some idea of its variety. As for uniqueness, Oxford is purely unique; there is none other of its kind. Cambridge is entirely different, though in its way quite as interesting, both in history and spirit. In the minds of those who are acquainted with Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown* there already exists a picture of Oxford. A truer portrayal of that famous seat will never be made; and who wishes anything modern to surpass the Oxford of fifty years ago?

Instead of "going up" from Paddington in a Great Western express train—time one hour and twenty-five minutes—and "getting down" in one of the most dismal stations on the "line," whence one has to elbow his way through one of those everlasting English underground passages before he is privileged to set eyes on the most unsightly part of the city, let us leave London on top of an old-time stagecoach, behind four nervous, well-groomed cobs, and take the whole of a long October day to cover our sixty-odd miles. Thank fortune, one can still reach Oxford either from Warwickshire or London in the same respectable fashion that was good enough for Samuel Johnson and Thomas De Quincey, Joseph Addison and Jonathan Swift. Let no one persuade himself that he has ever seen England at her best until he has viewed her rural shires from something better than a car window. But here we are rounding Shotover Hill, and behold what a valley spreads out before us! It is the upper Thames, where the river Cherwell joins it. And there in the vale between the rivers, anciently accessible only by those fords from which it has taken its name, lies Oxford, "that lovely city with dreaming spires." Just before entering the town we pass the Cowley Cricket Grounds and Christ Church Tennis Fields, and now we roll over Magdalen Bridge and enter what to us, with the exception, perhaps, of High Street, Edinburgh, is the most interesting street in Europe. Sir Walter Scott said even more of it in his day, and Mr. Ruskin says as much of it now; and that ought to settle it. Hear him: "The stream-like winding of 'the High,' with its magnificent vista of Queen's, University, and All Souls' Colleges, and the churches of St. Mary the Virgin and All Saints, combine to form an architectural *tout ensemble* surpassed by no other city or town in the world."

Just before reaching the center of the city we pull up at the "Mitre," the most famous hostelry of middle England. It is a well-preserved old-time English inn, with all the traditions and aroma of the best Oxford life during the past five hundred years, and it is not superannuate yet. During the past summer it was rumored that an American capitalist had purchased the "Mitre," with the intention of replacing it with a modern hotel on the American plan; but, thanks to the good sense and pride of the community, such a piece of high-handed vandalism

has not yet taken place. It is bad enough to have "the Crown Inn," so intimately connected with the visits of Shakespeare and the early days of Sir William Davenant, give place to the greed of a modern banking company; but as long as the "Mitre" can so comfortably shelter and provide for its guests palsied be the hand that removes her time-beaten tiles.

For him "who in the love of nature holds communion with her visible forms" it were difficult to imagine more inspiring haunts than those to be found in the gardens and by the lake of old Worcester College; or among the water walks and deer parks of Magdalen; or in the almost endless mazes, called "Mesopotamia," of the university gardens along the Cherwell; or on the broad city commons stretching away as far as Wolvercote on the upper Thames; or in Merton Fields, and Christ Church Meadows, and Bagley Wood, and all the other woods and fields and meadows that lie along the Isis, as the Thames is classically called below the city, as far as Abingdon. And one will certainly want to climb Shotover again, and read on its brow the legend of its naming; and some day climb to Cunmor Hurst, on the opposite side of the valley, and read Matthew Arnold's "Scholar Gypsey" beneath Arnold's "signal elm;" and make a detour, on his return, through Cunmor village, and read the epitaphs in Cunmor churchyard and in the church, together with a few verses from the chained Bible there—a copy, by the way, of the first edition of King James, and the basis of the English text of the celebrated Oxford Bibles ever since. And he will, of course, sentimentally study the Latin tablet to virtuous Anthony Foster, and wish there were a monument half so well done to poor Amy Robshart, who often worshiped here. And, if he has learned the stiles and gates and paths through the fields, he will come back to town by way of Abingdon Abbey and Godstow Abbey, in the former of which Amy Robshart, and in the latter of which "Fair Rosamund," were once girl graduates. Then there is Iffley for another afternoon's stroll, with its quaint and indescribably pretty little Norman church and its ancient yew trees; and there is Littlemore, a mile or so farther on, with its living monuments of John Henry Newman's "years in retreat;" and there is Dorchester, with its cathedral ruins, dating back to the time of Saint Birinus, the second great missionary bishop to

Britain, who followed Augustine of Canterbury after an interval of only forty years. And there is South Leigh, where John Wesley began his preaching as an Anglican deacon in a beautiful parish church which contains some of the rarest mural painting in all England. One can also visit the Castle Prison in Oxford and the lodgings in New Inn Hall Street, where the great itinerant began his preaching as a Methodist. Then there is a holiday drive out to Woodstock, for a view of the lodgings and the landscapes of Geoffrey Chaucer and the marvels within and around Marlborough House, where Henry II and Henry III and King John held court; and if the driver of the "trap" favors the plot, as he surely will for an extra sixpence, he may take in good King Alfred's boyhood home at Wantage, and give us a glimpse of the White Horse Vale, and bring us back through rose-embowered Marston, where Fairfax brought the king's commissioners to terms for Cromwell. By this time, if one is not ready to exclaim, with Nathaniel Hawthorne, that "it is a despair to see such a place and ever to leave it," he does not deserve an introduction to the librarian of the beautiful Bodleian, nor the privilege of knowing any of the inner delights of this wonderful city of colleges.

But let us pay a visit to Christ Church, which is the name of perhaps the leading college and of the cathedral of Oxford. We will enter by Canterbury gate from Bear Lane, just opposite Oriel College, whose common room has been so intimately connected with the academic discussions of Sir Walter Raleigh, Bishop Butler, John Keble, Dr. Arnold, Bishop Wilberforce, Archbishop Whately, Dr. Pusey, John Henry Newman, and Thomas Hughes. Passing under the lofty arch supported on either side by fluted Doric columns, we are in "Canterbury Quad," after the old Canterbury College which stood here, founded by Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1365. John Wyclif, at that time fellow of Merton College, was made first warden or president of Canterbury. In the open space behind his college, now marked by a fountain and the very center of the great "Tom Quad" of Christ Church, Wyclif began his open-air preaching, and from thence sent forth his itinerant Lollards, forerunners both of the English Reformation and of Methodism. Geoffrey Chaucer studied at Canterbury, and doubtless found in the great warden his true ideal of the priest of God.

Sir Thomas More was another great mind educated here, and when he left Canterbury College to take office at the court it was with the stipulation that he should first look to God and after that to the king. About a century and a half after its founding Canterbury College developed under the ambitious lead of Cardinal Wolsey into the foremost school of Oxford, being renamed first for Wolsey himself, and, after his disgrace and death, for his royal master, Henry VIII. It was not until 1546 that it finally received its present title, since which time, as before, many of the most eminent names in English history have been associated with it. To those who have not reached the time when they are no longer susceptible to such things there is exquisite pleasure in walking the courts and climbing the staircases and knowing the lodgings and lecture rooms, the grand library and chapel, and dining hall and buttery, where Wellington and Robert Peel and Philip Sidney and John Locke and William Penn and Ben Jonson and Dr. South and Francis Atterbury and Peter Martyr and the Wesleys and the Puseys and Gladstone and Ruskin and Liddell and Liddon and a host of others have taken their first steps toward greatness.

The Hall, as the college dining room is called, has the name of being the finest refectory in all beef-loving England. Its grand mediæval windows, its lofty oak-ribbed ceiling with pendant armorial bearings, its capacious fireplaces, its broad black old tables for undergraduates stretched along either side, and the table for the dons and dignitaries on a platform across the upper end; its four walls adorned with the portraits of its distinguished foundationers from the hands of such masters as Van Dyke, Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Kneller, Holbein, and Millais—all these are a liberal education in themselves. Here Charles I assembled those members of his Parliament who remained faithful to him in his extremity, and here maintained his forlorn court during that historic winter of the royalists in Oxford. Henry VIII was banqueted here when head of the college, and here Elizabeth came from Woodstock to witness her earliest plays. Descending the grand stairway beneath Wolsey's Tower, remarkable for its roof of fan tracery, we enter the cloisters on the right side of the cathedral and reach the ancient chapter house. This room has

recently been restored, and, what with steam heating and comfortable red hangings covering a portion of the bare walls, is now the most popular lecture room in the college. One cannot help remarking the novelty of his situation as he sits quietly observing his surroundings, while a fully robed and bonneted canon calls the roll of his variously gowned divinity class. And one may, perhaps, be pardoned if he indulges the hope, while he nibbles his quill, that he may be sitting among the Wesleys of the twentieth century. The cathedral is a beautiful pile in mixed Norman and early English architecture, though dating back to Saxon times. It has the most ancient spire in England.

But to a nonchurchman the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, in High Street, is far more interesting than Christ Church Cathedral. St. Mary's is the university church. Its main entrance is through an attractive porch of the Italian style. During the days of the Puritan supremacy its twisted columns, together with the Virgin Mary, with Jesus in her arms holding a crucifix, were the subject of much criticism; and at the trial of Archbishop Laud the building of this porch formed one of the chief grounds of his impeachment. It was in St. Mary's that Cranmer, when brought to proclaim his adhesion to the Roman Church on the morning of his martyrdom, October 16, 1556, boldly repudiated all he had before said in favor of "Romish assumptions as contrary to the truth." It was but a few paces from the sanctuary to the stake, from the temple of God to the ditch without the city gates, where Latimer and Ridley had suffered but a few months before; and there did Cranmer "light such a candle by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out." It has often been said that Cambridge educated and Oxford burned the martyrs, but it cannot be shown that Oxford University as such exerted any particular influence in this great tragedy. The commissioners of inquiry were chosen by the Convocation of Canterbury, and included, among others, the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, while the trial of the martyrs was conducted by Pole and the pope irrespective of either university. The pulpit of St. Mary's has been the pivot on which English Church history has turned since Wyclif's time. Catholic, Puritan, Anglican, Ritualist, Methodist, Tractarian, Most Reverend, Very Reverend, Reverend, and only

"rather" Reverend have thundered their doctrines, opinions, interpretations, expositions, impositions, excommunications, and anathemas above her sacred cushion; and, strange as it may appear, the Church of Christ our Lord still lives. Nevertheless, no more orthodox, or evangelical, or practical sermons have ever been preached there than those of the Bampton Lectureship, during the winter and spring terms of 1890, by the venerable Archdeacon Watkins, on the Johannean authorship of the fourth gospel.

But the crowning utterance of that year, and of the past decade, in St. Mary's was the last sermon of the now sainted Liddon, preached on Whitsunday. The great canon was always greatest in Oxford. Here he was educated; here he held a professorship in New Testament Greek for years; here his best sermons had been preached; here he held his lodgings as a resident fellow of Christ Church until death. For seven years he had not been heard in St. Mary's. He was out of all sympathy with the too progressive, or liberal, wing of his own High Church party. But he seemed to feel that before he died he ought to raise his voice in no uncertain manner against it. At London his message had already been delivered. For the last time the great dome of St. Paul's had reverberated with those silvery, searching tones. It was a beautiful Sabbath morning, the most beautiful of that entire summer term. We were told by Canon Paget, now Dean of Christ Church, then one of the regius professors, that the old university church had not been so crowded in a generation. At precisely half past ten the beadles, bearing their huge gold and silver maces, began the procession from the side chapel down the nave. They were followed by Dr. Bellamy, the vice chancellor, with Canon Liddon on his left. At the top of the aisle Dr. Bellamy made a respectful bow of dismission, and the preacher of the day ascended the high pulpit. The gowned and hooded line advanced to its stalls—doctors, proctors, masters, wardens, and heads of houses. All pray in silence; all sing in solemn harmony; all stand in reverence, while the Bidding Prayer is read, and devoutly kneeling join in the prayer of our Lord. Then the text is announced, and England's greatest preacher of the present generation is at home again—"Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he

will guide you into all truth." The theme was the "Inspiration of Selection." The sermon was a discussion of the Holy Spirit's influence, (1) in the guidance and work of the apostles; (2) in the foundation and conquests of the early Church; and (3) in the inspiration, selection, and preservation of the sacred canon. It was fervent, cumulative, and convincing. The main force was given to the last head, in which the inspiration, selection, and preservation of the canon of Holy Scripture was boldly proclaimed. Unhallowed criticism was rebuked, irreverent liberalism was silenced, and the great throng, with moistened eyes and glowing hearts, again and again thanked God that their Daniel had come to judgment. We left St. Mary's that morning, as we had often left it before, convinced that still "the foundation of God standeth sure," and that Liddon would live when *Lux Mundi* should have been long forgotten.

Oxford does not any longer belong to the English Church, nor to the English nation alone, but to all English people; and to charge one born with a bias for Oxford with the affection vulgarly called "Anglophobia" is about as childish as to pronounce a man a rationalist because he has been to Berlin. Everything in Oxford is open to the serious seeker, except the two degrees in divinity; but all the honor of the work for these is freely granted, and that is all that any serious scholar wants. When once the somewhat terrifying, but exceedingly harmless and wholesome, barrier of red tape has been passed, one finds himself in the midst of surroundings the only embarrassment of which is their delightful cordiality. To receive repeated calls, and those not in the least formal, from the professor whom you esteem to be the most Christian and scholarly gentleman in the university, and whom you know to be the most indefatigable worker; to be given a special appointment; and then to be met and conducted about and introduced to men and things by another of the most revered and lovable of Oxford's professors, who tells you between times of his pet notions regarding the East Indian tongues—of some of which he is the only living English master—with the enthusiasm and clearness of a true instructor, and who insists upon hearing your opinions, if indeed you can command any in such a presence, and inquires about America with the genuine interest and sympathy

of a father; to receive marked social favors where you had supposed the most artificial exclusion prevailed—these are some of the things that deepen one's sense of obligation and of respectful attachment to what he considers to be the leading center of English life and letters.

Permit us to sketch a scene or two in outline, portraying a pair of lecturers who but three years since easily stood chief among Oxford's list of princely instructors, and both of whom to-day are numbered with the great majority. Here is Benjamin Jowett, as he lectures on Plato—a fresh, ruddy gentleman well past seventy, full but not stout; with beautiful white hair, clean shaven face, and the most cultivated voice and manners; simply and dispassionately talking on, with the utmost ease and deliberation, about the Greek philosopher and what he said and thought and meant. Our lecturer is the honored master of Balliol College, and has been for generations, and while he speaks he frequently looks through the half-opened window into the college garden and seems unconsciously to imbibe a sweetness and calmness that well-kept gardens always appear to have for philosophers. We are sure that garden, and everything, in fact, about Balliol, liked to have Jowett look upon it, because Jowett was a gentleman and a scholar. When the hour is half done a servant quietly brings in a cup of tea and a bit of bread and butter for the master; and when the servant retires and bears away the empty tray he seems as proud, if possible, as the garden.

Here is Professor Edward Augustus Freeman, as he lectures on the "Rise of the European States." He is a short, thickset man, who has well-nigh reached his threescore and ten, with a big and reddish beard. He appears to be suffering from chronic asthma, which trouble makes it difficult for both lecturer and audience, especially as he tries to read rapidly from manuscript what you wish he would give, in substance, extempore and more slowly. His appearance impresses one as a little grotesque, for he always wears his black academic cap and gown above a suit of gray a little too well worn. When we saw him bearing down the street for his lecture room he invariably reminded us of a retired and scantily pensioned sea captain.

But to the present reader no names shine forth in the entire

list of Oxford worthies so illustriously as those of John and Charles Wesley, felicitously called "the head and the heart of Methodism." For the last three hundred years the name of Wesley has probably been inscribed upon the roster rolls of Oxford University as continuously as that of any other English family. Bartholomew, the great-grandfather of the Wesleys; John, their grandfather; Samuel, their father, and Samuel, Jr., their elder brother, as well as Dr. Samuel Annesley, their maternal grandfather, had all preceded them as holders of advanced degrees in the great school, and, without exception, had gone forth as able divines in the Church of Jesus Christ. Bartholomew was skilled in medicine as well as in theology, and it is said that his great-grandson, John, inherited his medical tendencies from this source. John, the next in the line, was profoundly learned in the oriental languages, and was the first of the Wesleys to develop a marked talent for keeping a daily journal in which he described all the events of his outward life, as well as the workings of his heart. Samuel, the son of this John and father of the greater John to follow, was a member of Exeter College. It was in him first that the poetic gifts of the house showed themselves. One of his poems, written immediately after the battle of Blenheim, so pleased the first Duke of Marlborough that he made its author chaplain of one of his chief regiments, and promised him a prebend, which last was foiled by controversial disputes with the Dissenters, who were then very powerful in Parliament. This same gifted Samuel wrote an elaborate Latin commentary on the Book of Job, and projected a polyglot edition of the Bible in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, and with the help of his son John, then in Oxford, finished a considerable portion of it, as we find in his letters, though we are unable to say whether he ever actually carried any of it through the press. The three famous sons of Samuel Wesley, namely, Samuel, Jr., John, and Charles, succeeded one another in the order named as members of Christ Church College, the first being entered in 1711, the second in 1720, and the third in 1726.

It was during this period, or perhaps, more broadly speaking, during the entire first half of the eighteenth century, that the University of Oxford, when measured by the ideal standard of a great Christian school, sounded the lowest depths of her

history; and it is most instructive to note, as one of Wesley's biographers has already done, that the greatest evangelical movement of modern times "took its rise in the attempt made by an Oxford tutor to bring back to the national institution for education something of that method which was at this time so disgracefully neglected." The condition of morals throughout Great Britain was deplorable. The utmost licentiousness prevailed at court, and the vices of the first two Georges had a baleful effect upon the nation. Political honesty was a thing unknown among parliamentary leaders. It is sober history that even the most eminent men had their price, and that those in power maintained themselves there by well-placed bribery. The leisure classes delighted in drunkenness and debauchery, and gloried in their shame. Infidelity ran rampant, and those writers were most popular who adopted a style in accord with the debased and coarse tastes of the day. Among the people generally the same flagrant immorality prevailed. The streets were continually disturbed by riots. The public-house signs offered to make men drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for twopence, with straw to lie upon! In the rural districts real barbarism reigned, and in the mining counties brutal savagery. There was darkness in high places and darkness in low places; darkness in the court, the camp, the Parliament, and the bar; darkness in country and in town; darkness among the rich and among the poor; a gross, thick religious and moral darkness; a darkness that might be felt. Nor was the Church much better. Says one of the least impassioned of Wesleyan historians:

> The fires of martyrdom destroyed the early leaders of the English Reformation. The imperial will of Elizabeth made the Anglican Church subject to state tutelage. The agents employed to carry on the work were both impious and ignorant, and so the work of reformation lacked both efficiency and spirituality. The Puritans for a while blew a clear blast from the Bible trumpet, but political bias and statecraft damaged the spiritual character of their work, and they sank down into a condition very little better than that of the Establishment itself.

Such was the condition of both Church and country at the time when Mr. John Wesley, Fellow and Moderator of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, King's Scholar and Student of Christ Church College; Mr. William Morgan, Commoner

of Christ Church College; Mr. Robert Kirkham, Member of Merton College; Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's College; Mr. Thomas Broughton, of Exeter College; Mr. John Clayton, of Brasenose College; Mr. Charles Kinchin, Fellow of Corpus Christi College; and Mr. John Gambold, of Christ Church College, set seriously before themselves the task of seeking and practicing personal holiness. Although the name of the elder Wesley is usually mentioned first in a list of the Oxford reformers, it must always be borne in mind that to Mr. Charles Wesley the opprobrious term of "Methodist" was in reality first applied, and that the epithet "The Holy Club" was first derisively given to the little gatherings of twos and threes for religious inquiry in the apartments of the same classical gentleman. It may be also interesting here to recall the fact that the "strangely warm" feeling which John experienced in Aldersgate Street, London, on the evening of Wednesday, May 24, 1738, had already been enjoyed by his younger brother, Charles, for an entire week.

Of all the attractive corners in all the classic wynds and cloistered quadrangles of Oxford there is none which compares in interest with the lodgings which Mr. John Wesley, Master of Arts, occupied as fellow of Lincoln College—for it was in those lodgings, and during that occupancy, that an Oxford movement was born the momentum of which is destined to accelerate as the square of the distance therefrom increases; and if Oxford is anything in the sight of Almighty God, she is such as the mother of moral movements, and of such movements beyond question the chief is that of Methodism. Let us visit Lincoln College, and especially the apartments of Lincoln's leading don. Turning out of Turl Street, right next to Exeter and opposite to Jesus College, we enter a venerable tower gateway, with groined roof, and stand within the first quadrangle, which was founded in 1427 by Richard Flemyng, Bishop of Lincoln—the shire, by the way, to which Epworth belongs, and in which John and Charles Wesley were born. On our left is the hall, the exterior of which remains nearly in its pristine state; the interior was remodeled in 1701, two years before John Wesley was born. Here the members of the college dined with the dons and doctors at the upper end, and the commoners at the long tables extending down the room. Here,

also, Mr. Wesley conducted the daily discussions at which he presided as moderator. Next to the hall in interest comes the chapel, which is one of the rarest relics in Oxford. It is wainscoted with cedar, and the heavy roof and screen are of the same wood. The seats are surmounted by carved figures of the apostles, said to be the work of Grinling Gibbons. In the windows there is some remarkable stained glass, brought from Italy, and held to be at least five hundred years old. The east window, at the end of the nave, is particularly fine, being an allegorical composition in which Old Testament incidents are placed alongside their New Testament antitypes—as, for instance, the temptation of Eve, and that of our Lord; or the brazen serpent lifted upon the pole, and Christ raised upon the cross. In the inner quadrangle is a luxuriant grapevine, said to be cultivated in consequence of the heart of Bishop Rotherham having been so touched by a sermon of Dr. Trisloppe, the rector, from the text, "Behold, and visit this vine," that he was moved to build the second quadrangle. As this same vine clambers the wall and clusters about the windows of Wesley's lodgings, it is usually called by the enterprising porter when showing Americans about the college, "John Wesley's vine." Entering a narrow passage to the right, we ascend a flight of stairs to the second story and, on opening the door at the top, step at once into a plain room about sixteen feet square, the sanctum of the saints of the Holy Club. A small sleeping apartment opens off of one corner, and here the father of Methodism saw many an apocalyptic vision and dreamed many a prophetic dream. This is the spot where gathered, and whence issued, that devoted band of Oxford itinerants whose highly cultivated minds and deeply stirred hearts were the real source of the great evangelical revival of the eighteenth century.

But a closing word about the recent movement toward making Oxford's influence more widely felt among the English people. This movement began in 1877, with the abolition of all churchly tests of membership in the university, and the opening of all degrees except those in divinity to nonconformists. Conservative Oxford had scarcely recovered from this wanton proceeding on the part of a liberal Parliament when the so-called "University Extension Scheme" was formed and put into successful execution, a plan which threw open her

priceless treasures to hundreds of ambitious and worthy provincials during the summer months. To think of Professor Max Müller making the inaugural address at such a meeting, and of many of the best lecturers and readers in the university gladly giving their services toward its success! It is a veritable Oxford Chautauqua. Then came the lifting of the latch to woman and her successful wrangling, as at Cambridge, with the best college men; for Oxford is not behind her sister school in this respect, though the fact has not been quite so widely advertised.

But, more important, if possible, than any of the foregoing facts is the very recent founding in Oxford of two distinctively nonconformist institutions, Mansfield College and Manchester New College. These represent respectively the extreme wings of English nonconformity; the one is the leading college, or, more properly speaking, theological school of the Congregationalists, and the other that of the Unitarians. Mansfield is already one of the finest college properties in this famous city of famous colleges. After many years of honorable history in the neighborhood of Birmingham the faculty and students removed to their beautiful foundation in Oxford only five years ago. This was indeed pushing the battle to the very gates, and it was one of the wisest moves the Independents have made in England during the past century. Dr. Fairbairn, who is widely known in America, is at the head of the faculty, and his school has already attracted the attention and admiration of all Oxford. Canon Ince, in his course of divinity lectures which we had the pleasure of taking in Christ Church, was constrained to speak in the highest terms of the quality of the work performed in Mansfield, frankly admitting that its standard was above that required of the theological candidate in the university—a fact which is beyond question. Dr. Broderick, Warden of Merton College, in his lectures on the "Place of Oxford University in English History," paid Mansfield an equally high tribute, and quoted her success to point an instructive moral for the grand old university to which he has given the best years of his life. Manchester New College was also just being removed to Oxford, having completed its first year in residence in temporary rooms rented in High Street. But it is now firmly rooted and well manned, with Dr. Drummond and

the Rev. F. E. Carpenter on its learned board of instruction. At its first commencement Rev. Brooke Hereford, of Boston, Mass., delivered the address welcoming the graduating class into the Unitarian ministry. He called upon all to give thanks to God that it had become possible for the free churches of England—nonconformists of nonconformists as they were, in the rejection of every demand for subscription to articles of faith—to establish at Oxford their college for students for the Christian ministry. Here, within the precincts of this great university, every intellectual and spiritual factor of the age was alive—keenly, eagerly, passionately alive. Here, therefore, was a training ground for the large-mindedness and large-heartedness which in this college were esteemed as of far more worth than any particular opinion that might be adopted by the students. They were charged not to look upon liberal Christianity merely as a collection of doctrines more or less heretical, but as a religion by which this passionately sectarian world might be redeemed from its sins.

What Methodist could listen to such things unmoved, or behold what glorious beginnings Mansfield had made, without feeling his heart strangely warmed? And what nobler monument could the great Wesleyan body raise to the memory of their founders than there in Oxford to establish a strong and living school for the maintenance of the faith once delivered to the saints?

Art. VIII.—HELEN HUNT JACKSON.

The genius and work of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson are of such quality as to place her among the best of America's literary workers. She wrote poetry of the purest order, and was a most attractive writer of clear-veined prose fiction. Emerson, in some respects the finest soul of American literature, in the preface to his anthology, said: "The poems of Helen Hunt have rare merit of thought and expression, and will reward the reader for the careful attention which they require." Thomas Wentworth Higginson marks her higher than Augusta Webster, Jean Ingelow, or Christina Rossetti, saying: "Her poems are stronger than any written by women since Mrs. Browning, with the single exception of Mrs. Lewes. . . . Mrs. Jackson soars to your estimate loftily as a bird." Dr. A. B. Hyde, of Denver, says: "My estimate of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, both as poet and person, has increased with longer attention, and I believe that even if slightly crowded from view by the throng of good, not better, poets, she will not fail of good and abiding repute in our literature." It is certain that hers was a rare intellectual genius, holding a choice place among prose and poetic writers because of the fresh originality of her conceptions and the power with which she wrought her ideals into form.

The life and beautiful scenery of Colorado have been given by her pen a lasting place in the world of art, yet she put but little of the descriptive quality into her creations. Her poetry mostly occupies a different realm, telling usually of feeling, and thinking, and being. She runs the entire gamut of human emotion, from the wildest ecstasy of joy to the deepest and bitterest sorrow. She is a diviner of the tenderest, most sacred impulses which throb and burn and long for expression.

She has been written of as a brilliant, dashing woman of the world, who had traveled in many lands and was familiar with the manners and customs of many peoples; as one who had a passionate fondness for the wild flowers that bloom in special beauty in the fastnesses of mountains; as a fearless and graceful rider, at home in the saddle, happy with the wind in her hair and the healthy blood in her face. She was also the embodi-

ment of social charm. Her refined manner, her ready wit, her literary culture, enabled her to meet the demands of society life, and she had the tact to become the friend of the privileged as well as a sympathizer with the disadvantaged and distressed.

The effusions of her mind and the tracings of her pen plainly indicate the experiences of her heart. It is almost always so with literature which has power and charm. J. Howard Payne never had a home. It resulted in what? In those precious words from the opera which have sung themselves into the whole world's heart:

> 'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
> Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home.

Harriet Beecher Stowe needed not the name of her gifted husband, nor that of her illustrious brother, or still wiser father, to give immortal luster to her name. Her own soul's passion vibrated through the world's heart, voicing the cry of the bondsman, calling loudly to his brethren who loved liberty. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did more than any other one thing to smite slavery with its deathblow. In Mrs. Stowe God gave the negro just the friend he needed then. So, too, the red man of America, driven back, oppressed, and almost destroyed, needed a champion, and Helen Hunt Jackson became the pleader for his cause, throwing the whole might of her influence in his favor until her appeal was heard in every part of this great commonwealth. She entered mind and heart into the "Indian question," and the Indians found in her such an advocate as never before had moved the public heart in their behalf. She visited them in their wigwams, followed them on their trail, and interested herself especially in the Mission Indians of Southern California. With stirring and indignant words she made known the facts of their unhappy fate in the newspapers and magazines of the country. The result of her investigations she published in a volume in 1881, entitled *A Century of Dishonor*, which made such an impression that the notice of the government was attracted by it, and President Arthur appointed her one of a commission to examine into and report the true condition of Indian affairs. She made her first report in 1882, which gave her friends great satisfaction. She had done a faithful work. Her interest in and knowledge of the history and state of these sons of the

forest furnished the material for her last work, that prose classic, *Ramona*, the most worthy product of her genius. Her own feeling about her labor on behalf of the Indian is expressed in a letter to a friend, bearing date of July 27, 1885, only a few days before her death: "I feel that my work is done, and I am heartily, honestly, and cheerfully ready to go. In fact, I am glad to go. You can never fully realize how for the last four years my whole heart has been full of this Indian cause—how I have felt, as the Quakers say, 'a concern' to work for it. My *Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona* are the only things I have done of which I am now glad. The rest is of no moment. They will live, and they will bear fruit."

The life story of this noble-minded, great-hearted woman shows her to be one of those who "learn in suffering what they teach in song." Sorrow and anguish kindled the fiery furnace which purged her dross and refined her gold. She was born in Amherst, Mass., October 18, 1831. Helen Fiske came of good stock. Her father, Nathan Welby Fiske, was an eminent Congregational minister, a native of Massachusetts, at nineteen a graduate of Dartmouth College, a tutor for the two years following in his *alma mater*, and a theological graduate of Andover. From 1824 to 1830 he filled the chair of languages, and then was transferred to the chair of intellectual and moral philosophy in Amherst College, which position he held up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1847. He died in Jerusalem, whither he had gone in quest of health, only to be transferred to the heavenly Zion. He was the author of several works, one of which passed through many editions, a translation of Eschenburg's *Manual of Classical Literature*, a work used extensively in college study many years ago. This book he translated from the German in 1836. He was a clear thinker, with a philosophical and linguistic bent of mind, whose life at Amherst had much to do with laying foundations for the work so successfully carried on at that educational center to-day. Her mother was a woman of literary tastes and sunny temper. The two sons of this strict Calvinistic family dying early, only the two daughters remained. Anne, now Mrs. Bamfield, resides in Wolfboro, N. H. Their mother died when Helen was twelve years of age, and their father three years later.

The best that wise forethought could devise was done for

Helen to secure that culture of mind and heart which would fit her for noble and capable living. Versatile, full of life and sparkle, she was even as a girl quite a character in that quiet New England town. Her naturally brilliant intellect, ready wit, and discriminating judgment found still higher direction and cultivation by the privileges afforded at Ipswich Seminary and at Abbotts, N. Y.

At twenty-one she was happily married to Major Edward B. Hunt, a gentleman of excellent literary and scientific attainments, and an enthusiast in his devotion to his country. And so her wedded life became an army life. Graduating at West Point Military Academy July 1, 1845, he had risen gradually from the rank of brevet second lieutenant to that of major. His services were in demand for various posts and undertakings, from a professorship at West Point to the construction of important fortifications along the coast line from Connecticut to Florida. Their domestic bliss was hallowed by the gift of three sons and a daughter. But their unshadowed happiness was brief, for it was not long before three little sodded mounds lay side by side in the military cemetery on the banks of the Hudson. Major Hunt was killed on the morning of October 2, 1863, while firing a submarine torpedo, an invention of his own, as his naval ship lay in port in the harbor of New York; and at the age of thirty-two Helen Hunt stood leaning upon the arm of her first-born, her dark-eyed Rennie Warren, beside the open grave of her husband. Her stricken heart clung with tenacity to the only remaining tie with such tender affection as only the heart of a mother can know. The image of his father, the stay of her widowhood, the ambition and hope of her future, in that boy all her life was now centered. Imagine the awfulness of her desolation when only two years later her splendid boy, her earthly all, was snatched away by diphtheria in 1865. On his deathbed he made her promise not to take her own life in order to follow him. He even pledged himself to revisit her in spirit that he might share with her the burdens. But just so sure was she that reappearance and communication from the world of spirits was from the very nature of the case impossible that, while spiritual realities were familiar to her thought, the special doctrine of "spiritualism" she utterly disavowed.

In thirteen years she was *fiancée*, bride, mother, widow, and childless! Was ever brightness overwhelmed in deeper gloom? Did ever joy vanish more completely from a human life? No wonder that for long, weary months she was unseen even by her nearest, dearest friends. In her ruined and empty home at West Point she sat moaning bitterly, "I alone am left, who avail nothing." But after many months of solitary mourning, alone with her own heart and with God, she reappeared among her friends. She had felt that life with her was done. But gradually a new sense of duty and of privilege came to her. Outwardly, she made no show of her grief; she shut her sorrows down in the recesses of her own heart. What she learned in the school of sorrow she sung in song and poesy. Her sufferings were for herself, while the blessedness which accrues from suffering she gave for the cheer and uplifting of others. Out of her own sorely afflicted soul, as with a pen dipped in her heart's blood, she wrote those pathetic lines entitled "The Loneliness of Sorrow:"

Friends crowd around and take it by the hand,
Intruding gently on its loneliness,
Striving with word of love and sweet caress
To draw it into light and air. Like band
Of brothers, all men gather close, and stand
About it, making half its grief their own,
Leaving it never silent nor alone.
But through all crowds of strangers and of friends,
Among all voices of good will and cheer,
Walks Sorrow, silently, and does not hear—
Like hermit whom mere loneliness defends;
Like one born deaf, to whose still ear sound sends
No word of message; and like one born dumb,
From whose sealed lips complaint can never come.
Majestic in its patience, and more sweet
Than all things else that can of souls have birth,
Bearing the one redemption of this earth
Which God's eternities fulfill, complete,
Down to its grave, with steadfast, tireless feet
It goes uncomforted, serene, alone,
And leaves not even name on any stone.

As years went on Helen Hunt grew dear to many. Hundreds of obscure men and women in farmhouses and factories culled her poems from the newspapers, memorizing them while at work, or pasting them into homemade scrapbooks, or pinning them fast to the leaves of the family Bible. One of these,

with the title "Best," has comforted many a weeping Rachel, grieving over the loss of her little ones whose laughter had made music in the house and whose arms around mother's neck had been a more blessed ministry than words can describe. The rich pathos and gentle resignation are wrought out sublimely:

Mother, I see you with your nursery light
Leading your babies, all in white,
To their sweet rest;
Christ, the good Shepherd, carries mine to-night,
And that is best!

I cannot help tears, when I see them twine
Their fingers in yours, and their bright curls shine
On your warm breast;
But the Saviour's is purer than yours or mine—
He can love best!

You tremble each hour because your arms
Are weak; your heart is wrung with alarms,
And sore oppressed;
My darlings are safe, out of reach of harms,
And that is best.

You know over yours may hang even now
Pain and disease, whose fulfilling slow
Naught can arrest;
Mine in God's gardens run to and fro,
And that is best.

You know that of yours the feeblest one
And dearest may live long years alone,
Unloved, unblest;
Mine are cherished of saints around God's throne,
And that is best.

You must dread for yours the crime that scars,
Dark guilt unwashed by repentant tears,
And unconfessed;
Mine entered spotless on eternal years,
O, how much the best!

But grief is selfish, and I cannot see
Always why I should so stricken be,
More than the rest;
But I know that, as well as for them, for me
God did the best!

It was only after she had been called in her sad young widowhood to give up the last tie, her beautiful and gifted Rennie Warren, on whom she had lavished an almost idolatrous affection, that her whole great nature went out in tender words

and philanthropic deeds to other lives as crushed and lonely as was hers.

But Helen Hunt's writings do not all breathe the air of sadness. They abound with lovely word-pictures of the grandeur of the mountains; of the exquisite wild flowers, the gentian, the purple asters, the golden-rod, and her favorite, the clover blossoms; of the wild songsters of the woods, rippling brooks, and the happy innocent days of childhood. There are poems of the days, and the months, and the seasons; there are exquisite portraitures of biblical and modern characters. There are dream scenes and pictures of real life. She knows, too, the zest of action and the joy of doing good. It was at Newport, R. I., that she began what proved to be a brilliant literary career. Her writings came to be in wide demand. The *Nation*, the *Independent*, the *Century Magazine* sought them, and made her known to all the world. In 1872 she was an invalid in California. Obtaining small relief, she came to Colorado, and spent the winter of 1873–74 at Colorado Springs, where she met William Sharpless Jackson, a Quaker of quiet and dignified Christian character. On October 22, 1875, she changed her name to Helen Hunt Jackson. Here, in one of the most beautiful cities of the Centennial State, on a sightly corner lot their home was built to her liking, and for ten years was the center of sunshine and love. She died in San Francisco, August 12, 1885, after a four months' painful illness. Her mortal remains now rest in the beautiful Evergreen Cemetery, near Colorado Springs. Her home is preserved just as she left it. Her library, writing desk, pictures, and all, are there to receive a silent reverence from those whom her personality or her writings have made her friends. Such persons visiting her home to see where she dwelt are treated with becoming courtesy. In the town her memory is deeply revered. The social circle in which she mingled, though not large, was bright with many a charm, she herself being its center and principal light.

Augustine W. Armstrong

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

WHAT Matthew Arnold abominated most in American life was our daily newspapers, which he regarded as a terror, a really "awful symptom." The solidarity of the daily press has been a very serious obstacle to the reform of that part of it which is reckless and lawless. For, no matter how much newspapers have differed in character, the better class has for the most part extended the protection of silence over the worse. This silence has been broken at last, and the press has undertaken the office of self-purification. The sharp criticism of "yellow journalism" by such papers as *The Sun* and *The Tribune* of this city is encouragingly significant. For a long time the line between decency and indecency was left to be discovered by the readers of newspapers, and journals which took pride in their own honesty had no word of rebuke for the dishonest sheets—none on the score of their tricks, lies, and shamelessness. The purification of the press is assured by the enrollment of high-class papers in the reforming ranks. "The power of the press" has not been in recent years a subject for unmixed gratification—so much Satanic power was included in the phrase, and so doubtful has it been that the good exceeded the evil. A hope has now sprung up in good men's hearts that the balance of power will soon be unmistakably on the right side.

It always has been, and will be, true that no paper can be a great one without the patronage of decent people; and the better readers have always had it in their power to enforce decency in the journals they patronize, either as advertisers or readers; but the standard of decency needed definition, and editors are, in the very nature of the case, the best judges; and so long as they rendered no judgment readers might be excused for giving the viciously "enterprising paper" the benefit of a doubt. The expression "yellow journalism" is a verdict in itself, a verdict rendered by the most competent authority in the premises. Yellow is the color of the flag raised over a pesthouse or a ship which has on board some contagious disease, warning off all who

do not wish to catch the plague. The crime of the yellow journal is: Telling lies for truth; putting gossip on a level with facts; painting insignificant things in gaudy colors to make them seem important; invading the privacy of men and women for bad purposes of many kinds; printing in glaring type the prurient details of crimes or scandals; exercising a kind of immoral police power over citizens weak enough to fear "the papers" more than they fear to do wrong and to evade doing right lest such conduct be construed clean from its purpose. One of the dangers of life in a great city is the yellow journal, a wild beast worse than any in an Indian jungle. It is worthy of note that at the time of the prize fight which some months ago disgraced the State of Nevada the *New Yorker Staats Zeitung*, the leading German daily of this country, having an immense circulation, contained not the slightest mention of it, shutting it out even from its news items, while the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* only included the fight in its condensed summary of events, treating it as it would any repulsive and corrupting crime.

Henry Drummond was a blending of Dwight L. Moody and Herbert Spencer, steeped in modern science and at white heat of evangelic fervor, a college professor of physical science and a revivalist at home and abroad. Whatever one may think of the reasonings in his books, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* and *The Ascent of Man*, he was a standing proof that ardent spirituality and the scientific spirit are not incompatible, but can dwell together and interfuse in one and the same man, each intensifying or at least not nullifying the other; that a fearless thinker may be a devout and humble Christian. Criticised as he was by both scientists and theologians as unscientific in believing in the voice of the Spirit and as unsound in laying undue stress on the revelations of nature, neither scientist nor theologian can deny that intellectually and spiritually he was a sweet, intense, and radiant personality whom to know was to love; in his way and measure a burning and a shining light. In no other land, perhaps, was such a man more likely to arise than in Scotland, where a searching, debating, and testing mental activity works over profound religiousness and fervid convictions. Drummond began his public religious work by accompanying Mr. Moody for nearly two years as assistant evangelist in a tour through Great Britain; and ever thereafter his soul was aflame with zeal and his lips pleaded with men to be reconciled to God. His greatest work was among

young men, especially students. From the wonderful religious awakening which came down upon Edinburgh in 1884, when the Odd Fellows' Hall back of the university was crowded with a thousand Edinburgh University men in quiet, solemn, and powerful revival services conducted by Professor Drummond, until sickness disabled him two years ago, he never lost his power over the students. It is said in Scotland that, more than any man of his time, he influenced intellectual young men for Christ. The fine, frank, keen, earnest, uplifted manliness in him appealed to the aspiring possibilities of manliness in them. His calm, face-to-face, peremptory message was, "Brothers, Christ is your King. Surrender to him here and now. Choose him, submit to him, love him, live for him, die for him, serve him forever;" and so keen and piercing was his appeal, so straight home to the vitals, that the strongest frames quivered, the brightest spirits bowed to the summons, and went forth by hundreds, some to the ends of the earth, brilliant, athletic, eager, and militant for Christ. Modest, pure, and brave, Henry Drummond was the Chinese Gordon of evangelism in the religious life of Scotland, with a similar magnetic moral mastery and power to subdue not merely the weak but the strong. The fervent ministry of this unordained preacher had all spiritual signs of the true apostolic succession; but in its form, argument, tone, and accent, it was a variation of type from those of the elder day. In the substance of a large part of its truth his message to his time was as old as the sun; in attitude, address, and cadence it was all as modern as this morning's sunrise. It points to a coming time when the Holy Spirit and the scientific spirit will walk together, leading man between them in the way of life and light and glory everlasting. Some things which he discussed we cannot see as he saw them, but the fact that we differ with part of his teachings does not prevent us from recognizing that he made a sincere effort to interpret old truth in the light of new knowledge for his generation. Such work, done even by the wisest, has its risks; but, in the interest of intelligent, honest, and living belief, it must continually be done.

THE SUPREMACY OF SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

No other questions interest the modern world more than social questions. Some profess to see in this fact a proof of social disorder and a symptom, perhaps a prophecy, of revolution; but they hardly establish their inference. No one believes that in

the heart of Africa social conditions are perfect; but the black citizens of the Congo have never so much as heard of social questions. Life is certainly hard among the Eskimos; our least fortunate fellow-citizens would not willingly become Eskimos; yet social discontents are unknown in the arctic circle. Wherever life is hardest there is the least thought or concern about social problems.

Perhaps the truth is that social questions are taking their turn as subjects for general consideration. The old controversies have relapsed into silence. In religion a general peace prevails. In government most enlightened men easily agree about principles. In science, after expecting everything from exact knowledge, we have come to expect nothing of an order higher than the utility of things—nothing different in nature from the oldest and simplest bit of knowledge—and, therefore, science is not as inspiring as it was thirty years ago. Something new was to be expected as the common mental plaything of mankind living by steam and electricity. For moments we get diversion out of a book on decadence or a novel about a magdalen; but such play is short, and a large and long game of intellectual football is a promise of rare pleasure.

There can be no doubt that the changeful elements introduced into life by invention have contributed to raise social questions to the first place; but these elements were here forty years ago, when science, slavery, parliamentary government, and "the testimony of the rocks" commanded all our attention. Then voices which claimed apostolic powers—Fourier's, for example—were barely heard and swiftly forgotten; now a crazy fanatic may have the world for an audience if he declaims against social wrongs; and a madman's scheme of social regeneration will be candidly and thoroughly considered. Probably we shall exhaust the subject, looking at it from every point of view, weighing the merits of every reform proposed, whether by rational people or by madmen—and then take up some new form of intellectual occupation.

This is not written in jest or to disparage the seriousness and enthusiasm of believers in social regeneration through some new system. This enthusiasm, this quasi-religious devotion, is a beautiful manifestation of the human soul; and from the new dreams of golden ages to be unrolled by social changes there may come the sober thinking and chastened feeling which old truths clothed with divine authority are adapted to develop in good

men's souls. The indestructible truths are waiting for us; and they are not new.

The problem of problems in social humanity is how to promote —as Lamennais expressed it a good while ago—*the mutual giving of man to man.* We shall come back to the convictions of Lamennais that this end cannot be reached by any material constraint, by any political method, by any "lay preaching;" that nothing less than a religion of self-surrender to the common service will promote the high social health which we desire. Or, put in a different way, the social problem is, how can we completely subject the individual to the service of society and at the same time give to the individual his highest development? The two ends are one end in this respect, that society gains nothing from the service of weak and servile individuals, that the individual will be subjected in vain if the subjection reduces his value to that of a common and routine drudge. The outflashings of genius, the power of invention, the gift of combination, the apostolate of leadership—when will the world cease to need them?

Now, then, the old truths which are waiting for us are in part summaries of experience, purporting that the free man is worth more than many slaves, and purporting much more in the order of practical human life. But the larger and more inspiring truth awaiting us—when we shall have played out our game of social reconstructions—is that *the mutual giving of man to man* is the very end of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the very heart of our religion. This Gospel is the only thing in all our human history which flatly and absolutely negatives living to oneself, which unequivocally commands and unceasingly constrains us to the mutual giving of man to man. One of its most suggestive precepts is, "*Freely* ye have received, *freely* give."

THE LAW OF PARSIMONY.

THE decree has gone forth that expenses must be reduced throughout all systems of thought. The agent of a modern consensus is going through the entire range of our intellectual operations discharging supernumeraries, issuing orders to dispense with superfluous theories, postulates, and doctrines, saying, "This, that, and the other is unnecessary; I'll show you how to do without it." The agent of this general reduction walks in among the theologians and says, "In order to enable your theology to meet the demands of reason and fact you must cut off various extrava-

gant doctrines; if you do not, bankruptcy impends; you are indulging in unjustifiable luxuriousness of belief." To evangelical Churches the agent says, "You must aim at greater terseness in your creeds by wiping off superfluities; faith must be more frugal, more circumspect, circumscribed, and abstemious in its affirmations." From various pulpits and printed pages the devout are told that they have believed too much about God, Christ, and the Bible. It is announced that hard times, a period of depression, with panics and crashes, is at hand for Faith, and she is warned that the shrinkage of securities has so cut down her income that she must reduce her style of living and practice rigid economy. The law of parsimony is pressed upon our intellectual and religious life from various directions, by physical science, by antichristian philosophies, and by rationalistic biblical criticism. Our interpretations of the Bible, of human nature, human life, and the world are bidden to use lower and cheaper theories. One voice or another orders us to dispense with views which regard the Holy Scriptures as the product of special divine inspiration, or in any respect supernatural; to dismiss our ideas of a divine Providence, or of the value and reasonableness of prayer, or of the influencing of the human spirit by the divine, or of the imperishability of man; to surrender the miraculous, including the supernatural Christ and his deeds, and to postpone, retire, and if possible do without a divine Creator.

The law of parsimony requires that all investigations in science, philosophy, or theology shall ask at every point, "What are the fewest number of data which, being granted, will explain the phenomena of experience?" In scientific study, for example, nothing short of necessity justifies the framing of a new hypothesis. Only when known data fail to account for phenomena does science tolerate the supposition of a factor not as yet defined, identified, registered, appraised. Only when chemistry is unable to account for a compound by any possible combination of known elements does it admit as probable the presence of a new and undiscovered element. Not until astronomy is at a loss to explain the perturbations of Uranus does it suppose the existence of Neptune.

It is only fair to say that the animus of physical science is sometimes misjudged, its habitual attitude being construed as essentially hostile to faith and religion. Naturally enough, natural science holds no brief for theology; indeed, it has no license to practice in that circuit; its province is the natural and not the

supernatural. Physical science appears skeptical for the reason that it labors strenuously to reduce belief to a minimum, to diminish the necessity for it by substituting knowledge for belief as far as possible; thus its push is in the direction of driving faith out of the world. Physical science appears antisupernatural for the reason that it holds back from consenting to suppose supernatural interference or action wherever and so long as it can possibly explain observed facts by natural agencies and processes. Physical science seems atheistic because it fights off the necessity of admitting the active presence of a God wherever and whenever it is able to show that Nature can keep house and do business without him. With a territorial ambition equal to that of Russia, it contends against theology over every foot of ground, saying to itself, "I'll see if I'm not strong enough to seize and hold this region for myself." But in all this there is no malice. Science is only pursuing its vocation and magnifying its natural function, holding lawfully enough that all things which it can cover in under its explanations rightfully belong to it and not to theology. There is no necessary irreverence in the effort to find out how far new species are developed out of those already existing without the expense of fresh interventions of creative power; and if science even pushes on to see whether all things may not have evolved from one primal germ, we see no reason for opposing or denouncing its effort, although, and inasmuch as, faith in its success remains optional with us.

Without inveighing against, but, on the contrary, approving every lawful application of the law of parsimony, it is yet proper and necessary to remark that there are numerous postulates, assumptions, and beliefs which cannot be dispensed with under any such law, because human nature cannot do without them. To begin at the beginning, the most economical reasoning cannot dispense with a sufficient Cause; and to postulate back of all secondary causes a great First Cause is a sheer necessity of human thinking. Behind all possible explanations is a great inexplicable Somewhat beyond which the mind cannot go—which cannot be merged into, derived from, or explained by anything precedent to or greater than itself. What is the nature of that supreme, original, independent Fact? The materialist answers, "Matter alone, containing in itself the promise and potency of all things; matter from which mind and spirit are effluences like the flame from the candle." The pantheist replies, "The universe as a whole, including both mind and matter indistinguishably

mixed in a mysterious unity." The spiritualist says, "Spirit alone; mind independent of and superior to matter; spirit by which all things have been caused and produced." But no answer is quite so satisfying to man's total nature as the theist's explicit and positive affirmation of a self-existent Personal Intelligence as the primal Fact and great First Cause.

Science and philosophy join with common sense in pointing to the necessary priority of mind as the only entity or mode of existence which is real in its own independent right. To-day physical as well as mental science moves straight and fast toward the conclusion that there is no motion without mind. The most advanced knowledge confirms the unquestioning belief of primitive man that it is his spirit which animates his body, and also the validity of the further inferential belief that as the movements of his body are caused and controlled by his mind and its volitions, so the movements which he sees in the world of nature must be due immediately or remotely to the volitions of a mind. Is any conception saner than that which sees back of or within all physical processes a psychical energy and regards "natural causation" as only the observable aspect or result of an invisible volitional action, tracing all things up to an Absolute Volition, to one divine Will? The ultimate, basal, insoluble mystery is One who is beyond our comprehension but not beyond our knowledge—of and to whom we say, "Before the mountains were brought forth or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God;" and who can himself give to us no account of his own being except in words like these, "I am that I am."

In the simple admission of one original Cause, itself independent, with all else depending upon it, more is involved than appears. Herbert Spencer says that our belief in a First Cause is the most necessary of all beliefs, having demonstrably a higher warrant than any other, the existence of such a cause being the most certain of all certainties. Later he says that the nature and attributes of that First Cause are unknown and unknowable, but in so saying he contradicts himself, for in his very statement of its existence he assigns to the First Cause these three attributes, causal energy, omnipresence, and eternity; and afterward, when he declares that the cosmos is undeniably regulated by law and to manifestly beneficent results, he implicitly attributes wisdom and love to the First Cause, to whose nature he thus with positive affirmation gives features so many and lineaments so distinct

that we Christians recognize our God—omnipresent, eternal, almighty, all-wise, and all-good—in Mr. Spencer's description of his great First Cause. The professor of agnosticism gives us a broad as well as definite warrant for our faith in God.

The lowest reduction alleged to be justified under the law of parsimony is materialism's theory. The materialistic explanation of the cosmos would be "dirt cheap" if it were thorough and honest, but it is not, for the professed materialist does not really dispense with a God: he only makes believe, for in attempting to account for things from his standpoint he is obliged to endow matter with the attributes of mind. The materialist's matter is most amazing and incredible stuff. He explains the intelligible order of the universe by attributing intelligence to the atoms, and shows us each monad deporting itself like a little god, guiding itself by an omniscient intelligence which foresees and adjusts with the action of all other atoms the universe through. This is a very costly theory, far more expensive than the theistic hypothesis; it lays on human credulity a tax heavy enough to bankrupt faith entirely. The materialist is an impostor, a sleight-of-hand man with a god up his sleeve. Into his material universe he clandestinely imports a concealed deity, and thus his pretended materialism becomes essentially pantheistic. If the universe is not the creation of an eternally self-existent divine Being, then the universe is itself self-existent and eternal, and, we are obliged to add, intelligent. Any theory which dispenses with a transcendent, personal First Cause practically lands us in pantheism, the first difficulty with which arises from our inability to conceive of mind, spirit, and will separate from personality; although this, we are told, is not a real difficulty, arising out of the nature of things, but only apparent and due to the necessary limitations of finite human minds. In parenthesis, it may be admitted that pantheism is not the worst of beliefs and solutions. Though beset with difficulties, formidable and to us insurmountable, it is rationally, at least, as much superior to positivism as the whole is greater than a part.

The law of parsimony makes it an unjustifiable extravagance for science or philosophy to keep a God unless there is something for him to do. But when materialistic thinkers have done their best to prove this living universe to be independent and self-supporting they are, after all, obliged to admit that there are several places where a Deity may be in hiding, with perhaps some useful function to fulfill, some legitimate occupation to employ his ener-

gies upon while the ages roll. At several critical points, indeed, a God still seems quite indispensable; for example, at the origin of matter, the origin of life, and the origin of man. No wise person has come anywhere near explaining how these origins came to be without resorting to that ancient, yet ever fresh, immensely capable, and in fact all-sufficient theistic hypothesis. For matter, life, and man science can write no Book of Genesis; and the prospect is that it must accept essentially the account given in the first pages of Holy Scripture, or be like that staircase on the top of Milan Cathedral, which starts from the marble roof but ends in vacancy without a landing. It grows plainer every day that any study of origins necessitates God. At every real beginning one is compelled to posit a divine Creator. The theist need not fear to accept any or all of the mechanical explanations furnished by science, inasmuch as those explanations do not account for the existence of anything. Physical science talks learnedly of development, but origination is hid from its ken. The processes of growth and unfolding from and after any beginning may be open in a measure to its study, but beginnings remain absolutely inscrutable to its search; of them it can only say, "I have not seen, neither can I understand." All real origins lie beyond scientific knowledge. They are due not to matter but to spirit. To account for them mechanical explanations fail and natural causation is inadequate. All natural causes are secondary causes. The great First Cause is a supreme, almighty Spirit, the author and sustainer of what we call Nature. The geneses of matter, life, and mind, of sentiency, instinct, rationality, self-consciousness, morality, religion—these origins remain, despite all claims and theories, essentially inexplicable to science. Around the borders of those inaccessible primordial regions baffled human research blindly gropes, finding no thoroughfare; and when above each of those dense, impenetrable, genetic mysteries an august Voice is heard saying, "In the beginning God," there is no speech or language with which science or philosophy can answer back against the sublime sufficiency of that rationally authoritative declaration. Renan may call the Book of Genesis a myth, but the plain alternative for him and for all men is Genesis or nothing. In the nature of things certain secrets can never be uncovered by natural science. Man can no more explain the world than he could make it. Only Omniscience can fully understand that which only Omnipotence could create.

If the extreme evolutionist, in his effort to reduce the number

of beginnings to a minimum, could trace all things back to the protoplasmic or primary cell, he would there be obliged to admit a divine Creator. And so the most radical theory of evolution keeps at least one room reserved for the Deity, a little chamber on the wall wherein not only the man of God may rest in faith, but the God of man may permanently dwell. But a God cannot be kept locked up in a cell any more than God's Son could be kept locked fast in a sepulcher with a sealed stone and a Roman guard; if God is anywhere he is everywhere by the mere fact of being God. Every enterprise of reasoning that sets out to exclude the Deity from anything is bound to end by confessing him to be in everything, the omnipresent, all-sustaining, all-animating God. Aubrey Moore says, "Darwinism has conferred upon philosophy and religion an inestimable benefit by showing us that we must choose between two alternatives: either God is everywhere present in nature or he is nowhere." And since the most resolutely atheistic science could not possibly prove that God is nowhere, Darwinism itself must affirm and insist that he is everywhere, that what is called natural causation is only the mode in which the divine Being is omnipresently and eternally operating, and that it is absurd to talk of "mechanical necessity" as an explanation of anything that comes to pass.

The creative intelligence which affords the only explanation of origins manifestly animates and guides the originated universe. "Wherever we tap organic nature," says an eminent scientist, "it seems to flow with purpose." Common sense insists that this seeming shows a genuine reality; nothing less than intelligence could cause anything to simulate intelligence. Along with the operation of intelligent purpose there is everywhere evidence of some one supreme integrating power pervading the cosmos and giving observable unity thereto. This universally coordinating power can be nothing less than spiritual. Cosmic unity and the uniformity of phenomenal sequence in nature are effect and proof of the omnipresence and consistency of one supreme and controlling Volition. In the presence of the perfect correlation of natural laws and processes in the production of cosmic harmony the newest thinking finds the old-fashioned theistic hypothesis a very great convenience, for no one is able to suggest or imagine how that universal correlation can be otherwise accounted for.

As every line of scientific investigation finally runs into a *cul-de-sac*, so all metaphysical inquiry ultimately strikes against the inexplicable, halts there, and all its after effort in that direc-

tion is only marking time, not marching. Metaphysics fails to explain entirely the nature of beings, their laws and actions. After it has done its best there is always an unexplored remainder, an unmeasured and unanalyzed residuum. All its equations contain the symbol of an unknown quantity, the value of which must be ciphered out before the problems of metaphysics can be solved. The metaphysical X stands for the signature of a Deity who makes his mark, and, for aught the metaphysician can say to the contrary, the Christian's personal God, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be behind that X. At any rate the metaphysician cannot complete his work without calling in some kind of a Divinity. Even when he attempts to dispense with the anthropomorphic God of Christianity he is obliged to postulate some other sort of a divine Entity. To us it is clear that in the inn which the scientist and the metaphysician keep there is room for God the Father and for Jesus Christ the Son.

The law of parsimony cannot shut out Christianity. One of our necessities, in order to be at peace with the system of things, in order to believe life worth living, in order to keep ourselves out of the madhouse, in order to keep from regarding the universe itself as one vast madhouse, is that we find some respectable and measurably intelligible meaning to our human existence. This our moral and our rational natures demand. Now, the fact is that no worthy rationale has been suggested for the world, no decent justification of human life, except on the Christian theory that we are in a sphere of moral probation and a school for discipline; and from that point of view one of the most inveterate skeptics of modern times acknowledges that we cannot conceive a system of things better adapted to the ends of such a school than is this life of ours, and that it is not possible to imagine a better master of such a school than Jesus Christ. From which confession it appears that Christ and the world stand together in furnishing perfect satisfaction to the demands of our rational and moral being; and, since such satisfaction is obtainable from no other source, it follows that Christ and the Christian interpretation, being indispensable, are justified even under the law of parsimony.

A marked and dangerous feature of our time is that the law of parsimony is variously misapplied and pressed to unwarrantable and impoverishing extremes. Under its reduction we have lately been presented with an expurgated New Testament. Count Tolstoi eliminates the supernatural from the four gospels and

publishes the result in a volume entitled *The Gospel in Brief*, in which Christ appears as simply a noble man, a wonderful teacher, a gentle martyr. A self-conceit bordering on insanity leads men to an exaggerated estimate of their ability to do without. Grant Allen, the freethinker and freelover, author of *The Woman Who Did*, dispenses with hymns, Scriptures, and religion as things he has no need for. With audacious self-sufficiency he wrote: "I never needed help other than physical or monetary. My own philosophy has always amply sufficed me." He is satisfied to live and die, with Professor Clifford, "under an empty heaven upon a soulless earth." He carries to the last extreme and widest extent Emerson's idea that "the height of elegance is to have few wants and to serve them yourself." Such ascetic independence inflicts upon itself a stripped and squalid destitution. It is the action of a miser depriving himself of the necessary comforts of life, reducing his legitimate wants to an unnatural minimum, in the insane and indecent ambition to see how little he can possibly get along on, the result being degradation, emaciation, and starvation—parsimony crossing the dead line. Unitarianism has gone so far in the negations of which it is principally made that Stopford Brooke says a belief in God is about all that is left unsurrendered. Liberal theologians also, in other communions, are talking in a way which makes Unitarians claim them as properly belonging in their camp. It is time to warn them all, as Mr. Brooke does, that liberal theology will have to turn about and return to a few clear faiths if it wishes to do anything to meet the needs or promote the happiness and welfare of mankind. This theology has carried its parsimony of faith too far; spiritual inanition, impotence, and imbecility result from the withdrawal of nourishing beliefs. The fact that Unitarians are pointing out to each other that orthodoxy has the larger life gives hope that some of them at least may presently perceive that the larger life is due to the larger faith, and that liberal Christianity is dying of unbelief. There is no mystery in the failure of the Unitarian body to grow. "Over the hills to the poorhouse" is the dismal invitation of the liberal theology, and the hungry souls of men do not find it alluring. We prefer to dwell as our fathers did with abundance of faith in the house of the Lord, who, from the exceeding riches of his grace, giveth us all things richly to enjoy; we will remain where we can delight our souls with fatness and be fed with the finest of the wheat by Him who prepareth a table before us in the presence of our enemies.

THE ARENA.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

THE jaunty air with which Professor Richard Parsons disposes of the criticisms passed upon his article in the *Review* for July, 1896, justifies, we trust, the writer's apparent temerity in continuing this discussion.

"I was on the hill," the professor says, "almost daily for a year, and should know." That settles the question, of course. But one is puzzled to know why he needed to go so many times to become convinced that "there is no reason . . . to claim that the apostle made his immortal address on Mars' Hill." Dr. Harman, too, has been on Mars' Hill, and he gives us a careful description of the place. Poor man! Had he visited the spot "almost daily for a year" he might have made the richest find of his laborious life. As it is, he is permitted to sit at Professor Parsons's feet and "look a little farther in the lexicon from which he so conveniently cites references."

Just here the reader may recall Neander's words: "They took him to the hill where the first tribunal at Athens, the Areopagus, was accustomed to hold its sittings, and where he could easily find a spot suited to a large audience." But Neander had not observed the "discriminating nicety" of St. Luke's prepositions! One can easily fancy Professor Parsons quoting Scripture to the great historian, and saying, "Dost thou know Greek?" Professor Thayer, of Harvard, eminent among lexicographers, stumbles as sadly as Neander, saying, in his monumental work, "To that hill the apostle Paul was led." And the word that trips him is ἐπὶ. John Wesley, also, makes the same lamentable slip, in his famous translation of 1754, a work which for accuracy equals the revision of our own day, while often greatly surpassing it in felicitous expression. For he says, "And they took him and brought him to the Areopagus," and in his explanatory note adds, "Or Hill of Mars." To this he appends, translating the twenty-second verse, "Then Paul, standing in the midst of the Areopagus," and calls it in his note "an ample theater!" But this unhappy expression he had never made had he been permitted to be "on the hill almost daily for a year."

The fantastical fashion of Professor Parsons's review makes it difficult to follow him as closely as we would wish. The writer is not an adept at dust throwing, nor does he claim the high honor of exact scholarship. Nor is it necessary for the case in hand. Professor Parsons objects to our quotations from John and Mark, alleging, by implication, that Luke's use of εἰς and ἐπὶ is exceptional, if not unique. Unfortunately for Professor Parsons, this is not the fact, and his effort to make it appear so is almost pathetic. For the latest illustration of the vast disparity

> 'Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee,
> See Brother Parsons on ἐπὶ.

Dr. Harman, whose criticism the scholarly readers of the *Review* cannot have overlooked, expresses the exact fact when he says, "The language of Luke is altogether appropriate to the conducting of the apostle to a hill (*ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον Πάγον*), *ἐπὶ* with the accusative." This was our sole contention in the *Review* of November, 1896. Professor Parsons admits that *ἐπὶ* sometimes means "unto;" why would he have us infer that it never means "up to?" Because it implies an ascending motion, and that would upset his theory. Both in the gospel and in the Acts, Luke frequently uses *ἐπὶ* with the accusative, in the sense of "to," or "unto," interchangeably with *εἰς* and *ἕως*. So, also, do Matthew and Mark, John and Paul; which scarcely supports Professor Parsons's theory of Luke's singular nicety in the matter of prepositions.

Nevertheless, Professor Parsons insists that *ἐπὶ*, in Acts xvii, 19, means "before," citing Luke xxiii, 1, in support of his position, since the same verb is in both passages. Is that conclusive? Granted that *ἐπὶ*, with the accusative, is here properly rendered "before Pilate," it is, none the less, with Luke an exceptional use of the preposition. Six cases out of Acts can be cited to show that Luke's rule was to use *ἐπὶ* with the genitive in such a case. When he did not, he chose either *ἐμπροσθεν* or *ἐνώπιον*. When St. Paul mentions the appearance of Jesus "before Pilate" he chooses *ἐπὶ* with the genitive, *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου*.

That the same verb is used in Acts xvii, 19, as in Luke xxiii, 1, settles nothing in the point at issue; for, in Acts xxv, 26, the very same verb is found in connection with *ἐπὶ* governing the genitive, *διὸ προήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑμῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοῦ*. "Search the Scriptures" yourself, if you please, Brother Parsons.

Concerning our critic's confident assertion that John was "in heaven" when he "saw the city descending out of heaven" we have nothing to offer in reply, except to say that the exposition discloses an acquaintance with the vision and its topographical features quite in keeping with Professor Parsons's phenomenal familiarity with Mars' Hill. A word, however, may be expected concerning this passage in Rev. xxi, 10, wherein, as in the case of Luke xxiii, 1, 33, and Acts xvii, 19, the preposition plainly implies an ascent to the place or person named. Professor Parsons grossly misrepresents the writer in the repeated charge that we hold to the notion that *ἐπὶ* "signifies 'up.'" That it frequently means "to," and "up to," with the accusative, every novice in Greek well knows. What sense is there in attempting to obscure the fact in the scholarly columns of the *Methodist Review*?

Professor P. appeals to Luke. To Luke he shall go for the settlement of his claims concerning Rev. xxi, 10. See, then, the account of Peter's vision while in "a trance" upon the housetop in Joppa, Acts x, 9, 11, 16, and, by the way, Professor, it reads, *ἀνέβη Πέτρος ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα*. Compare the same in the original with Rev. xxi, 10. The meaning is obvious. A glance at the Greek is enough to prove the weakness of Professor Parsons's position.

BENJAMIN COPELAND.

Perry, N. Y.

THE HUMANITY OF JESUS.

ALL Methodists agree that Christ is divine, but, judging from opinions that have appeared in the *Review* within the past two years, they are far from being agreed as to his human nature. One writer affirms that his humanity "was not only truly human, but warped and biased and weakened by transmission through seventy-five generations of sinners." Another exclaims, "O, thou sinless, unsinning, and incapable of sinning Saviour, glory be to thy holy name!" Yet, if the present writer has the right conception, both views are incorrect and far from the truth. As the doctrine is a matter of divine revelation, human *dictum* is of little force and no authority on the subject. Only the plain teaching of the word, or that which may be logically deduced from it, has any weight in settling the question.

That Christ was possessed of a pure nature is certainly taught in the New Testament. The angel said to Mary, "That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God." Note the exact language. It is the "holy thing" which should be "born" of Mary. One writer argued that, since Christ had a human mother, he must have partaken of her depraved nature, unless the Roman Catholic doctrine of the immaculate conception be accepted. But this does not follow. It is conceded that the birth of Christ was miraculous. Did divine power exhaust itself in the conception? Might not the same power guard the holy seed and preserve it from defilement? The writer to the Hebrews must have understood that Christ's human nature was so preserved, or he would not have declared him to be "holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens."

Moreover, Christ's mission demanded that he be free from depravity, that he might be free from the claims of the law and from the penalty of death. Paul says that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Not actually. An infant of days has committed no actual transgression; yet, being depraved, death claims it as his victim. So, also, if Christ had a depraved nature, death had a claim on him; and he must have died, in order to pay the penalty of his own depravity. In that case his death could by no means have been vicarious. Nay, he himself would have needed a redeemer. But Christ's declaration implies clearly that death had no claim on him. He said: "No man taketh it [his life] from me. . . . I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again." It is declared of depraved humanity, "None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him." But that Christ was specially fitted to make atonement is clearly indicated by the inspired writer when he says: "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared for me. . . . By the which will we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all."

In opposition to the view here presented it is said that Christ must have been depraved, or the declaration that he "was in all points

tempted like as we are" could not be true. It might as consistently be affirmed that he must have occupied all the positions and relations in life which men and women hold, or he could not have been tempted in all points as we are. For, it is certainly true that every several relation has trials and temptations peculiar to itself. But we know Christ did not hold all, even of the ordinary, relations. He was not a husband or father. It is not probable that he engaged in trade, or in professional duties, or governmental service. Hence he could have had no experimental knowledge of the temptations incident to these relations. It is plain, therefore, that this, like many other declarations of Scripture, cannot be made to go on all fours. The meaning of the text, however, seems simple and plain. A temptation is an unholy incitement of the will to the putting forth of a sinful volition. Psychologists tell us that the will is influenced through the sensibilities, that is, through the emotions, the desires, and the affections. These are the only avenues of approach to the will; and, if Christ was tempted through these several channels, then he was tempted at, rather than in, all points "like as we are." The declaration of the apostle implies neither that his nature was depraved nor that he experienced every possible form of temptation, but that the tempter sought to incite his will by unholy appeals to his emotions, desires, and affections. Everyone who has thoughtfully studied the life of Christ knows that he was assailed at all these points. The comments of Dr. Adam Clarke on this text, Heb. iv, 15, are pertinent.

The theory that Christ could not have yielded to temptation is scarcely worthy to be considered. All Arminian scholars recognize that the will, or power of self-determination, constitutes the true ego. If Christ did not possess this power, instead of being the highest type of man and a true model he lacked the essential characteristic of manhood. If it was not in his power to have yielded to the solicitations of evil, then there was no virtue in his holiness, for real virtue inheres only in a free being. As Dr. Whedon tersely remarks, "The veriest devil might say, 'Make it impossible for me to sin and I will be holy too.'" If men fall before a Saviour who could not have yielded to the solicitations of evil, and was therefore necessarily holy, surely a profounder reverence will be inspired for one who "did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth," not from necessity but from choice.

W. H. SWEET.

Salina, Kan.

THE DEADLY PARALLEL.

No one appreciates more highly than does the writer the services of Mr. Moody as an evangelist and his high personal character. But neither his services nor his high character should blind our eyes to his errors in doctrine, some of which are dangerous, in direct conflict with Holy Scripture, and subversive of a genuine Christian experience.

Recently, in a discourse delivered in Carnegie Hall, New York city, upon the new birth, Mr. Moody—if correctly reported in the New York

Times—taught that the "old nature of man" is not taken away, though a "new nature" is given. After the new birth has taken place "he (the new convert) has a nature that reaches up to God, and another that is corrupt and reaches to carnal things." It is not my purpose to make a reply to this erroneous teaching, but to let Paul, whom Mr. Moody so greatly reveres, give the answer. We place Moody and Paul in parallel:

MOODY.	PAUL.
When God converts a man he does not take away the old nature of man. He gives him a new nature. Then he has a nature that reaches up to God, and another that is corrupt and reaches to carnal things.	Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new (2 Cor. v, 17).
When I was converted I thought at first my old temper would have gone, but I found I still had my temper, and I had a good many things I thought I had got rid of. Then a conflict and warfare came, and I couldn't understand how things were. . . . There has been a conflict right along with me—the higher nature against the lower, the spirit against the flesh. When I become a partaker of God's nature I have a nature that reaches out after spiritual things. The conflict comes when the corrupt nature wants the things of this life.	That ye put off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness (Eph. iv, 22–24). Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin (Rom. vi, 6). But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life (Rom. vi, 22).

Passages of the same character could be multiplied, but these are sufficient. Moody or Paul, which?

A. B. LEONARD.

New York City.

DR. CROOKS AS SEEN BY HIS STUDENTS TEN YEARS AGO.

ONE of the most impressive memories of Drew Seminary life, ten years ago, centers in the prayers which Dr. Crooks offered daily in the classroom before beginning his lecture to the juniors. They were very brief, not over a minute or so in length, wonderfully concise and comprehensive, and suffused with reverence. They made one think of what the prayers of the Master must have been to his disciples, and of their spontaneous request, "Lord, teach us to pray."

Dr. Crooks in his lectures showed himself a thorough master of his subject. Although going over the same course year after year, he never relied on past attainments, but was always studying Church history afresh and with the most painstaking care. And how he made the past live again! The apostles in journeys and labors abundant, the martyrs at the scaffold, the councils formulating the creeds of Christendom, the great leaders of Christian thought—Paul, Origen, Augustine, and all the rest—spoke through him again. Dr. Crooks was no antiquarian. He cared nothing

for the rubbish of the past, but was devoted to history for the light it sheds on to-day and on the years to come. He possessed in an unusual degree the judicial mind in dealing with the men and events and doctrines of Christian history. Yet once in a while the fire of a prophet would blaze forth in the indignation with which he would speak of some colossal wrong. Even William Watson might have sharpened his lightnings a little if he could have heard Dr. Crooks on the unspeakable Turk.

Dr. Crooks not only knew Church history, but also how to inspire enthusiasm for its study. It was an unfailing delight to him to direct the reading and research of all who cared to follow out the lines suggested by his lectures. In the classroom he had the reputation of being a hard taskmaster, at times very severe, but he was always ready to deal justly and kindly with his students. He had, in fact, a very genial nature and a heart to match his head. The kindliness of the man fairly beamed from his face as he sat in his large library on Friday afternoons with his students about him and spoke familiarly of the masterpieces of English literature. In his study and in the delightful hospitality of his home he never failed to endear himself to those who in the classroom stood a little in awe of him. Dr. Crooks inspired all who came under his influence with a high ideal of scholarship, and was one of the best illustrations to be found anywhere of the supreme wealth of Christian character and culture. Like the grammarian that Browning tells of, he deserved to be carried by his students and buried on a mountain top.

> Here, here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
> Lightnings are loosened,
> Stars come and go!

For our great teacher was much more than the mediæval grammarian,

> Still loftier than the world suspects,
> Living and dying.

Litchfield, Conn. GEORGE C. BOSWELL.

THEORIES OF THE DIVINE GOVERNMENT.

OF the two conflicting theories of the divine government only one can be true, and the line of separation is so distinct that there is neither neutrality nor compromise.

The divine government is by law. By this term we mean that law is the rule which fixes the standard of relationship between God, the supreme Ruler, and his subject, man; and that law furthermore prescribes the proprieties of this relationship in the intercourse of those two parties. Law implies individual freedom. It cannot exist except in connection with volitional responsibility, and the fact of its existence demonstrates the fact of alternative choice both with the administrator and with his responsible subject. The other theory is, "There are no alternatives with God, consequently there can be no alternatives with man."

We formulate one proposition, based on these facts. The divine government is under his supreme personal direction, subject to the environment of law, with dual possibility or *bona fide* alternative choice on

the part of the administrator and subject; or it is coercive, and without alternative or possibility of change. Only one of these can be true.

Therefore, if there is no alternative power there cannot be any law, and if there is no law there cannot be any voluntary violation of personal authority, and consequently no offense is committed against the majesty of God. Under such circumstances it is absurd to talk of atonement; for where there is no *bona fide* injury done to the authorities atonement is neither necessary nor possible. A coercive system of government may be imagined as existing at the will of the divine Being, and as being under the direction of his personal presence and supervision; or it may exist as the product of the impersonal forces of nature acting by the power of evolution, or of continuous procession from some sufficient but unknown original center. In either case there is no amenability to law, no guilt is possible, and there is no salvation, as in either case, whether by prearrangement, without alternative choice, or by evolution, which means by continuous procession, that is, without a break, there is no infraction of law. Nothing is forfeited, and there is nothing to redeem; nothing is lost, and there is nothing to save. It appears to us that the scholasticism of this age should correct its vocabulary or conform its theology to the facts in the case.

WILLIAM JONES.

Butler, Mo.

"OUR BIBLE AND OUR FAITH."

DR. VAN PELT'S well-balanced and altogether admirable discussion of the above subject in the January number of the *Review* seems to me to be open to some criticism. Without specifying the page and express language, unless I have misapprehended him after several careful readings, the discussion conveys the idea that the Bible, being only a medium, and not the object of our faith, has not the importance that recent discussions have given it. All must admit that Christ, and not the Bible, is the object of saving faith. But, while the Bible is only a medium of this faith, the inference that it is only of secondary importance to that faith is not, we believe, in accordance with fact, and departs from the recognized tenets of evangelical theology.

The canvas and paint in a Michael Angelo are only mediums through which we catch the divine ideas of the artist; and yet they are absolutely indispensable to the perpetuation of those ideas. Any tinkering with those mediums mars the idea. The only Christ we know is the Christ of Scripture. The only Christ we can teach to others is the Christ of the Bible, and that, too, after some formulated doctrine at the hands of fallible men, increasing daily in knowledge and wisdom. But is it not reasonable to suppose that, since we are in our present state so utterly dependent for a medium for the knowledge of the divine Christ, we should have from God a medium of absolute perfection? Such is our only primary source of knowledge. To me the Bible is that perfected medium, the *sine qua non* of our faith.

CHARLES L. BOVARD.

Albuquerque, N. Mex.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NEW METHODS OF MINISTERIAL TRAINING.

THE best method of educating those destined for the learned professions, especially for the Christian ministry, is now a matter of discussion. It is somehow assumed by those who write upon the subject that the old method has proved a failure, or at least only comparatively successful. Looking at this subject from the standpoint of Methodists, however, it is clear that our first preachers were eminently successful in practical work. It is true they were revivalists, mostly without the training of the schools, but somehow they attracted all classes to their ministrations. Certainly no charge of failure to reach the masses could be laid upon them.

As the Church grew it became necessary to provide an education for her ministry, and it has therefore been the aim of the Church to secure for those who occupy her pulpits the best possible facilities. At first this education was confined largely to the college work. Later it came also to include a theological course, until now it is recognized as best that the student shall pass through an entire course of academic, collegiate, and theological training. Such is the condition of things to-day, and it is against this order of things that there is a kind of protest, because it is supposed that our preachers fail to reach the masses as they did formerly.

Yet no one would charge this failure, if it be a failure, to ministerial education; for certainly one cannot assume that an educated ministry would be a powerless ministry. It is claimed, therefore, that the difficulty lies in the want of knowledge of the conditions of the so-called "submerged classes." Hence the demand for what is called a new form of education. The recent visit of the senior class of a theological school to the charitable institutions of New York, including its slums and its lowest places, has been largely noticed by the public press. We may well consider whether such a visit should be counted as a part of the education, or whether it should be an incident and illustration in education. That some knowledge of the conditions of society is desirable for a young minister no one questions. But that it should form an integral part of education is the matter that we ought to consider.

The first requirement for ministerial training is that it shall provide discipline, that is, the culture of the powers and faculties of the student to their highest possible limits. The practical work of the ministry is nothing more than the normal exercise of one's faculties. No training, therefore, can be considered adequate for the ministry which is not essentially disciplinary. It is safe to say, therefore, that Latin and Greek and mathematics must be fundamental. Other discipline, it is true, is affirmed by many to be equally productive of mental culture. If, however, we take into consideration the specific culture required for the ministry,

Greek at least is essential for his practical work, and therefore should be required both as a discipline and as an acquisition of necessary knowledge. The present courses of study in our colleges and universities in these particulars is, for the ordinary student, sufficiently limited. The training of a minister must also include a study of the subject-matter of his teaching. This is the peculiar work of the theological school. The ordinary divisions of theological study are exegetical, systematic, historical, and practical theology. Neither of these could be well omitted in any thorough course of ministerial training, and these constitute the present sphere of the labors of theological professors.

It is necessary, however, to consider the attitude of mental training in relation to modern or experimental work. There is, at this time, a manifest distrust of old methods, and a tendency to education entirely by lectures of a character adapted to popular audiences. We cannot hesitate to admit that the ministry of to-day must meet the wants of to-day. The sociological developments of the age form a special subject of study for the ministry, and the university settlements and other organizations have taken a prominent hold on our modern philanthropic life. The institutional Church has come into existence, and what we desire to insist on is that, while a study of these things is desirable as a part of ministerial education, it should not be pursued to an extent which would interfere with the other studies of general discipline and information. In other words, it should be subsidiary and not occupy too much of the time. The training of the head and the training of the heart are so vital that no studies of a practical character, however important, can be substituted for them. The new method has a measure of value. We would, therefore, urge a strict adherence to the old methods of training, and supplement them by courses of lectures on topics of modern progress and the ordinary means of success in the ministry at this time. But we would protest against the new as a substitute for the old.

THE INTELLECTUAL VIGOR OF OLD MEN.

One of the fallacies current in our time is that of attempting to fix an absolute line dividing maturity and old age. It is specially mischievous when the line is drawn by years. Observation will teach us that some men in effective work, in all lines demanding intellectual vigor, are old at thirty, while others are young at seventy. But there now seems to be an increase in the age to which intellectual vigor may be continued.

The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of all England, who on state occasions ranks next to the royal family, is certainly one demanding the services of a man in the fullness of his strength, and especially mental strength. The dignity of the office is further shown by the salary attached to it, this being about seventy-five thousand dollars a year and the use of the episcopal palace at Lambeth. The present Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed to this high office when

he was seventy-five years old. The recent bugle blast of Mr. Gladstone, from his resting place at the Riviera, on the relations of the European powers to the island of Crete is an astonishment to mankind. It is in line with the other intellectual labors of this distinguished statesman. At an age between eighty-five and ninety he has done a wonderful work in his annotations on Butler's *Analogy*, placing himself side by side with one of the most acute thinkers and reasoners that the centuries have produced. Now, in behalf of Crete, he has awakened the conscience of the world in an appeal to Europe which for fire, logical force, elegance of diction, and eloquence recalls the palmy days of the foremost speaker and statesman of the nineteenth century. In this view the press is a unit. We must not forget the pope at Rome, a few months younger than Mr. Gladstone, who still sends forth his encyclicals abounding in learning, and yet governs the Roman Catholic Church with a clearness of perception and a wisdom in statesmanship which we would expect of a man twenty-five years his junior. The fires of intellect still burn freshly, though the bodily powers have become weak. Bismarck, too, over eighty years of age, still has the vigor to speak to Europe and to instruct the nation in its crisis, and his words are still heard. The *Systematic Theology* of Dr. John Miley is the standard for the training of ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. This work was written between the seventieth and eightieth year of its author, and during his full performance of his duties as a professor at Drew Theological Seminary. It may be said that these are the few; and yet one who would take the trouble to study the mental achievements of the world would find a result not unpromising to the intellectual vigor of men and women, even down to extreme old age. Our youth must not be overproud of their achievements in the presence of such facts as these.

The question before us is, How shall this intellectual vigor be promoted? For whoever aids in lengthening the usefulness of a life is adding another force to the elevation of our humanity. Intellectual vigor may be maintained partly by a care of the physical health. Wasted strength in early life will bear its baneful fruit in old age. So far as is known, the persons whose names we have indicated have lived moderately, indulging not so much in the luxuries as in the necessities of life; in other words, they have taken care of their health. Again, those who have maintained intellectual vigor to old age have mainly been persons who have prepared themselves thoroughly for the work to which they were called. They have developed their faculties by gradual processes, and attained in early years information and discipline which lay at the foundation of their lifework. With this preparation one's profession can be carried on by normal labor, rather than by extraordinary, spasmodic effort. It is not the regular work which wears out a life, but the overpressure which grows out of emergencies for which one is unprepared. The men who have not been prepared for their position by slow and gradual processes find it harder to summon their powers in an emergency, and consequently the strain upon them is greater. Besides, they have the disadvantage of

having to make extra preparation for all emergencies, while one who has been thoroughly and properly trained is not easily taken at a disadvantage. It will be found, in most cases, that persons who maintain intellectual power in positions of prominence for a long period are those who have fitted themselves for it by such gradual processes as have been indicated.

Further, intellectual vigor will be maintained by keeping oneself in constant sympathy with the onward movements of mankind. The world does not stand still. It cannot stand still. One who sits himself down at forty years of age and takes no account of human progress will soon get out of touch with the forces with which he has to do. He will lose sympathy, and will consequently lose intensity, and becomes a follower, and not a leader. The persons to whom we have already referred seem to be awake still to all the problems of life, and hence their ability to speak with authority. Mr. Gladstone is known as a profound student of Greek and Greek literature, and it is not wonderful that his old Hellenic spirit wakes up when he sees little Greece come to the front as a leader and win the respect of the world. He remembers the days of Marathon and Salamis, and somehow sees them repeated in the attitude of the Greeks of to-day. This memory of his early studies has no doubt awakened his sympathies and called forth the intellectual vigor of which we have been writing. We believe that there has been no period in the history of the Church when the worth of old men to the world was more apparent than now; and it is well worth the while of young ministers to ask how they may preserve their intellectual vigor down to the latest period of life.

UNSOUND CRITICISM ON MATT. XII, 40, 41.

"For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, a greater than Jonah is here" (Revised Version of 1881).

The Book of Jonah has recently been summoned afresh to the bar of criticism, and great learning and research have been expended to show its unhistorical character. Thus far there has been one answer to all attacks on this and many other parts of the Old Testament, namely, that our Lord and Saviour has put upon it the seal of his own authority. It cannot be denied that attempts have been made to invalidate Christ's testimony, without denying his divinity, such as the doctrine of the Kenosis; but they have been recognized as inadequate to explain fully his unqualified utterances.

The most recent effort to set aside the testimony of Christ to the historic accuracy of the Book of Jonah is reported to have been made in Philadelphia. An eminent preacher had given his reasons for his views of the Bible, when he was met by a request to explain in harmony with

his views of the Book of Jonah the passage in Matt. xii, 40, 41. The answer given by the preacher is reported to have been that he did not think that our Lord had said it. He declared that there were many interpolations in the gospels, and that this was one of them. In other words, he took the bold position that the testimony of the most ancient witnesses to the sacred text is not valid, as against conjectural criticism. It is an abandonment of the position of modern scholarship, which demands that we accept the authority of the great manuscripts as final.

The position alluded to, as regards this utterance of Christ, is so extraordinary that it will be important to notice the evidence of the manuscripts with reference to the passage under consideration. The revisers of 1881 have varied from the version of King James only in substituting "Jonah" for "Jonas," "stand up" for "rise," and "for" for "because." So far as the Greek text is concerned the variations are so slight and so slenderly supported that the text of all the great critics is substantially the same. Not a scintilla of evidence exists to disprove our Lord's employment of this language. It is so well attested by manuscript versions that, on the basis of pure criticism, its authority is absolute and final.

It is clear, therefore, that any suggestion of its being an interpolation is purely subjective. This view would involve the abandonment of the laws of textual criticism. Instances are frequent when scholars of highest repute reject a reading which has all internal probability in its favor, because of the character of the external evidence.

This paper is not intended to enter into a formal defense of the historical character of the Book of Jonah. The narrative bears the marks of a veritable transaction, with Jonah and the Ninevites as real characters. To give an allegorical or parabolic meaning to the Book of Jonah is absolutely inconsistent with our Lord's statement in the passage now under consideration. If we apply such a method of interpretation to these words we must also apply it to the other reference in the same connection to the queen of the South who came from the ends of the earth "to hear the wisdom of Solomon." It is apparent that, if the text is assumed to be genuine, there can be no doubt that our Lord recognized the Book of Jonah as a real history.

Two courses only seem to be open to the rejecter of the narrative in Jonah. One is to explain how it was possible for our Lord to have been mistaken in his knowledge of the cases to which we have already made reference; and the other is the method adopted by the preacher to whom we are now here referring, namely, to deny that these words were ever employed by Christ, and to claim that they were interpolations by another person. The far-reaching character of such a method of criticism is at once apparent. If, on the mere assertion of any individual, however scholarly, such a passage of our gospels can be stricken out, against all the testimony of the manuscripts, we are embarked on a sea of uncertainty entirely without chart or compass, and it is impossible to tell whether we shall ever reach a harbor. It would be far better to let inconsistencies stand than to defend the truth by methods so subversive of all right thinking and of true critical procedure.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE BABYLONIAN FLOOD LEGEND.

EVERY great nation has its epic. So had the ancient Chaldeans. This is the great poem of Gilgamesh, king of Erech, which, according to Sayce, assumed its present form during the *renaissance* of Chaldean literature under Khammurabi, B. C. 2356–2301. The entire poem consists of twelve books, "the subject of each book corresponding with the name of the zodiacal sign which answers to it in numerical order." The eleventh canto, having the deluge for its theme, very naturally corresponds with Aquarius, the eleventh sign of the zodiac.

A new translation by Professor Haupt of the Babylonian story of the flood, with comments more or less favorable to the Bible, has of late been published, wholly or in part, in many of our secular papers. As it has been known that the Johns Hopkins professor has been making, for many years, a critical study of the great Babylonian epic it is quite natural that this last version of the ancient song should attract much attention. This new translation, though doubtless in some regards an improvement upon most of its predecessors, contains nothing essentially new, and does not throw any additional light either upon the cuneiform copy or biblical criticism. This is not strange, for every Assyriologist of repute has tried his hand upon the decipherment and exposition of this fragment from the works of Gilgamesh, who till recently was called Izdubar or Gishdubar. We have translations by George Smith and Pinches of the British Museum, Oppert and Lenormant of France, Jensen and Jeremias of Germany, Muss-Arnolt of Chicago, and by others less known.

Though Berosus, the Babylonian historian and priest of Belus, who lived B. C. 330–262, gives a long account of the deluge in his writings—which, however, comes to us second hand through Eusebius, who in his turn had taken it from the works of Polyhistor—it was reserved for the late George Smith in 1872 to prove beyond contradiction that the Chaldeans had literature bearing upon the deluge. One day, while pursuing his work at the British Museum, his heart was made glad when his eye fell upon a large fragment of a tablet from ancient Nineveh bearing the following words: "The mountain of Nizir stopped the ship. I sent forth a dove and it left. The dove went down and turned, and a resting place it did not find, and it returned." Mr. Smith saw at once that he had the story of the deluge before him. Thus encouraged, he kept on faithfully at his work and examined carefully thousands of fragments. Among the endless number of tablets he found a large number treating of the same subject. These, when pieced together, though far from forming a perfect tablet, formed a connected whole. Having called the attention of the learned world in a lecture to his great discovery, he was

induced by the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, in London, to undertake at their expense an expedition to Kouyunjik, that is, ancient Nineveh, for the purpose of making systematic excavations on the site of Assur-bani-pal's palace. The result of this, and of another expedition shortly following, was the discovery, not only of many scraps of brick referring to the deluge, but of other numberless tablets, chiefly mythological in their nature, such as the creation, the fall of man, the tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, the war in heaven, the fall of Satan, etc. We might add here that many fragments, with portions of the deluge story, have been discovered since the death of Mr. Smith.

Such, in brief, is the account of these ancient inscriptions. As excellent translations of the deluge tablets are accessible to all,* we shall not try to reproduce the whole story, but shall simply emphasize the principal differences and coincidences in the Babylonian and biblical accounts. The biblical story is purely monotheistic, that of the tablets being polytheistic, anthropomorphic, and grotesque. In the latter we have Bel and his followers, Ramman, Nebo, Uragal, Adah, Eunugi, and other inferior gods, bent upon the annihilation of the human race, while rival god, swear bitter vengeance upon their fellows for having brought such a calamity upon the sons of the earth. The reasons for the catastrophe are the same in both accounts—rebellion against heaven and the great moral corruption of mankind. The deliverance of a very small remnant of the race is accomplished in the same way, namely, by means of a huge vessel called an ark in Genesis and a ship on the tablets. The latter, if the translations be correct, was much larger than the former, but both are pitched within and without, and are furnished with a window, door, and roof. The names of the two heroes cannot be made to correspond according to any version. The Bible has Noah, the son of Lamech, while the name on the tablets has been deciphered variously as Shamashnaphistim, Sitnaphistim, Parnapistim, Adrachasis—which inverted reads Chasisadra, and corresponds to the Greek form, Xisusthros. This man lived at Shurippak, on the Euphrates, and his father's name was Ubaratutu. Noah embarks with his own family only, with food, and with many animals; but the man of Shurippak takes also, besides his own immediate family, slaves, artisans, handmaids, as well as all his possessions, including, of course, his silver and gold. Noah himself has charge of the ark, but the Babylonian hero employs Buzur-Sadurabu as captain or pilot. According to the Gilgamesh legend the storm rages only seven days and nights, while the storm which produced the Noachian flood continues forty days and nights. Noah sends out two birds, a dove and a raven. Xisusthros sends three: in addition to the dove and raven, a swallow. Sacrifices are offered according to both accounts. Noah, having lived a number of years, dies a natural death, but the Chaldean hero and his wife are made immortal, and "become like the gods who dwell

* *Literary Digest*, February 20, 1897, Haupt; *Biblical World*, February, 1894; Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 107, *ff.*; Davies's *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, pp. 111, *ff.*

on high." Xisusthros and Noah were both supernaturally warned. But as Ea could not disclose the secrets of the gods to mortals, not even to the favorite Xisusthros, the god resorts to a ruse: he divulges the decrees of heaven to the reeds, which in turn sing them out to the man who was to be saved. But here another difficulty arises. The *protégé* of Ea, afraid of ridicule from his fellow-men, hesitates to build a ship or to speak of the impending calamity; but the god once more comes to the rescue, and suggests the following plausible evasive speech:

> Bel has banished me and hates me,
> Therefore I cannot stay in your city;
> On Bel's earth I cannot remain,
> To the sea I shall go, to remain with my Lord Ea.

The storm is described in the following highly poetic language:

> The dark clouds rose on the horizon,
> In which Ramman lets his thunder crash.
> While Nebo and king go before,
> And the destroying angel strode over mountain and valley,
> Uragal lets loose the elements,
> Adar passed scattering woe,
> All the light is changed to darkness.

The violence of the storm is so great as to terrify not only frail and sinful man, but many of the gods, as we see from what follows:

> Brother regards not brother,
> Men trouble not about one another,
> Even in heaven the gods fear the flood,
> They escape to the (highest) heaven of Anu.
> The gods crouch like gods, cower behind heaven's lattices,
> Ishtar cries like a woman in travail,
> The sublime goddess cries with a loud voice.
> . . . . . .
> The gods were prostrated, sat there wailing with woe,
> Their lips were pressed tight together, all were paralyzed.

The description of the sacrifice offered to the gods at the close of the flood is quite anthropomorphic and realistic:

> The gods smelled the savor,
> The gods smelled the sweet savor,
> The gods gathered like flies about the offering.

These tablets are very interesting from a literary standpoint. As they are copies of still more ancient ones it is impossible to more than conjecture the age of the original. They are in their present form nearly seven hundred years older than our era. We know this from the fact that they were prepared for the royal library of Assur-bani-pal. From a remark on one of these tablets we further know that the originals from which they had been copied were assigned to the time of Khammurabi, or about seventeen centuries earlier. If, therefore, the Chaldeans possessed such elaborate written accounts of the flood at so early a date it seems folly for the divisive critics to say that any portion of the story as given in Genesis is of exilic or post-exilic origin. Why could this

ancient tradition, found in the beginnings of all history, not have been known to Moses? There is certainly no good reason for tracing the Hebrew account back to Babylonian literature or tradition? The analogies and points of difference between the two, though very striking and numerous, are not of such a nature as to warrant the inference that either one was derived from the other. Though evidently both refer to the same catastrophe, yet they are quite independent; and, as Kalisch has wisely remarked, they and multitudes of other deluge legends "are the echoes of a sound which had long vanished away." It is much more reasonable to think that the story of the flood went along with the early settlers to all countries, and that the account as given in Genesis was substantially known to Abraham and his immediate descendants.

The divisive critics have made much of the difference of style in the composition of what they call the Elohistic and Jehovistic versions of the deluge. The one is said to be prosaic and matter-of-fact, the other poetic and elevated. We notice the same peculiarity in Babylonian literature, no matter how far back we go. This is especially true of the deluge tablets. Must we therefore infer a dual authorship for them? Or, to come down to our own times, must we because we find such a variety of styles and of poetic merit in Goethe's "Faust" conclude that it is the work of several writers united into one composite whole?

But, finally, no one can read the Babylonian deluge story without being at once impressed with its inferiority to that of the Hebrews. How is the superiority of the latter to be explained? The simplest way is to recognize in Genesis a supernatural element, which guided the thoughts of a special people selected for the transmission of religious truths for the enlightenment and moral elevation of mankind. This people had, in addition to the traditions common to the race, extra illumination which enabled them to reject the false notions that had crept into the mythologies of the surrounding nations.

THE TIME OF THE EXODUS.

One of the last conjectures on the date of the exodus is by Professor Flinders Petrie. In the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology for December, 1896, he fixes the event at about 1204 B. C. His reasoning is twofold: First, from the inscription of Merenptah, he infers that the Jews were not in Palestine on the occasion of Merenptah's victory over them, or the strife would have been recorded in the Book of Judges; and, secondly, there is no account of a campaign by Ramessu III in Palestine, and that the Jewish invasion of that land must therefore have been later than the last campaign of Ramessu III, which seems to have been between 1180 B. C. and 1148 B. C. This would make the Jewish entrance of Palestine about the year 1164 B. C., or the departure from Egypt about 1204 B. C. Whatever the value of this argument may be, it is worthy of consideration, and will doubtless open up the way for a fuller discussion of the chronological problems which are involved.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

PROTESTANTISM IN MADAGASCAR.

THE French have ventured to abolish slavery in Madagascar, an act which has been held for many decades to be perilous because the Hovas, the most vigorous race on the island, are the slave masters, and it was thought dangerous to legislate thus boldly against them. This is but one of the good things the French government has done in Madagascar, but unfortunately the Jesuits dominate its religious movements, possibly laying claim to do so because of their agency in bringing the island to France.

The directors of the London Missionary Society have felt constrained to issue a circular stating the case of the native Protestant Malagasy Church, in which they say that the Protestant natives of Madagascar are in sore straits. They write of them: "In the 'dark days' of persecution (1835–61), to which they often touchingly allude, they had to undergo long-continued cruelty and injustice at the hands of their own sovereign. Last year, again, on the outbreak of rebellion and antiforeign feeling following upon the French annexation, it was the leaders of the native Protestant Churches who chiefly suffered. Their friendly relations with Europeans and their prominence as Christians, together with their refusal to join in heathen rites, rendered them specially obnoxious to the rebel bands which at that time were devastating large districts of the central province. Consequently they, more than all others, were the objects of attack. Their houses, chapels, and schools were burned to the ground; their property was looted and destroyed. Were it necessary, the directors could furnish a detailed narrative showing what these Malagasy Protestants then endured." The Protestant world must recognize the right of the London Society thus to express its poignant disappointment, after having spent many millions to civilize and Christianize this island.

The position of Protestant missionaries in Madagascar is exceedingly precarious. They are exposed as Europeans to the wrath of the native tribes in arms against French rule, who do not distinguish between foreigners, and on the other hand the Jesuits seem to have control of French colonial policy. It is enacted that instruction in schools must be given in the French language, and the London Society has handed its schools over to the Protestants of Paris; but their ownership of property is now jeopardized, the Jesuits by trickery and misrepresentation attempting to obtain places of worship raised by Malagasy Protestants. The Jesuits are in many cases the only interpreters to which the government officer has access. The Friends (Quakers) Foreign Missionary Society is in trouble over the loss of their hospital buildings, on which they have spent some thirty-five thousand dollars, besides meeting two thirds the annual cost of support. The French took these buildings for military purposes, as they had a right to do, and the missionaries nursed their sick and wounded

soldiers; but the queen, having been made a Roman Catholic, asked the Mission to relinquish the property under a legal technicality of which she avails herself. The London directors say that this Jesuit persecution, "though differing in form, is carried on with a bitterness, audacity, persistency, and unscrupulousness equal to anything that has marked persecutions in days gone by."

THE FAMINE IN INDIA AS A MISSIONARY OPPORTUNITY.

THE largest area in India ever affected by famine at one time within the present century is that of the territory now under distress. On the authority of the government of India the statement has been published that thirty-seven millions of people are in districts where the scarcity of food is so great that life cannot be maintained, while there are in addition forty-four millions of people in districts where there is not sufficient food to maintain health. This makes a starving population equal to one and one third times the population of the United States. This does not mean that the whole of the thirty-seven millions will die of starvation, or that all of the forty-four millions will fail in health from want of food. But it does mean that death by starvation and by diseases superinduced by poor food threatens probably one in ten, or perhaps eight millions of people, while the death rate among twice as many millions more is greatly advanced.

The government of India is expending a vast sum of money, and the officials are working beyond their strength in their effort to save life, but it is absolutely beyond the power of the government to keep the people alive. A penny a day is the wages paid on the relief works, food is at famine prices, and large numbers are unable to go to the relief works. There is great difficulty in getting food to the homes of the people where starvation stalks, many being too feeble even to carry it to others. The injustice with which it is distributed by dishonest native agents or seized by the strongest among the villagers, without regard to claims of equity or necessity, also contributes to increase the dire distress which prevails. There is here a large field for private charity, and God seems to call on the Christian world, which has long prayed for the conversion of India, to supplement the subsistence rations provided by public funds, specially among the sick, the infirm, and the little children. The duty is pressing to provide for the maintenance of orphans, and to help those who shall survive, but have lost all, to make a fresh start in life.

It would be far from easy to name a government that has, within the same period and under similar conditions, done so much to become an "earthly providence" to so many millions of people as the British government in India. It has constructed vast systems of irrigation, of water storage, and of railways to prevent the occurrence of famine on a large scale; but all are dependent on the "rain from heaven," and when that fails no human providence can command the conditions. Some slight relief in food supply may have been realized since the first of April, with a harvest of a few kinds of grains. If it rains in June there will be some

hope of the October harvest. But already widows and orphans by hundreds of thousands call for attention and aid. The orphans in particular afford a vast field for Christian missionary enterprise.

THE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE IN MISSION COUNTRIES.

Sooner or later, in all successful work among the heathen, the question of a creed comes to the front. The missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church have gradually grown up without any serious trouble on this line. Very early in the history of each of these missions among the great heathen nations the Discipline was translated into one or more of the vernaculars of the several countries, and the native Church has grown up around it without much questioning as to whether it is the best form of symbolic expression. While some have recognized that many of the Articles of Religion are negations, and might possibly suggest rather than repress forms of erroneous beliefs, it has been held on the other hand that these negative propositions only have reference to such inquiries as may arise on the advanced consideration of Christian doctrine, and that it is well for the beginnings of theological thought to be guarded against misconception. Mr. Wesley and the founders of Methodism greatly abbreviated the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England for Methodists. There has, as yet, been little temptation to modify our Twenty-five Articles for our foreign churches, though there can be scant reason for requiring Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese Christians to express any political faith in the republic of the United States as defined in the twenty-third article. The contest in Japan has precipitated, for that country, the question as to how far it is desirable to reproduce the old theological and ecclesiastical controversies that have heretofore excited the Western Churches. The Church of England societies in Japan have made a sweeping concession to the Japanese sentiment by excluding the Thirty-nine Articles altogether from the Japanese prayer book. Bishop Bickersteth justifies this action thus: "Now, the Thirty-nine Articles have no ecumenical authority. They are English of the English, an outcome of the special circumstances of the Church of England in the sixteenth century. They are not, and do not pretend to be, a complete statement of Christian doctrine, and were certainly never intended to be imposed as a standard of orthodoxy outside of the British Isles." There is certainly room to exercise robust common sense in all such matters. Nobody can suppose that Bishop Bickersteth does not hold to every iota of doctrine in the Thirty-nine Articles. Yet their incorporation in a Church of totally new environment is a separate question.

JAPANESE IN TRANSITION.

The "curiosities of literature" must include the discussions of the Japanese weekly press on the subject of religion. Some of these have recently been occupied with the relation of Christian Churches to foreign

missionaries. Thus, they have declared, "The foreigners are the lords, and we are the servants;" and again, "The only possible way of effecting union between foreigners and Japanese is for the former to recognize our independence, and to show themselves ready to meet us on equal terms." It was this sort of sentiment that drove the Doshisha trustees to turn the American Board out of its own school property, which another Japanese paper declares to be a "narrow-minded, antiforeign policy," that has not "met with the approval of the Christians generally." It adds: "Hence the episode, instead of furthering the cause of independence in the Christian Church, has proved a hindrance to it." Another weekly Japanese paper says that "the day is not far distant when mixed residence will be allowed, and foreigners will be settling in the interior and practicing their religion in our very midst." The writer therefore regrets the antiforeign attitude adopted by many Christian Churches at the present time.

THE PLAGUE AT BOMBAY.

SEVERAL features of contrast between heathenism and Christianity are finding illustration in the city of Bombay in the presence of the plague which has driven three hundred and fifty thousand persons from the city and has slain several thousands. The superstition of the heathen furnishes a ready explanation of the causes of the great calamity. One reason assigned for the presence of the disease is that the queen of England sent the plague because her statue was defaced a few months ago by some miscreant pouring tar over it; another is that the government will keep the plague there till the livers of five hundred men are sent to the empress. These stories affect missionary work as the people grow terrified at the approach of the Bible woman or the missionary seeking to carry relief, lest these be spies. They refuse to have their houses fumigated, or to carry their sick to hospitals, and live on in the filth, dampness, and darkness of heathenism.

It is said that the native Christians fare far better because of their increased intelligence and attention to hygiene, and because they are less fearful. Very few of them have run away, and most are ready to help save others at risk of their own lives. Many of them go humbly to their work every day, reading the ninety-first psalm. This has attracted the attention of the heathen, who say, "Yes, your God is stronger than our gods, and more merciful;" and some of them pray their gods to let the disease spread among English and Christians, and not to let their people suffer. It is said that up to a late period in February only two native Protestant Christians were known to have died of the plague, though the Roman Catholic natives have suffered a great deal. These, however, live like the native heathen; and as the plague is a "dirt" disease, the substitution of a crucifix for an idol, and of "Hail Marys" for the name of Hindu gods, does not avail against filth, ignorance, and the loss of those moral and religious qualities which are conducive to the resistance of disease.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Wilhelm Schmidt. Although his opinions are not universally shared by his theological brethren, and, though some of them regard him as able rather than learned, he is, nevertheless, acknowledged to be a powerful factor in present-day thought. We give his views on a few closely-related points. Religion, he holds, is a universal phenomenon of humanity. And as there is no people without a religion, so no individual human being can be originally and absolutely without religion, since each is a product of the general culture of the nation and, with his entire mental life, is rooted in the same. He can become irreligious, but he cannot be religionless. All the various attempts to explain the origin of religion in man by natural psychological processes, from impressions made by the world of sense, or from practical ethical motives, are inadequate. Hence it is necessary to assume a religious capital with which man is originally endowed, a consciousness of God which he finds within himself as soon as he comes to self-consciousness. He cannot avoid entertaining this consciousness of God; and since he is not its real efficient cause it must be regarded as the effect of a divine operation in and upon him. This native consciousness of God is monotheistic. Since it is a necessary effect, its actuality is a guarantee of the objective reality of the idea of God. Its influence, however, upon the individual is dependent upon his subjective treatment of it. The Bible lays claim to this universal revelation for the human race in such passages as Rom. i, 19, *f.*, John i, 5, 9, and Acts xvii, 28. In addition to this revelation of God which is given to every individual human being as a part of his nature, Schmidt believes in the value of a knowledge of the world as an aid to our knowledge of God. Jesus did not exclude a rational knowledge of the world from the domain of religion. In his parables he assumed the facts of the life of nature and of the reality of the world in order to make plain heavenly truths, and called in the aid of rational intelligence in order to aid men in attaining certainty in religious things. Ritschl's fundamental proposition that we know nothing of God except from his revelation to us transcends the idea of revelation. If this proposition were true we could never know anything of God, since his revelation reaches only susceptible natures, those who have a sensorium for his revelation. Historical revelation is necessitated by the fact of sin. Christianity we know to be the perfect religion by its effects.

G. A. Fricke. As one who for more than fifty years has been engaged in the study of the proofs of God's existence his ideas on the subject will be of value. He believes that a scientific demonstration of the existence of the personal God, distinct from the world, is necessary, possible, and

effective. It is necessary in order to overcome atheism, which is characterized by hollowness and dilettanteism, and because without such demonstration theology would cease to be a science. It is possible because God is no impersonal abstraction, but in his works is the best attested, most visible, and best known of all beings, and the invisible One only in the sense of the Principle who breaks through all things visible. It is effective, as is proved by experience and observation. There are three principal demonstrations, the cosmological-ontological, the teleological—including Kant's ethico-teleological proof—and the pneumatological. Fricke regards the first two inadequate, since they do not lead to a personal God distinct from the world. The pneumatological demonstration is first ethical. So far it grows out of necessary ethics. Morality is the natural law of the spirit, the content of the *cogito, ergo sum*. The necessity of morality is axiomatic. It is nowhere denied except by certain degenerate individuals. The fulfillment of the moral law must be possible, since man is not a self-contradiction. But this fulfillment cannot be attained without a personal God. The moral law cannot be realized by means of itself, since then the good and the obligatory would be performed because of love to the good and the obligatory. But this is not possible ; it is theoretically senseless, and practically of no force. It is a mere phrase. For no man can love law and duty. Love and respect can only apply to persons. Again, self-love cannot be the principle of morality. A certain egoism may be permissible; yet when it is made the measure of our conduct it is not the principle of morality, but the immoral opposite of morality. Nor can altruism furnish us with the principle by which the moral law can be fulfilled. For true love of our neighbor can only rest upon a personal God. To demand that men shall love strangers and their enemies, without belief in a personal God, is senseless and impractical. The moral law is a necessity; it is not possible without a personal God; hence he is. The religious side of the pneumatical demonstration consists in the fact that the phenomena of the religious life cannot be explained except on the ground of a personal God who is absolute love. We give Fricke's ideas on the subject for what they are worth. To us it seems as though it is too strong to consider as demonstrations any of the proofs for the existence of God. But they do make his existence so probable that only the fool can say in his heart, "There is no God."

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La France et le grand Schisme d'Occident (France and the Great Occidental Schism). By Noël Valois. Paris, A. Pickard et Fils. 1896. The author describes that period of French history during which France attached itself to the rival pope in Avignon. He begins with the twofold election in 1378. On April 8, 1378, under pressure of the excited populace of Rome, Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, an Italian, was chosen pope as Urban VI. On September 20 of the same year, in

Fondi, Cardinal Robert, of Geneva, a Frenchman, was elected as Clement VII. From that time to this it has been a question which was the rightful incumbent. Contemporaries, councils, modern scholars, have all labored in vain to settle the question. Roman tradition has given its preference to Urban VI, but the Church has never announced a clear decision. Valois, as a historian, does not feel disposed to answer definitely. There was right and wrong on both sides. Conscientious contemporaries were impelled to take one side or the other, simply because of the information which reached them. It is a remarkable, though hitherto a little emphasized, fact that the schism did not begin at once upon the election of Urban VI. Until July, France recognized the papacy of Urban. Nor was it the interposition of the king, but the confidence that he would stand by them, that led the cardinals to choose Clement. The adherents of Clement were France, Savoy, Scotland, and after a period of hesitation, Castile and Aragon; a number of princes on the lower Rhine and in Germany; and Duke Leopold III of Austria, whose adherence was purchased, but whose influence on the upper Rhine was great. On the side of Urban were England and Hungary; King Wenzel; the electors of Cologne, Treves, and the Palatine; and Duke Stephan of Bavaria. The death of Charles V of France left the throne to Charles VI, a nervous, sickly boy who was controlled by his uncles, the dukes of Anjou, Berri, Burgundy, and Bourbon. With the death of the first of these the war between the two popes came to an end. Now the cry for unity became more general; especially did the University of Paris participate in the demand. Upon the death of Urban VI his successor, Boniface IX, was able to win back much of the territory that had been lost. Public opinion made itself felt in the use of published writings, and the call for a council became more and more universal. When Clement VII died, in the year 1394, France had become weary of the schism, and the sense of the real unity of the Church had grown stronger than it had ever been before. This ended, says Valois, not indeed the schism, but this particular form of Gallicanism.

Der römische Konkubinat nach den Rechtsquellen und den Inschriften (Roman Concubinage, on the Basis of Legal Sources and Inscriptions). By Paul Meyer. Leipzig, Teubner, 1895. This book treats an important feature of ancient ethics, and shows how Christianity dealt with concubinage, which it did not originate, but found existing. The first part treats of concubinage in the times of the heathen, the second in the times of the Christian, emperors. In an introduction Meyer shows that during the older period of the republic a real marriage was called *matrimonium justum*, while all other sexual relations were designated by *paelicatus*. Both, however, assumed the monogamic and permanent character of the relation. The increasing immorality of the end of the republic did not change the legal status of these relations, but it did change the practice. "The *paelex* became the rival of the wife." Augustus, who created the standing army, forbade entrance upon marriage

during the period of service. In order to overcome the consequences of this legislation he lifted one of the many forms of extra-marital connections to the dignity of legality, under the name of "concubinage." The concubine was often the equal of the wife, and often took her place. The emperor Marcus Aurelius would not give his children a stepmother after the death of his wife, but expected his concubine to be a mother to them. The relation was legal, and in some degree respectable. Christianity found these views of marriage and concubinage in existence. In general, the legislation of the Church and of the Christian emperors allowed concubinage to remain, under condition of its being a monogamic and permanent relation. Constantine strove to prevent the taking of concubines instead of wives. The limits of permissibility of the relation were narrowed, and the concubine and her children lost the rights accorded to them by Augustus. Thus was encouraged the exchange of concubinage for real marriage. Justinian proposed to Christianize the regulations of the classical period. Basilius Macedo forbade concubinage in Austria in the ninth century; in the West it remained until the sixteenth century, except for the higher clergy, to whom it was forbidden by the earlier legislation relative to celibacy. Among the Church fathers who tolerated the idea of concubinage when it existed as a monogamic and permanent relation was Augustine. The book must be regarded as a valuable contribution to ethical and ecclesiastical history. It demonstrates, however, how sadly in the earlier centuries Christianity had become interwoven with the views of the world, that concubinage was not at once and totally eradicated.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Utterances Relative to the Bible and the Faith. The theology of continental Europe, as the theology of the Christian world, affirms that between the Bible and the faith there is an intimate connection. But the exact nature of that connection is under discussion among the theologians. To the average observer it does indeed appear as though no reputable theologian is left who asserts the verbal inspiration of the Bible; and yet those who deny such inspiration seem to think that the number of authors who make the writers of the Bible mere "writing machines" is constantly increasing. This, if it be a fact, would not prove that such a theory of the relation between the Inspirer and the inspired is growing in popularity, but only that more of those who hold it are coming forward as defenders of their views. It is, perhaps, not too strong to say that, judged by the continuous stream of literature on the subject, this question is still felt to be the vital one for theology. It is simply the old question of the seat of authority in religion. Rationalism has become history; and one who holds that the seat of religious authority is reason seems to be behind the times. On the other hand, Protestants cannot hold to the Church as the seat of authority, since that destroys the freedom of the individual. The only resource is the Bible. And Protestants are trying to settle the

question in what sense the Bible is the word of God. We analyze, and briefly discuss by way of illustrating the course which thought is pursuing, a few of the more recent lectures and articles on the subject. The first we mention is by "Evangelicus," a Ritschlian. Rejecting as erroneous and dangerous the verbal inspiration theory, he raises the question as to how the Christian can decide between the divine and human in the Bible. To this he replies that there is no external, mechanical means by which we can determine the boundary line. He then lays it down as a principle that all which teaches Christ's truth and breathes Christ's spirit is to be accepted as of divine authority, whether spoken by Christ or not. That is, all the utterances of Scripture are to be brought to the test of Christ. If they are Christlike we bow to them; if not, they are to be rejected. The properly educated Christian conscience is the organ by which this test is made. Though he looked at the question from a different point of view, the answer of "Evangelicus" seems to us to be exactly the answer which Luther rendered. If the distinction between the human and the divine elements in the Bible is to be maintained there must be some criterion of judgment, and we know no better one than this. Christ's was the highest revelation. Whatever contradicts it, in letter or spirit, is not to be held by the Christian. The second view is by Professor Cremer. He also rejects the verbal inspiration theory, but distinctly replaces it by the theory of a divinely wrought enlightenment of the witnesses of Christ's life and work. That the word of these witnesses is filled with the Spirit is owing to the fact that they themselves were filled with the Spirit. It is this fact that gives the Scripture its authority, and which will continue to make it authority for all who in the future shall proclaim the word. Because the word is written by men filled with the Spirit we have the human imperfection and the divine perfection of the Bible, that is, a Bible with limits to its authority. While the theory of "Evangelicus" affords us no doctrine of inspiration that of Cremer gives us no criterion whereby we may determine what is human and what divine. Which is the better test of the authoritativeness of a Scripture passage, the assurance given the Christian conscience by careful thought that it coincides with the teachings of Christ, or the assurance that it is spoken or written by a Spirit-filled man, who may, nevertheless, err? Both theories agree that there is in the Bible a human, and in so far an untrustworthy, element. The only theory that obviates this is that of verbal inspiration; and that plunges us into the difficulty of placing a wholly divine and infallible work in the hands of infallible men for interpretation. Out of this difficulty about the only way would be the theory of an infallible Church and pope to interpret the Bible. The third theory is by P. Kölbing, director of a theological seminary of the Unitas Fratrum in Germany. He recognizes that the old orthodox theory of inspiration is a thing of the past. With the change also has come, in some measure and manner, a corresponding change in the conception of faith and revelation. In discussing the relation of thought to faith he comes to the conclusion that doctrine is not an ingredient but a secondary

product of the Christian faith. On the other hand, faith by its very nature includes cognitions in immediate connection with the primary feelings of Christian faith and its acts of will—cognitions which, although belonging to the realm of concrete representations, are, because of their ethical character, no mere play of phantasy, but a connected, well-defined whole; religious cognitions of an ethical kind, and ethical cognitions of a religious kind. From this it follows that for Christendom there is a normal form of ethical-religious cognition which has not yet been developed into doctrine. This is found in the New Testament writings, and is the product of the peculiar experience of Jesus and the primitive Church in divine things. That these writings are in any especial sense the work of the Holy Spirit rests upon the especial historical relation of their authors to the Christian faith, which made possible, in consequence of the immediate influence of Jesus, the Son of God, the highest purity of their cognition of God. Put in plain and unequivocal language, the director of a theological seminary of the United Brethren of Germany regards the New Testament as the product of the Christian consciousness of the primitive Church. The fourth view is found in a lecture by Professor Samuel Oettli. He finds no fault with the doctrine of the development of the Old Testament history, but with the particular form of it as found in Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Smend he cannot agree. He tests their theory in three decisive points: the religious founding of Israel at the time of Moses, the asserted ethicizing of the conception of God by the prophets, and the continuance and completion of the faith in Jehovah during the exile. He declares that we have not the slightest interest at stake when we allow the employment in revelation of the natural laws of the human mind, and on the other hand asserts that the development of the Israelitish religion was not the constant growth of the human spirit from crude error to purer thought, but the progressive self-manifestation of God in revelation, a divine work of education, wrought on unmanageable material. This is simply the doctrine of accommodation in its usual modern form, and it is, perhaps, the best explanation possible of the facts of the Old Testament considered as a divine revelation. The fifth theory is that which is held by Professor Valeton, and relates to Christ's utterances concerning the Old Testament. His position is essentially that entertained by Meinhold, as recently given in this department of the *Review*, and need not be further described. These views, though not including all varieties of opinion and statement, are fairly representative of the most recent critical utterances on the subject. It will be seen that in one way or another each of these theologians is anxious to appear as the champion of some kind of religious authority for the Bible in matters of faith. We cannot help regarding some of them as exceedingly undesirable champions, even more to be dreaded than deliberate and avowed enemies who can be unmistakably identified as such; for some of their views in our judgment tend to undermine the faith. But it is significant that they still profess to believe in and most vigorously contend for the Bible as the supreme rule of faith and practice.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

WHY should there not be further antarctic exploration? Rear Admiral A. H. Markham's discussion of the question, in the April number of the *North American*, appeals both to the scientific and the popular reader. The immense area in the southern hemisphere "immediately surrounding the south pole, extending northward to the antarctic circle, and comprising an area of something like 8,000,000 square miles," is "a region absolutely unknown and undiscovered." The "first attempt at southern exploration," the admiral tells us, was made by Captain James Cook, over a hundred years ago. His commission was to reach a large continent there supposed to exist, which "imaginative map makers and cartographers of the sixteenth century had depicted on their maps covered with mountains, lakes, and rivers." Since then, "Weddell, Ross, and Kristensen have all passed the extreme position attained by Captain Cook, but so far these are the only explorers who have succeeded in crossing the seventieth parallel of south latitude." The first of these wrote "hopefully, a day or two before he reached his extreme southern position, that not a particle of ice was to be seen in any direction; that the weather was mild and serene, and the sea literally covered with birds! This, however, is only another instance of the uncertain and varied conditions of ice and sea in high latitudes at different periods." Ross sailed in September, 1839, having already earned high renown as the discoverer of the north magnetic pole, and for three years struggled to penetrate the southern ice. His success was such that he "had the satisfaction of carrying his clumsy bluff-bowed old ships to latitude seventy-five degrees three minutes in about the longitude of New Zealand." From his highest altitude he saw a series of stupendous peaks stretching eastward, and to the tract he gave the name Victoria Land. Kristensen sailed from Melbourne, September, 28, 1894, crossed the antarctic circle on Christmas Day, and "succeeded in effecting a landing on the great southern continent in the neighborhood of Cape Adare." His company thus "had the extreme gratification and honor of being the first human beings that had ever set foot on Victoria Land." The time is now at hand, says the admiral, for "a prosecution of antarctic research." Geography and geology would be benefited; further knowledge of terrestrial magnetism would seem to make it desirable; and the science of meteorology would be advanced. The words of the Duke of Argyll appear particularly appropriate, at the close of this scholarly and sensible article: "I confess I feel an immense interest in the question of antarctic expedition. I always feel a little shame that civilized man, living on his own little planet—a very small globe—should, in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, not yet have explored the whole of this little area; it seems a reproach on the enterprise, civilization, and condition of knowledge of the human race."

THE struggle of "the new crusade of criticism" is now to "revivify the dead past," says Edward Caird, of Balliol College, and to "bring back, in all the distinct lineaments of a living personality," the Christ of the gospels. But such an attempt is deprecated by this Oxford writer in the *New World* for March. Though "the last to underestimate the good of the effort of historical reconstruction to which the new criticism is leading us," yet the writer believes that the modern Christian should regard his religion, "not simply as loyalty to a Master, . . . but as adherence to a living principle which is working in the lives of himself and others." His article is entitled "Christianity and the Historical Christ." David Utter, of Salt Lake City, sounds a note of alarm—though he does not so design it—in his article on "Mormonism To-day." Many Latter Day Saints, he infers, yet "look forward to a time when polygamy shall again be practiced under the sanction of the head of the Church." The reader, in other words, feels that polygamy is only somnolent, rather than dead. Amos Kidder Fiske follows with a paper on "The Unknown Homer of the Hebrews." In age this mysterious writer was "almost contemporaneous with Homer." His work "was broken in pieces and wrought with other material into a composite fabric of perdurable strength," and for twenty-five centuries and more he has been "without name and without personal identity." In an article on "Philosophy and Immortality," A. W. Jackson studies the teaching of Dr. James Martineau on the future life. Both the intellect and the conscience, says Martineau, plead for another existence. William F. and Louisa F. Peirce write on "The Armenian Church," and well say that the recent Turkish atrocities "have revealed a new branch of Christianity" to the world. In his article on "Kant's Influence in Theology," C. C. Everett says that the revolution which the great metaphysician accomplished in theology is "as great as that which he wrought in philosophy." F. C. Lowell follows with a consideration of "God and the Ideal of Man." H. Langford Warren discusses "Dante Rossetti as a Religious Artist," to the advantage of the distinguished painter; and Dr. C. A. Briggs concludes with an article on "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in its Relation to Church Unity." Dr. Watson's creed, he says, is not such "in any proper sense," since his phrases "do not define the life to live, or the morals to practice." A novel adaptation of ministerial service to the needs of poorer communities is suggested by Dr. Briggs in the proposition that the same preacher serve two or more denominations. "He might minister as an Episcopalian in the morning, as a Presbyterian or Congregationalist in the afternoon, and a Methodist in the evening. Why not? Many could do it and would do it if the way were open in the lower judicatories." Dr. Briggs also defines his own status, in the following pleasant bit of autobiography: "I was ordained by a presbytery as a Presbyterian minister. The supreme judicatory of the body which gave me the external authority to act as a minister has suspended my authority so to act. They took away all the authority they ever gave me. They did it in an unconstitutional and illegal manner. If the case

could be renewed in a competent court their action would be declared null and void. But it stands until overruled. I have no present ministerial authority from any ecclesiastical judicatory. I have authority from Jesus Christ by the internal call. My internal call would doubtless be recognized by more than one denomination, if I should seek recognition and authority. But so long as I abstain from such a course and my suspension is continued my authority from the Church is void. I cannot act as a minister without being disorderly. I cannot say, 'The presbytery made me a minister of Jesus Christ; they took from me only the right to act as a Presbyterian minister. I will now act as a Christian minister.' If they had the authority to make me a Christian minister, they had the authority to unmake me also."

THE April number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* opens with an article on "The Paradoxes of Science," by Professor G. Frederick Wright. "The attempted explanations of science," he affirms, "instead of being real solutions of mystery, are merely substitutions of one mystery for another, or, what is more frequently the case, of several mysteries in place of one." The scientific explanations he instances are the theory of gravitation, the atomic constitution of matter, and the mystery of life—the consideration of the latter involving a mention of Spencer's "physiological units," Darwin's "gemmules," Weismann's "biophores," and Minot's "germ plasm." The Rev. E. S. Carr, A.M., contributes a critical article on "Spencer's Philosophy of Religion." A warm appreciation of a standard poem is given by Professor T. W. Hunt, Ph.D., in his paper on "Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.'" There are few readers of the poet, he holds, who, "if compelled to select one of his poems to the exclusion of all others, would not choose the 'In Memoriam' as the most representative single production." Its purpose, he declares, is "an attempt to state and solve the problem of life—as life is inseparably connected with death and destiny and immortality." No poem, says Professor Hunt, "has so permeated and suffused modern English verse." The two following articles, whose titles are sufficiently explanatory, are "The Cosmogony of Genesis, and its Reconcilers," by President Henry Morton, Ph.D., which is to be continued, and "No National Stability without Morality," by President C. W. Super, LL.D. The sixth article, by the Rev. R. De Witt Mallary, D.D., considers the question, "Is the Recognition of the Church Year by all Christians Desirable?" The writer answers in the affirmative, and believes that "the time is coming when all portions of the Church year will be as loyally and universally observed as is the restored festival of Christ's resurrection." Professor Edward Dickinson next considers "The Ideal of Church Music," and Professor J. M. P. Metcalf follows with "The Tell-el-Amarna Letters." His article particularly analyzes the contents of these letters, and is to be continued. A review of Dr. Lyman Abbott's "Christianity and Social Problems" is made by Z. Swift Holbrook. While he finds much to commend in Dr. Abbott's book he pronounces it defective

among other things in his "ethical conception of the value of self compared with neighbor," and in his "definition of socialism." The concluding article, by Professor William Caldwell, M.A., discusses "The Housing Question and Scientific Reform." It constitutes an address read before the Improved Housing Conference at Chicago, in February, 1897. America, says the writer, "of all countries should take the lead" in the reform proposed.

In the *Review of Reviews* for March, W. T. Stead, writing of the longest reign in British history, closes his article with this description: "The last occasion on which I saw her majesty was on that high and solemn festival when Queen Victoria summoned to Westminster Abbey the representatives of all the nations, principalities, and powers that own her sway, in order to join with her in rendering thanks to Almighty God for the marvelous loving-kindness and manifold mercies he had graciously vouchsafed to this land of ours during her reign of fifty years. The memory of that stately pageant is with me still. The gray old abbey, with all its associations of genius and of glory, never inclosed within its massive walls a scene more splendid and inspiring. Every nook and corner in the vast edifice was crowded with a great multitude of the picked men of the realm and of the empire. No department of the State, no colony, no dependency, was unrepresented in that brilliant throng. Ambassadors and governors, princes and potentates, dusky oriental rajahs blazing in jewels, English nobles, and the great notables of the democracy mustered in troops to the great thanksgiving. When all were assembled beneath the storied roof of the ancient abbey, and the long aisles framed a marvelous picture of life and color, the queen entered. The whole assemblage rose to their feet as the familiar figure of the mother of her people slowly passed down the nave to take her place before the altar, where in the midst of her children she offered thanks. And as the queen —the highest on earth—knelt before the Lord God of heaven all thought of her majesty and her might, of her empire over land and sea, disappeared, and we saw only the plain little loving-hearted woman who, as maid, wife, and widow, had for fifty years shared more than any all the joys, sorrows, hopes, fears, trying vicissitudes, and glowing aspirations which make up the sum of the private and public life of her people."

The *Christian Quarterly* for April has: "A Nineteenth Century Movement," by J. H. Garrison, in which the writer discusses Christian unity; "Congregational Church Polity," by Rev. M. Burnham; "The Genius of Christianity," by Professor B. A. Hinsdale; "The Socialism of George Eliot," by Rev. G. H. Combs; "The Duke of Argyll and His Work," by J. W. Monser.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for April opens with "Some Reasons Why I Stand by the Cause of Missions," by General J. F. Rusling. Its following articles treat mostly of domestic mission work. The number is most attractive.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Letters to the Clergy, on the Lord's Prayer and the Church. With replies from Clergymen and the Laity, and an Epilogue by Mr. RUSKIN. Edited with essays and comments by the Rev. T. A. MALLESON. 12mo, pp. 332. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Conversations between Mr. Ruskin and Dr. Malleson moved the latter to induce the former to write out his views in these letters, and to consent to their being read and discussed in a private clerical society. Later it was decided to print them together with the comments of the clergy on Ruskin's views, followed by an epilogue in which Mr. Ruskin replies to the comments. This third edition, revised and enlarged, revives the book after an interval of twelve years. For relentless frankness in vehement expression Ruskin has no modern match except Carlyle. His lofty ideals cast condemnation everywhere upon actual life and custom in Church and State and society. The editor believes that these letters of an eminent layman, whose field of work lies quite as much in religion and ethics as in art, may help us to divest ourselves of old forms of thought, "to cast off self-indulgent views of our duty as ministers of religion, to lift ourselves out of those grooves in which we are apt to run so smoothly and so complacently, persuading ourselves that all is well just as it is, and to endeavor to strike into a sterner, harder path, beset with difficulties, but still the path of duty." Ruskin thinks the clergy should put the Gospel of Christ into such plain words and short terms that any plain man may understand it. He asks whether a simple explanation of the terms of the Lord's Prayer, in their completeness and life, might not help to make the Gospel plain, adding that in suggesting that the Lord's Prayer be made a foundation of Gospel teaching he did not mean that it contains all that Christian ministers have to teach, but that it contains what all Christians are agreed upon as first to be taught. He thinks zealous ministers should make as much effort to get wicked rich people out of Church as to get wicked poor people converted into it: "The foulest oaths of the thief and the street walker are, in the ears of God, sinless as the hawk's cry or the gnat's murmur, compared to the responses, in the Church service, on the lips of the usurer and the adulterer." He says few religious writings are both upright and intelligible. In offering the Lord's Prayer we are to remember that the first and intensest article of our Father's will is our sanctification; and the Gospel we are to mend the world with is not alone the soft, sweet message of pardon, "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father," but also the clear explanation of what the will of the Lord is, and the firm and forcible announcement that men must—absolutely must—set themselves obediently to do that holy will. We are not to encourage iniquity by preaching away the penalties of it. Partly for want of faithful proph-

esying, "the great cities of the earth, which ought to be the places set on its hills, with the temple of the Lord in the midst of them, to which the tribes should go up—centers to the kingdoms and provinces of honor, virtue, and the knowledge of the law of God—have become instead loathsome centers of fornication and covetousness, the smoke of their sin going up into the face of heaven like the furnace of Sodom, and the pollution of it rotting and raging through the bones and the souls of the people round them." Ruskin thinks the clergy nowadays have a hard task to teach people to love their enemies when many of them are devoting their energies to swindling their friends. He remarks upon the grotesque inconsistency of human nature's willingness to be taxed with any quantity of sins in the gross, and its resentment at the insinuation of having committed the smallest parcel of them in detail. He charges that "the whole nature of prayer has been doubted in our hearts and disgraced by our lips; that we are afraid to ask God's blessing on the earth when the scientific people tell us he has made previous arrangements to curse it; and that instead of obeying without fear or debate the plain order, 'Ask, and ye shall receive, that your joy may be full,' we sorrowfully sink back into the apology for prayer that 'it is a wholesome exercise, even when fruitless,' and that we ought piously always to suppose that the text really means no more than, 'Ask, and ye shall not receive, that your joy may be empty.'" "In what respect the kingdoms of the world and the glory of *them* differ from the kingdom, the power, and the glory which are God's forever, is seldom intelligibly explained from the pulpit; still less the irreconcilable hostility between the two royalties and realms asserted in its sternness of decision." "The Society of Jesuits is a splendid proof of the power of obedience, but its curse is falsehood. . . . We (of the St. George's Company) are their precise opposites—fiercely and at all costs frank, while they are calmly and for all interests lying." Ruskin writes to Malleson, "It takes me as long to write a chapter as you to write a book, and tires me more to do it, so that I am sick of the feel of a pen this many a day." A strong hint for parents, pastors, and teachers is, in his opinion, that one mistake made by good people is in spending so much effort in trying to pull fallen people up, and so little in keeping yet safe ones from tumbling, and spending their pains on the worst instead of the best material. "If they want to be able to save the lost like Christ let them first be sure they can say with him, 'Of those thou gavest me I have lost none.'" We must make our congregations understand that "God is a living God, not a dead law; and that he is a reigning God, putting wrong things to rights, and that, sooner or later, with a strong hand and a rod of iron, and not at all with a soft sponge and warm water, washing everybody as clean as a baby every Sunday morning, whatever dirty work they have been about all the week." For thirty years Ruskin used to read the Liturgy of the English Church through to his servant and himself if there was no Protestant service to go to in Alpine or Italian villages; but as he has grown older he has become "more and more suspicious of the effect of that particular form

of words on the truthfulness of the English mind." He says that Oxford University is now so ashamed of that code of prayer "that it no more dares compel its youth so much as to hear, much less to utter it." Comparing that service with the earlier rituals of worship from which it was derived, he wonders that the Church of England should have "cast out from beginning to end all the intensely spiritual and passionate utterances," and in what it did preserve of those earlier, stronger, and deeper forms should have "mangled or blunted them down to the exact degree which would make them either unintelligible or inoffensive—so vague that everybody might use them or so pointless that nobody could be offended by them." This loyal layman of the Church of England, writing of its Liturgy, says that its first address to the congregation before the Almighty is "precisely the fault-fullest and foolishest piece of English language" that he knows of "in the whole compass of English or American literature." "In the seventeen lines of it there are seven times over two words for one idea: acknowledge and confess, sins and wickedness, dissemble nor cloke, goodness and mercy, assemble and meet, requisite and necessary, pray and beseech." He says that in these days one almost wonders whether there ever was such a thing as discipline in the Christian Church, and that the pettifogging piety of England has not now the courage either to deny grace to a wicked duke in its Church nor to declare Christ's grace in its Parliament. John Ruskin says he sat under the preaching of Charles H. Spurgeon with much edification for a year or two. "A clergyman should ever be so truly the friend of his parishioners as to deserve their confidence from the children upward." This, which Ruskin writes of himself, all men believe to be true: "No man more than I has ever loved the places where God's honor dwells, or yielded truer allegiance to the teaching of his evident servants." He adds that no man grieves more over the danger of the Church to-day as "she whispers procrastinating *pax vobiscum* in answer to the spurious kiss of those who would fain toll curfew over the last fires of English faith." Recovering from an illness accompanied with mental derangement, he writes to Dr. Malleson: "It will be many a day before I recover yet—if ever—but with caution I hope not to go wild again, and to get what power belongs to my age slowly back. Let me strongly warn you from the whirlpool's edge—the going down in the middle is gloomier than I can tell you." "In divinity matters I am obliged to stop. I am almost struck mad when I think earnestly about them, and I'm only reading natural history or nature now." "I am very thankful to find in my own case that a quiet spring of energy filters back into the old wellheads—if one does not bucket it out as fast as it comes in." The editor thinks that Ruskin's letters "present a truly lifelike picture of their writer with his shrewd common sense and deeper wisdom, enlivened in no small measure by a quick impulsiveness which is sometimes rather startling." Miss Susanna Beever, to whom Ruskin dedicated *Frondes Agrestes*, writes of these letters: "They are like the 'foam globes of leaven,' and have exercised my mind very much. Things in

them which at first seemed rather startling prove, on closer examination, to be full of deep truth. The suggestions in them lead to 'great searchings of heart.'" Canon Farrar declined, when requested, to discuss Ruskin's letters, saying, "I am too painfully overwhelmed with the very duties which Mr. Ruskin seems to think that we don't do—looking after the material and religious interest of the sick, the suffering, the hungry, the drunken, and the extremely wretched."

Guesses at the Riddle of Existence, and Other Essays on Kindred Subjects. By GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L. 12mo, pp. 244. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book does not impress us as important. Dealing with some of the same problems, it is distinctly inferior to W. R. Greg's *Enigmas of Life*, published some twenty years ago. The first of five essays gives the book its title; the other four are: "The Church and the Old Testament," "Is There Another Life?" "The Miraculous Element in Christianity," "Morality and Theism." The preface says that the spirit of the book is not that of agnosticism, but of free and hopeful inquiry. The author wishes to assist in clearing away the wreck of discredited beliefs in order to make way for new ones which may be invented or derived. He repeats the truism that "to resign untenable arguments for a belief is not to resign the belief, while a belief bound up with untenable arguments will share their fate;" true, only it needs to be said that a belief may be sound when the arguments used to support it are unwise or insufficient, as a judge's decision may be right when the reasons he gives for it are not sufficient; and a belief which has been advocated with false arguments may be susceptible of a new and better defense. He says that where his conclusion sare, or seem to be, negative, he will rejoice to "see the more welcome view reasserted and fresh evidence of its truth supplied;" which seems to be a confession that his views are not pleasant to himself, and that as he progresses in unbelief his happiness is diminished. So it shall always be; the Gospel is glad tidings, and whatever discredits or doubts it is sad, dismal, forlorn tidings, bringing nothing but heaviness to the heart of man. The first essay discusses rather adversely the books of Mr. Drummond, Mr. Kidd, and Mr. Balfour. It says that Drummond's solution is incomplete; Kidd overstates his case; and Balfour's method reacts dangerously upon himself. Looking on while Balfour's flashing blade disposes of naturalism on the one hand, and of transcendentalism on the other, the author says that the idea of driving the world back to faith through general skepticism is delusive. "Universal skepticism is more likely to be the ultimate result, and any faith which is not spontaneous, whether it be begotten of ecclesiastical pressure or intellectual despair, is, and in the end will show itself to be, merely veiled unbelief. The catastrophe of Dean Mansell, who, while he was trying, in the interest of orthodoxy, to cut the ground from under the feet of the rationalist, himself inadvertently demonstrated the impossibility of believing in God, was an awful warning to the polemical tactician." According to the author, various fondly cherished arguments, beliefs, institutions are in a damaged condition; and yet something remains. He thinks the old argument from design is

damaged, because "we have nothing with which to compare this world, and therefore cannot tell whether it was possible for it to be other than it is." Startling news, indeed, but known as well to the framers of the old argument as to Goldwin Smith. He thinks the Church survives chiefly on its value "as a social center and a reputed safeguard of social order." Evidently he knows no more about the Church and what is really going on therein, the mighty works being done in it, through it, and by it, than a street Arab out on the sidewalk knows of the interior of Westminster Abbey. He concedes that Butler's *Analogy*, "though in partial ruin, is still great." He remarks that "evolution, which is not a power, but a method," is personified and almost deified by its exponents. He says that the fact that science has apparently disclosed the corporeal origin and relations of our mental faculties, and of "what theology calls the soul," has altered the character of the question as to a life beyond the present. He tries to comfort us by saying that "if revelation is lost, manifestation still remains, and great manifestations appear to be opening on our view." And when, groping around in the dark without any Bible, we inquire of the men who stole it from us where we shall look for those "great manifestations," we are told that the universe and humanity are manifestations, and we are simply to sit down before them and study them and wait for the light to break, like expectant spectators at a spiritualistic seance, sitting with the lights out and waiting for the spirits to materialize. We prefer to go to church and hear from the dear old Bible the cheerful Gospel of Him who alone is the light of the world. Second in this book is that wretched essay in which the Old Testament is described as a millstone about the neck of Christianity. It will take more than the opinions of the Canon of Manchester, which are quoted as a text, to make such an essay respectable. The author's entire attitude toward the Old Testament is fairly indicated by his question, "Why should we force ourselves to believe that a Being who fills eternity and infinity became the guest of a Hebrew sheikh?" That sort of objection tells equally against the incarnation and all spiritual visitations from God to man, and as certainly disposes of the New Testament as it does of the Old. We do not see why a man who reasons after such a fashion should waste his time in discussing Christianity or even religion as if either of them were a live issue or had any shadow of footing in the realm of reality. We cannot help having two opinions: first, that unwarranted liberties are being taken with the Old Testament, and unnecessary surrenders made by some whose business it is to defend it; second, that there is an excessive amount of groaning over, or under, the Old Testament. In response to critical attacks one man replies, "Christianity is not responsible for the Old Testament." Another, as if well-nigh overwhelmed with uncertainty, says, "If it were not for Jesus Christ I would be an agnostic." But another feels secure in standing by the Old Testament, and says, "If I could not be a Christian I would be a Jew; if the divine Christ were taken from me I would still submit myself to Moses and the Old Testament for the fullest knowledge of God

and the best spiritual guidance given to man." How can any man suppose it possible to cut the Bible in two and then keep Christianity alive, to throw away the Old Testament and expect to keep the New Testament? How long did Chang live after Eng died? One twin may survive the other, but not if they are Siamese twins bound together in a vascular and vital unity. The third essay is called out by and discusses Dr. Salmond's volume, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, which we noticed in our last issue. We agree with the statement on page 128 that if death is to end all alike for the righteous and for the unrighteous, the Power that rules the universe cannot be just in any sense of the word which we can understand. The fourth essay contains matter which we could quote with approval, as, for example, "The effect produced by the teaching of Jesus and his disciples is, beyond question, the most momentous fact in history." This also from *Supernatural Religion:* "The teaching of Jesus carried morality to the sublimest point attained or even attainable by humanity. The influence of his spiritual religion has been rendered doubly great by the unparalleled purity and elevation of his own character. . . . He presented the spectacle of a life uniformly noble and consistent with his own lofty principles, so that the 'imitation of Christ' has become almost the final word in the preaching of his religion." His moral teaching was "final in this respect, amongst others, that, superseding codes of law and elaborate rules of life, it confined itself to two fundamental principles—love to God and love to man. While all previous systems had merely sought to purify the stream it demanded the purification of the fountain. It placed the evil thought on a par with the evil action. Such morality, based upon the intelligent and earnest acceptance of divine law, and perfect recognition of the brotherhood of man, is the highest conceivable by humanity, and although its power and influence must augment with the increase of enlightenment, it is itself beyond development, consisting as it does of principles unlimited in their range and inexhaustible in their application." Christianity is alone in preaching its Gospel to the whole world, in its adaptation to the whole world, and in its display of recuperative power; "no parallel to the revivals of Wyclif, Luther, Calvin, and Wesley is presented by any other religion." "Moral civilization and sustained progress have been thus far limited to Christendom." "Wherever there is a law there must be a lawgiver, and the lawgiver must be presumed capable of suspending the operation of law. This Hume himself would hardly have denied." "In fact, the metaphysical argument against miracles comes pretty much to this, that a miracle cannot take place, because if it did it would be a miracle. We could not help believing our own senses if we actually saw a man raised from the dead. There is no reason why we should not believe the testimony of other people, provided that they were eyewitnesses, that they were competent in character and in intelligence, and that their testimony had been submitted to impartial and thorough investigation." "Faith is a belief, not in things unproved, but in things unseen." "Pessimism is the reverie of disappointment and satiety, with

an infusion of Byronic sentiment and of the melancholy of Schopenhauer and Leopardi." "Science and religion, even the most fervent religion, have been able to dwell together in the intellects of Newton and Faraday." Goldwin Smith's book will not be pleasing to the gentlemen who are playing fast and loose with the supernatural in the Bible, trying at once to let go and to hold on, claiming to be still Christian while surrendering a large part of the miraculous, because this book tells them they cannot succeed. Such books visibly annoy them.

Immortality and the New Theodicy. By GEORGE A. GORDON, Minister of the Old South Church, Boston. 16mo, pp. 180. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $1.

This book is a philosopher's venture at the truth. Its author, it is true, finds himself unable "to reason as if Christianity had never been," or to enter the field of discussion in any other relation than that of a religious teacher. Yet he aims to conduct his inquiry "purely upon rational grounds," and therefore considers it "inadmissible to introduce into the argument the ultimate basis of Christian belief in the future life, the resurrection of Christ." The term "theodicy" he regards as a pivotal word in the attempt which he makes "to carry the question of the immortality of man to the moral conception of the universe for determination." Some of his earlier chapters, upon which we may not linger, are entitled, "The Evidence for the Denial," "Value of the Evidence for Denial," "Postulates of Immortality," and "Illogical Limitations," such limitations being the "theories of the remnant, election, or probation." Dr. Gordon, having discussed these topics as preliminary to his positive argument, then finds his central proof for immortality in the doctrine of evolution. One sentence will show his logic: "When man's ethical nature is reached, and where so much room and material for development exist, it would seem to be not a violent inference from evolution to suppose that this world is but the first stage in the moral discipline of the race." His argument, in other words, from this point through the concluding chapters turns on the truth of evolution. Many, however, will feel that he makes too much of this experimental theory, and, in a vigorous protest yet cherished against evolution, will contend that the philosopher puts to sea in an untried boat. Yet Dr. Gordon's book is able and thought-provoking.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The English Novel. A Study in the Development of Personality. By SIDNEY LANIER. Revised Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. 302. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $3.

A rare and well-developed personality was Sidney Lanier, and his own fine quality pervades this penetrative study. These twelve chapters were lectures delivered in Johns Hopkins University in 1881. They were almost his last work, done with shortening breath, rapid pulse, and burning brain. George Eliot's death occurring in the middle of the course led the lecturer to devote six lectures to her work. A coldly crit-

ical attitude toward the writings of Lanier is difficult, if not impossible, to one who knows the man—his exquisitely delicate sensibility, his gallant and heroic spirit, his high-pitched endeavor, his valiant fight in a losing battle for bread and for life. His history so awakens admiring sympathy that all men are moved to treat him tenderly. But his work stands strong on its merits, and asks no compassion or forbearance from the critics. There is enough of splendid vigor, of keen insight, of beauty and sweetness, of elevation and power, to mark his genius as genuine, unique, original. There is, too, remarkable poise, for so passionate and ecstatic a nature. It is no weakling and no tyro who traces in this volume the growth of human personality from Æschylus, through Plato, Socrates, and the contemporary Greek mind—through the *Renaissance*, Shakespeare, Richardson, and Fielding down to Dickens and George Eliot; and who insists that it is the unfolding of personality since the time of Æschylus which has wrought those stupendous changes in the relation of man to God, to physical nature, and to his fellow, that have culminated in the modern cultus. Lanier speaks of Tennyson's "De Profundis—Two Greetings," addressed to a newborn child, as "a very noble and rapturous hymn to the great Personality above us, acknowledging the mystery of our own personalities as finitely dependent upon, and yet so infinitely divided from, his Personality." He combats three erroneous notions: (1) that science will destroy all poetry and imaginative work generally; (2) that science will simply destroy the old imaginative products and build up a new formless sort of imaginative product (like Whitman's) in its stead; (3) that science will absorb into itself all imaginative effort so that poems and novels will be merely the plain unvarnished record of a scientific experiment in passion. He speaks of Zola as "defiling the whole earth and slandering all humanity under the sacred names of 'naturalism,' of 'science,' of 'physiology.'" Pleading for the necessity and sacredness of forms, he defines "Religion as the aspiration toward unknown forms and the unknown Form-giver." He protests against the Whitmanish literature which wears a slouch hat, and has its shirt open at the bosom, and generally riots in a complete independence of form; and against "a poetry which has painted a great scrawling picture of the human body, and has written under it, '*This is the soul;*' which shouts a profession of religion in every line, but of a religion that, when examined, reveals no tenet, no rubric, save that a man must be natural, must abandon himself to every passion; and which constantly roars its belief in God, but with a camerado air as if it were patting the Deity on the back and bidding him cheer up and hope for further encouragement." Walt Whitman seems to Lanier "the most stupendously mistaken man in all history as to what constitutes true democracy." "A republic is the government of the spirit; a republic depends on the self-control of each member; you cannot make a republic out of muscles and prairies and Rocky Mountains; republics are made of the spirit." "My democrat, the democrat whom I contemplate with pleasure, the democrat who is to write or to read the poetry of the

future, may have a mere thread for his biceps, yet he shall be strong enough to handle hell, he shall play ball with the earth; and albeit his stature may be no more than a boy's, he shall still be taller than the great redwoods of California; his height shall be the height of great resolution and love and faith and beauty and knowledge and subtle meditation; his head shall be forever among the stars." We like to see Lanier pit himself against Whitman; it is the fair play of beauty against the beast. The "Prometheus Bound" of Æschylus emphasizes physical rather than spiritual pain, and displays a feeble sense of personality. Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" fails because the attempt to reproduce upon a modern audience the old terrors of thunder and lightning which were suitable and effective for Æschylus is absurd. We moderns are not moved by the turning of the thundermill behind the scenes, for "we have seen a man (not a Titan nor a god), one of ourselves, go forth into a thunderstorm and send his kite up into the very bosom thereof and fairly entice the lightning by his wit to come and perch upon his finger and be the tame bird of him and his fellows thereafter and forever." Plato's *Republic* shows a lack of the sense of personality, and Aristotle a lack of intellectual conscience. Love of truth is a modern characteristic. Modern science dates from Newton; modern music from Bach and Handel. Love is the modern watchword; love, and not justice, is the organic power of moral order. Marian Evans, from being a strong Calvinist, reacted to skepticism, and during her first five years in London translated Spinoza's *Ethics*, Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*, and Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, and studied physics, Comtism, and the like among the London agnostics. Lanier regards it as mournful that on coming to London she fell among a group of persons represented by George Henry Lewes, and says that "if one could have been her spiritual physician at that time one would certainly have prescribed for her some of those warm influences which dissipate doubt by exposing it to the fierce elemental heats of love, of active charity. . . . Or one might have prescribed for her America, where the knottiest social and moral problems disappear unaccountably before a certain new energy of individual growth which is continually conquering new points of view from which to regard the world." He says there is "more religion in George Eliot's works than she herself dreamed she was putting there, and a clearer faith for us than she even formulated for herself." He declares that in modern fiction she is supreme in portraying spiritual regeneration. Once she said to a friend, "What I look to is a time when the impulse to help our fellows shall be as immediate and as irresistible as that which I feel to grasp something firm if I am falling;" and at the word she clutched the mantel-piece as if actually saving herself from falling, with an intensity which made the gesture eloquent. Here is one of her keen glimpses into one of the curious whims of personality: "The impulse to confession almost always requires the presence of a fresh ear and a fresh heart; and in our moments of spiritual need the man to whom we have no tie but our common nature seems nearer to us than mother, brother, or friend. Our

daily familiar life is but a hiding of ourselves from each other behind a screen of trivial words and deeds, and those who sit with us at the same hearth are often the farthest off from the deep human soul within us, full of unspoken evil and unacted good." Referring to George Eliot's quiet humor, he speaks of "that eye-twinkle between the lines which makes much of her ruggedest writing like a Virginia fence from between whose rails peep wild roses and morning-glories." Here is a wholesome thought: "All reasoning and all experience show that if you confront a man day by day with nothing but a picture of his own unworthiness the final effect is, not to stimulate but to paralyze his moral energy." This is Lanier's feeling about the beautiful character of Dinah Morris, the Methodist in *Adam Bede:* "Solemn, fragile, strong Dinah Morris, the woman preacher whom I find haunting my imagination in strange but entrancing unions of the most diverse forms, as if, for instance, a snow-drop could also be St. Paul, as if a kiss could be a gospel, as if a lovely phrase of Chopin's most inward music should suddenly become an Apocalypse revealing to us Christ in the flesh—that rare, pure, and marvelous Dinah Morris who would alone consecrate English literature if it had yielded no other gift to man." He thinks a clear proof of the modernness of personality is in the fact of our complete ignorance as to the physical person of Christ. "One asks oneself how comes it never to have occurred to Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John to tell us what manner of man this was—what stature, what complexion, what color of eyes and hair, what shape of hand and foot. A natural instinct arising at the very outset of the descriptive effort would have caused a modern to acquaint us with these and many like particulars." Lanier says that nowadays men do not want you to tell them how many times a day they shall pray, or to prescribe how many inches wide shall be the hem of their garment. "Christ, the Master, never did this; too well he knew the growth of personality which would settle these matters, each for itself; too well he knew the subtle hurt of all such violations of individualism." He evidently thinks it wise not to attempt to teach the world with a rule and a square, but rather to give men for their guidance those widely applicable principles and "those prodigious generalizations in which the Master's philosophy, considered purely as a philosophy, surely excelled all other systems."

Evil and Evolution. By the Author of *The Social Horizon.* 12mo, pp. 184. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book, which is reported from London to be one of the best-selling books of the hour, is, the author says, an attempt to turn the light of modern science on to the ancient mystery of evil. He makes no appeal to the Bible, but says that no inference is to be made concerning his opinion of the Scriptures. He thinks we have very much the same ground for belief in a devil as for belief in a God, and that the simplest and most satisfactory solution of the riddle of all the ages "is just the old one—that the Supreme Ruler, in his beneficent activity in the universe, is confronted by another power; that in the absolute literal sense

of the word God is not omnipotent; that he is engaged in a conflict which to a certain extent limits his power, and the final issue of which can be wrought out only in the course of ages. In plain terms, there is a God and there is a devil, and the two powers are in conflict. The idea is as old as humanity, and, as a scientific hypothesis, it is, in a certain sense, at least, simple and intelligible, and not only may it be made to fit in with evolution, but it has the merit of explaining more of the phenomena of the moral and the physical world around us than any other conceivable one." The chapters treat of "Some Theories of the Purpose of Evil," "The Fatherly Education Theory," "The Evolutionary Explanation of Evil," "Satan from a Scientific Point of View," "Natural Laws and Human Laws," "The Limits of Necessary Suffering," "How 'Maladjustments' Originated," "The Type of a Perfect Life," "Is not 'Maladjustment' Essential to Evolution?" "'Eat and Be Eaten,'" "'Red in Tooth and Claw' not Necessarily Evil," "The Greatest of all Maladjustments," "Evolution Without Maladjustment," "What Might Have Been." About the temptation and fall of man the author reasons that we cannot conceive of a point where the astutest Satanic malignity, bent on making the very laws of a benign Creator work out death and destruction, could act more effectively than just at the point where, in the slow unfolding of life, love and selfishness first came into conflict. "Assume that just there a malignant power effected a disturbance of the natural laws under which things were unfolding, and you have a theory which accounts intelligibly for every phase and form of the world's moral and social evil, while you have the character of the Creator purely benevolent. There is no other theory that will do it." An Episcopalian preacher said to his congregation, "If we were not so self-conceited we would be more willing to believe in the existence of the devil and other evil spirits, as well as in good spirits. It is enormous egotism to look on the universe and imagine there is no one here but ourselves." Upon this volume Dr. A. B. Leonard comments thus: "The Bible theory of the introduction of sin and its final outcome is far more satisfactory than any scheme evolution has been able to devise. This book indicates that men of science are slowly, though reluctantly, coming round to the doctrines of evil and salvation set forth in the Bible. Moses tells us how sin got into the world, and Jesus Christ is the only way of deliverance." On page 163 is quoted the critical Frenchman's description of an Englishman's idea of a holiday: "We've got a holiday to-day; let's go out and kill something."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Historic Episcopate. A Study of Anglican Claims and Methodist Orders. By R. J. Cooke, D.D., Professor of Evangelical and Historical Theology. 12mo, pp. 231. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

To the student of ecclesiastical affairs it has become an accepted fact that the Romanizing teachings of the Tractarians, once condemned, have

now in large measure become the dominant teachings in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church. Prominent above all other dogmas advocated by this High Church element, and one upon which excessive emphasis is placed, is the doctrine of episcopal succession in direct unbroken series from the Apostolic College. The claim made to this succession by the Established Church has been as often denied as it has been affirmed by Protestant and Roman and Greek Churches. Nevertheless, the claim is still persisted in, and divers efforts are made to bring about a recognition of the validity of English orders. The gradual approach in recent years of the Anglican Church to the Roman Church caused many to entertain the hope that if the question was reopened the Roman Church, under Leo XIII, might be induced to decree the validity of these orders on various grounds, and thus pave the way for ultimate union with Rome. To this end the Church Union, a society in England including some noble names and many ecclesiastical dignitaries eminent for learning and devotion, exerted its full strength. Leading divines in various parts of the kingdom, aided by others in the United States, lent their abilities to the cause; Roman Catholic scholars and ecclesiastics in France gave their assistance; the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* was started; influential Church journals became organs of the party or recorded their doings; and, as if the claim were already established and recognition of it decreed, the bishops of the Established Church declared that an essential condition of union of other Churches with that Church was an acceptance of the historic episcopate.

The work before us, by Dr. Cooke, was occasioned by these events. It is a protest, based on history, against these claims, and so thoroughly fortified does his position seem that the author is confident that while minor statements and inductions may be challenged, the argument as a whole will never be refuted. This is a bold stand to take, but the decision of the Roman court after prolonged research and study of the question through special experts, based on the same line of investigation as that pursued by our author, seems to give good ground for his confidence in his results. As a matter of fact, the advocates of Anglican claims cannot overthrow his conclusions without at the same time overthrowing the decisions of the special Roman commission that studied the case. The author in the pursuit of his purpose assumes Anglican principles and then applies these to Anglican claims. His method is critically historical, and every step of the way is contested with perfect knowledge of the situation without any attempt to force the facts of history to harmonize with his contention. Hence he traverses as a foundation the history of the formative period of the Established Church at the Reformation, examines authoritative sources for the opinions and beliefs of the English reformers and leaders of the Church at that time, shows from historical documents, contemporary historians, reformers, and the general opinion of the period what was the actual belief of the English Church relative to the doctrine which is now so strenuously insisted upon by Anglicans as having always been the doctrine of the Church of England. The

work will awaken much opposition, and we shall not be surprised to hear of replies from many quarters. So much has been written by special pleaders in defense of Anglican orders, so thoroughly satisfied have Anglican ministers become that the ministerial orders of other Churches are null and void, and so confident have they been that Episcopal Methodism is wholly void of legitimate authority that this uncompromising challenge and disproof of the validity of English orders, on Anglican principles, from a Methodist minister, which disproof is sustained by representative religious journals, must mark a new era in the history of the discussion which has already existed too long and should now be laid aside forever. In the author's discussion of Methodist orders many things are suggested to students of Methodist history and polity that may perhaps give us pause in our study of the basis of Methodist episcopacy. This part of the work is worthy of the closest thought, as is every chapter of the book, and he who masters the entire argument will have nothing to fear from the unhistorical and exclusive claims of High Church advocates. The foundation of Methodist orders is set forth by showing that in ordaining Dr. Coke Mr. Wesley appealed for his authority to Holy Scripture, to the practice of the primitive Church, to the call of the Church, and to the necessity of the circumstances. While reviewing Dr. Cooke's book and writing this notice we received from Longmans, Green & Co., of New York, a pamphlet of forty-eight pages containing the answer of the archbishops of England to the apostolic letter of Pope Leo XIII on English ordinations. It will be remembered that the pope, having been invited to investigate the validity of Anglican orders, in publishing his decision, based on the report of the Roman commission, by which a minute and thorough examination had been made, turned his verdict against the claims of the Anglican body, not so much on the historic question as to whether Parker and his successors were in fact consecrated, but more on the question whether the grace of holy orders was conveyed by the rite used in the ordination of priests and consecration of bishops for the first hundred years after the Reformation. The Roman court declared that the form used, commonly known as the Edwardine ordinal, was not sufficient, and further that it was not the mind or intention of the Reformation divines to convey the full grace of holy orders. Therefore the pope has decided that the Reformation ordinations were invalid, and that the grace of orders and the presence of the Holy Spirit does not abide with the ministry of the Anglican communion. Not until the recent apostolic letter of Leo XIII was the Anglican body ever able to find out why reordination was insisted on in the case of Anglican priests passing over into the Roman Church. Now it is officially stated by the Roman pontiff what is the matter with Anglican orders. The English archbishops in their reply declare that the pope in overthrowing their orders overthrows his own and entirely destroys the foundations of his own Church, and endeavor to show that while the ordination forms were changed, as is affirmed by the pope, they were not so altered as to invalidate the ordination, but were essentially regular and quite

sufficient, and that in the very forms used by the fathers of the English Church in making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons it is certainly implied and manifest that they intended to continue those offices in the same sense in which they had received them. The English archbishops, near the close of the pamphlet now lying before us, and defending the correctness of their form, say: "We therefore make reply that in the ordaining of priests we do duly lay down and set forth the stewardship and ministry of the word and sacraments, the power of remitting and retaining sins, and other functions of the pastoral office, and that in these we do sum up and rehearse all other functions." We doubt if the reply of the English archbishops will be regarded anywhere outside their own communion as successfully disposing of the adverse decision reached by the Roman court through a searching and scholarly investigation of the facts. In this whole discussion both sides contribute to make the Methodist Church more completely satisfied with the validity of its own episcopacy and ministerial orders, so ably explained and amply vindicated in Dr. Cooke's volume.

Lucius Q. C. Lamar: his Life, Times, and Speeches. 1825-1893. By EDWARD MAYES, LL.D., Ex-Chancellor of the University of Mississippi. Royal 8vo, pp. 880. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, cloth, $5.

This is a book of positive value, but is handicapped by one striking defect. Its mechanical form is unfortunate, and is not calculated to please the owners of ordinary bookshelves. So bulky a volume must destroy the symmetry of any well-conditioned library; its unusual size and shape preclude it from consorting with other books of its class and relegate it to a place with the largest dictionaries and cyclopedias, where it is manifestly out of its proper environment. It should, by every law of taste and convenience, have been published in two conventional octavo volumes, omitting matter enough, if necessary, to bring them within an orthodox compass. We are tempted to think that the publishers have committed the unpardonable sin in bookmaking. We incline, however, to overlook the fact that the style is occasionally infelicitous, prolix, and digressive, and we welcome the book, with all its possible faults of form and manner. For the author is singularly happy in his subject. Lamar long held an eminent position in our politics; and the life of one who was for seven years a representative in Congress, was prominent as a soldier and diplomat on the Confederate side during the civil war, was for two full terms a United States senator, for a whole administration Secretary of the Interior, and who died an associate justice of the national Supreme Court is well worthy of competent record. It is, however, as one of the best specimens of the men of the "New South" that Lamar particularly interests us; and Chancellor Mayes has done an important service to the North as well as the South in bringing together so many of the speeches that at the time they were delivered created so profound an impression throughout the entire country. His point of view is essentially Southern and Democratic. It could not well be otherwise; indeed, any other view would have been open to constructions of undue prejudice

and unfairness. But the war is over—never more so than to-day; and the book, even with all its relics of the past, is an important contribution to the literature of the new era. On the death of Charles Sumner, in 1874, Lamar seconded, in a remarkable speech, the resolution that the House adjourn in honor of the dead statesman's memory. Let us quote from this speech a few of the sentences which most honor Sumner's memory, and which honor no less the memory of him who characterized so graciously and justly the career of a noble and fallen political antagonist: "Charles Sumner was born with an instinctive love of freedom, and was educated from his earliest infancy to the belief that freedom is the natural and indefeasible right of every intelligent being having the outward form of man. . . . To a man thoroughly permeated and imbued with such a creed, and animated and constantly actuated by such a spirit of devotion, to behold a human being or a race of human beings restrained of their natural right to liberty, for no crime by him or them committed, was to feel all the belligerent instincts of his nature roused to combat. The fact was to him a wrong which no logic could justify. It mattered not how humble in the scale of rational existence the subject of this restraint might be, how dark his skin, or how dense his ignorance. Behind all that lay for him the great principle that liberty is the birthright of all humanity, and that every individual of every race who has a soul to save is entitled to the freedom which may enable him to work out his salvation. . . . In this fiery zeal and this earnest warfare against the wrong, as he viewed it, there entered no enduring personal animosity toward the men whose lot it was to be born to the system which he denounced. . . . Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead could speak from the grave to both parties to this deplorable discord in tones which should reach each and every heart throughout this broad territory, 'My countrymen, know one another, and you will love one another.'" These were noble words from a Southern voice in 1874, and are pertinent at the present time. We commend the book to all students of our political history.

Christian Life in Germany. By EDWARD F. WILLIAMS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 330. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

The Western editor of the *Congregationalist*, having made a personal study in Germany of the real condition of the Protestant Churches of that country, presents us in this book with the result. The Preface says: "Great Britain and America owe a debt of gratitude to Germany for the literature she has furnished their people, for the contributions she has made to Christian song, and for her devotion to higher Christian learning. In the attention given to the results of special studies, particularly to the results of the so-called higher criticism, both countries are in danger of overlooking equally important contributions in Christian work. Few people, either in Great Britain or America, realize the extent and importance of the foreign missionary work which the German Churches are carrying on, or of that still more wonderful home work which is embraced under the general term Inner Mission." The plan of the book is

fourfold: "First, to describe some of the methods by which the German people are trained for their duties in Church and State, and to show how the character of the government, the military and aristocratic spirit of the nation, affect Christian activity; second, to furnish material for determining the actual condition of the spiritual life of the national Churches by setting forth in some detail what their members are doing, through foreign missions for the world at large, and through the Inner Mission for the needy at home; third, to describe the forces, and their training, by which this home work is carried on; and, finally, to sketch the social and moral conditions of the country and to point out their effect on Christian life and upon the influence of the Church from the year 1860 or from the time when William I became a prominent figure in Prussian politics, to the latest accessible data under his grandson, William II." The above indicates the scope of the work. We have only space to say that the book is comprehensive and gives evidence of thorough study and faithful report of its subject. We quote a few sentences upon a point of practical interest: "The assertion is often made that the Church in Germany is destitute of spiritual life. The assertion rests on the assumption that higher criticism, whose results are published almost as soon as they are reached, is fatal to piety. . . . The works of the critics are read only by a few; and as every position taken by them is immediately subjected to the severest tests as soon as made known, with little prospect of ultimate acceptance, they are in general regarded by the rank and file of professed Christians with something like indifference." "In the universities the religious condition is better than it was twenty years ago. Belief in a revealed religion is not diminishing among educated men. Higher criticism has not destroyed confidence in the Scriptures as the word of God. Nor has it diminished the sense of personal responsibility for the spread of the knowledge of Christ over the world and among those at home whose condition is almost as deplorable as that of unbelievers in heathen lands." "The doctrines of the New Testament were never so popular among the people as now; the Church, including both pastors and laymen, was never more aggressive than now, or more confident that the principles of Christ will everywhere finally prevail." In Berlin the churches are usually full in the morning; the evening attendance is scant, although some preachers attract large audiences at both services. "The more popular preachers are, with few exceptions, strictly evangelical in their belief. The people seem to want to hear an orthodox gospel and to care little for essays or doctrinal discussions."

Bible Lands Illustrated—Syria, Palestine, Egypt. By Professor WILLIAM W. MARTIN. Size, 8x10½ inches, pp. 342. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $2.

This is a handsome volume, printed on enameled paper, with gilt edges, containing about two hundred and fifty illustrations. If sent by mail thirty-five cents additional is required for postage. The author, who is well known to the readers of the *Review*, spent two years in Palestine, holding a position in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut, Syria, traveling much. The book is arranged in the order of a tour from North to

South, beginning with Asia Minor and coming down into the country from Laodicea and Tripoli. There are eleven views of Baalbec and its huge ruins, thirteen of Damascus, and thirty-seven of Jerusalem. The concise letter-press descriptions of the scenes indulge in nothing superfluous, but have a succinct completeness. The pictures chiefly fill the space and make the interest of the book. The carefully chosen views are photographic and lifelike. Here on page 23 is the mountain village of Zahleh, lying in the bowl of surrounding vineclad hills, where Gerald Dale, of Philadelphia, labored for the love of Christ, and men lived the beautiful evangel of his life, and died all too soon. Here is a group of Bedouins who remind us of the guard which escorted us from Mar Saba down to the Dead Sea, through the Jordan valley to Jericho, and up to Jerusalem. Here on page 131 is a view of Nazareth from the southeast, in which we can identify the very olive trees under which, midway on the slope between the town above and the Fountain of the Virgin below, our tents were pitched, and where the writer of this notice came near dying of a sudden and violent illness, such as sometimes seizes travelers in oriental lands, and such as cost the lives of two daughters of President Woolsey, of Yale College, on their Holy Land tour. Under those olive trees we lay awake all night with fever and heard the women and girls go down to the Well of Mary and back again up the hill with their water jars upon head or shoulder, chatting and laughing as they went. Upon those hill slopes Jesus spent his boyhood, and to that exhaustless fountain at the foot he no doubt often went to drink. It is in oriental countries that one learns the supreme value of a well. Here on page 143 is the city of Shechem—Nablous, it is now called—lying in the sweet, narrow, verdurous valley which runs in between Gerizim and Ebal, and which, when we saw it, was fragrant and bright with blossoms and musical with clear, cool waterbrooks. There it was that the lepers turned our stomach and nearly made us lose the breakfast we had just swallowed by fluttering around our tents and showing us their sores as we rose from the table. And away yonder, invisible in the distance, is Jacob's well, where the snake charmer let loose his crawling reptiles and sent a chill of horror through our reverent musing about our Saviour's interview with the Samaritan woman beside that well, and about the living water of which Christ himself is the fountain. Here is the Damascus gate of Jerusalem out of which Saul of Tarsus went northward on his furious errand, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, on his way to meet the Lord and be transformed into Paul the apostle and slave of Jesus Christ. Outside this gate we encamped on a slight eminence which is by some regarded as the place of the crucifixion. Loitering through these pages, with much lingering over remembered scenes, we have as good as gone through the Holy Land and Egypt again, without the fatigue and expense. Before or after travel, or in lieu of it, such a book is interesting, helpful, delightful. All who intend visiting the Holy Land should go soon. Each year the modernization of the land diminishes the harmony between the sacred ancient history and its scenic setting.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Vision of Christ in the Poets. Selected Studies of the Christian Faith, as Interpreted by Milton, Wordsworth, the Brownings, Tennyson, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell. Edited by CHARLES M. STUART. With an Introduction by Professor C. W. PEARSON, of Northwestern University. 16mo, pp. 304.

The Social Law of Service. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics, Political Science, and History in the University of Wisconsin. 16mo, pp. 276.

Torchbearers of Christendom. The Light they Shed and the Shadows they Cast. By ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 16mo, pp. 288.

In League with Israel. A Tale of the Chattanooga Conference. By ANNIE FELLOWS JOHNSTON, Author of *Joel: a Boy of Galilee*, *The Story of the Resurrection*, *Big Brother*, *The Little Colonel*. 16mo, pp. 308.

The above four volumes compose the "Epworth League Reading Course" for the present year, and are published in New York by Eaton & Mains, and in Cincinnati by Curts & Jennings. The regular price of the set is $3.80; but they are sent to Epworth Leaguers for $2, with thirty-four cents in addition for postage or expressage. *The Vision of Christ in the Poets* consists of selections dealing with the Christian life. If some of them bear somewhat remotely upon Christ himself or the more spiritual phases of the Christ-life, yet all the selections are beautiful on their own account and contain teachings which will encourage and strengthen the young soldier in the Christian warfare. Certainly Browning's "Saul" and "Epistle from Kharshish," for example, and Lowell's "Glance behind the Curtain" can do only good to young or old. We can hardly commend the title of the book as denoting always the strict nature of its contents, but can conscientiously recommend the book itself. *The Social Law of Service* is a series of papers upon social and economic topics written in an entirely Christian spirit. Best of all for their purpose, they are decidedly practical and helpful; and those who know Professor Ely's rank among the expounders of sociological truth—and who does not know?—will not fail to see, underlying his more popular treatment, the wisdom and skill of the master. *In League with Israel* is a story of a young Hebrew who happens being in Chattanooga during the International Epworth League Convention of the year before last and is led to attend the "sunrise prayer meeting" upon the heights of Lookout Mountain. How he is brought into the Christian faith is designed to inspire Epworth Leaguers to seek to bring other Hebrews to a knowledge of their true Messiah. Dr. Doherty's *Torchbearers of Christendom* is much more than a mere summary of the history of the Christian Church. He has made it thoroughly alive by his treatment. The salient facts of Church history are grouped about the great leaders of successive religious movements; and the author's artistic arrangement of his material, his clear common sense, and his singular felicity and grace of expression make the book not only fascinating, but of permanent value. Those who know best his exceptional capabilites for effective literary work know what the reading public has lost through his hitherto almost unbroken silence in the purely literary field.

William Henry Seward. By THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP. 16mo, pp. 446. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This volume of the "American Statesmen" series is a political biography pure and simple, with just enough of the personal element in it to make us know the man whose political fortunes we are following. It covers an eventful period in our national life—a period saturated with passion and strife, a period on which posterity has hardly learned even now to look without a renewal of the old bitter sectional and party prejudice. Amid the dangerous rocks and shoals of that tumultuous time our author steers a steady and consistent course, guided by the same principles for which Seward and his party stood. Seward entered the national arena, as a Whig United States senator, at the time when the Whigs, although just invested with power, were rapidly going to pieces on the great rock of slavery. The elections of 1849 had returned a Whig majority to the lower house of Congress; yet so were the Whigs divided on the all-absorbing question that they were unable to combine on any candidate for speaker, and, after nearly three weeks of bickering and on the sixty-third ballot, a Democrat was chosen to preside over a nominally Whig House. The Whig party went down in the storms which followed the Mexican cessions of territory. In its place arose the new Republican party, in which from the very first Seward was an acknowledged and, perhaps, the most prominent leader; and had it not been for Greeley's hostility he might, and probably would, have received the Republican presidential nomination in 1860. Instead, he served for eight years as Secretary of State, entering the cabinet of one President with hesitation, and remaining in that of another with reluctance. His name will remain forever associated with the Trent affair. It is hardly possible that anyone can read this volume without recognizing how unwise and unjustifiable—even though so natural—was Captain Wilkes's impetuous action in seizing the two Confederate commissioners. For this Wilkes had received the thanks of the Secretary of the Navy and one branch of Congress. Even Lincoln himself was much indisposed to surrender the two prisoners of war; and it required all Seward's powers to convince the President and save the nation. "From the whole transaction," says Mr. Lothrop, "we gained this advantage—that the surrendering of these men so promptly and with so little discussion made both the ministry and the people of England ashamed of their violence and haste; and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, instead of being England's heroes, became her, and not our, 'white elephants.'" Mr. Seward sided with President Johnson in his plans of reconstruction, and thereby gained for himself much contemporary abuse; but the smoke of that mighty controversy has nearly cleared away, and it is possible now to see clearly on which side justice and expediency lay. This book is a positively useful monograph on one of the great actors in American history. We would especially call attention to the following sentence from p. 310: "Had the rebellion been crushed quickly, slavery, the cause of all our trouble, would have remained, and sooner or later the battle would have had to be fought over again."

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1897.

ART. I.—NOTES OF AN ENGLISH RAMBLE.

WE commence our ramble under the guidance of one whose walks about London and Rome and the cities of northern and central Italy have made him famous as a pathfinder in this age of rambling, Augustus J. C. Hare. How far he may have added to his distinction by *The Story of My Life*, with which he has lately increased the number of his guidebooks, is a question which seems likely to provoke discussion; but nothing that he may write, or that others may write about him, can ever rob him of the credit of that exquisite portraiture of gentle English homes and hearts, the *Memorials of a Quiet Life*. He was born in Rome in March, 1834. A month previous had died in the same city his uncle, Augustus W. Hare. The childless widow became godmother and, the year after, mother by adoption of this second Augustus—an arrangement which greatly comforted her, and did not seriously afflict the parents of the child. About the luminous path of this aunt-mother, Maria Hare, the memorials gather—a journey over the first seventy years of our century; and with them in hand and thought even a careless rambler will find his way one of delight and inspiration.

We are at the outset in Cheshire, charmed with the quiet, well-bred, deeply spiritual life of three English rectories. Why does not some one write a book upon English rectory interiors? It is startling to note how many of them have given the world its leaders, have opened to thought and action new channels. The rectory of Stoke-upon-Terne was the home for thirty-seven years, from 1809 to 1846, of Oswald Leycester, the father of Maria Hare. She was his youngest child, her only sister Cath-

erine, seven and a half years her senior, his oldest. Two miles away was Hodnet, in whose rectory for eighteen years lived and thought and frolicked and worshiped one of the English saints, Reginald Heber. There are no more vivid pictures of the life of a godly, natural soul than those which shine through Maria Leycester's memories of the life at Hodnet rectory. Into its inmost intimacy she was welcomed, and for the most impressionable years of her life formed a part of that blessed circle and was the delighted friend of Heber. The playfulness of his spirit, its unselfishness, its beautiful transparency, its Christlikeness—how they all start out into vividness against the background of the martyrdom in India, whither in 1823 he went to the almost expected death which became certain in three years more. At Heber's home Maria Leycester first met Augustus W. Hare, whom she married in 1829. He was a cousin of Mrs. Heber, their mothers being the daughters of the Dean of St. Asaph, Dr. Shipley; another sister having married Sir William Jones, whose magnificent career had been terminated by his untimely death in 1794, when Augustus Hare was but a babe. The third of these rectories was Alderley. Here in 1805 had settled Edward Stanley, and hither five years later, when she was not more than eighteen, he brought his bride, Catherine Leycester. Their beautiful wedded life at Alderley continued over twenty-five years; and for most of this period Maria Leycester, to whom her older sister had for many years been also in the place of mother, was a frequent and happy member of this household, sharing its blessings and its sorrows as she did those at Stoke and at Hodnet. The second son of Edward and Catherine Stanley was Arthur, born in 1815, when his mother, who was his lifelong intimate companion, was twenty-three years old.

Catherine Stanley was a remarkable woman. "From childhood she had been accustomed to form her own character by thinking, reading, and digesting what she read." Her mother's ill health and death had brought to her early responsibilities, and had taught her the grace of carefulness and the strength of self-reliance. Augustus J. C. Hare thus describes her:

> To the frivolity of an ordinary acquaintance her mental superiority and absolute self-possession of manner must always have made her somewhat alarming; but those who had the opportunity of penetrating beneath

the surface were no less astonished at her originality and freshness of ideas and her keen though quiet enjoyment of life, its pursuits and friendships, than by the calm wisdom of her advice and her power of penetration into the character and, consequently, the temptations and difficulties of others.*

A most attractive personality was Edward Stanley. Thus is he characterized by the same hand:

A little man, active in figure and in movement, with dark, piercing eyes, rendered more remarkable by the snow-white hair which was his characteristic even while very young; with the liveliest interest on all subjects, political, philosophical, scientific, theological; with inexhaustible plans for the good of the human race in general, but especially for the benefit of his parishioners, . . . he was the most popular character in the country side. To children he was indescribably delightful. There was nothing that he was not supposed to know, and indeed who was there that knew more of insect life, of the ways and habits of birds, of fossils and where to find them, of drawing, of etching on wood and lithographing on stone, of plants and gardens, of the construction of ships and boats, and of the thousand home manufactures of which he was complete master?†

In 1837 this Alderley rector became the Bishop of Norwich, and continued indefatigable in thoughts and actions to the end of his life, in 1849, after which his widow shared the home of her then distinguished son until her death, twelve years later. To them both the son paid the filial tribute of a memoir in which the strength and beauty of their character and life are modestly but lovingly portrayed.

Of Arthur Stanley's development from timid boyhood to a manhood fearless and strong the world knows. It has not always remembered that he never, in spirit, left his mother's side. She writes of him in 1834, in the vacation after he had won for himself and Rugby and Dr. Arnold the Balliol scholarship:

He has been translating and retranslating Cicero for his improvement, and has been deep in Guizot's essay on the civilization of Europe, besides chiefly engaged in a grand work, at present a secret, but of which you may perhaps hear more in the course of the spring. I have generally sat with him, or he with me, to be ready with criticisms when wanted, and it is delightful to be so immediately and entirely understood, the why and wherefore of an objection seen before it is said. And the mind is so logical, so clear, the taste so pure in all senses, and so accurate. He goes

* *Thoughts that Breathe*, with a biographical sketch of A. P. Stanley by Augustus J. C. Hare.

† *Ibid.*

on so quietly and perseveringly as to get through all he intends to get through without the least appearance of bustle and business.*

The world has confirmed the clearness of the mother's discernment, and wonders little that in the twelve years of her widowhood, the years when her son was Dean of Canterbury and professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, he "made her the sharer of all his thoughts, the confidante of all his difficulties; [that] all that he wrote was read to her before its publication, and her advice was not only sought but taken."

Stanley's connection with Dr. Arnold and Rugby is famous. It will not be forgotten while men read the disciple's life of his master, and boys read *Tom Brown's School-Days*. It is often overlooked how the shy boy and the masterful man came together. When the choice of a school for Arthur was a grave concern of the Alderley household, Augustus Hare, then in Naples, wrote: "Are you aware that the person of all others fitted to get on with boys is just elected master of Rugby? His name is Arnold. He is a Wykehamist and fellow of Oriel, and a particular friend of mine, a man calculated above all others to engraft modern scholarship and modern improvements on the old-fashioned stem of a public education." The suggestion was accepted. "Dr. Arnold's letter," writes Mrs. Stanley, "has decided us about Arthur. I should think there was not another schoolmaster in his majesty's dominions who would write such a letter. It is so lively, agreeable, and promising in all ways. He is just the man to take a fancy to Arthur and for Arthur to take a fancy to." Three months after Arthur had gone up to Rugby his mother visited the school. She says:

He (Dr. Arnold) has a very remarkable countenance, something in forehead and again in manner which put me in mind of Reginald Heber, and there is a mixture of zeal, energy, and determination, tempered with wisdom, candor, and benevolence, both in manner and in everything he says. . . . He said he was gradually reforming, but it was like pasting down a piece of paper—as fast as one corner was put down another started up. "Yes," said Mrs. Arnold, "but Dr. Arnold always thinks the corner will not start *again*."†

After a later interview she says, "What a man he is! He struck me, more than before even, with the impression of power, energy, and singleness of heart, aim, and purpose. Arthur's

* *Thoughts that Breathe*, p. 26. † *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

veneration for him is beautiful; what good it must do to grow up under such a tree!" How natural that Dr. Arnold should feel of Arthur that he "always took in his ideas, received all he wished to put into him more in the true spirit and meaning than any boy he had ever met with," and that Mrs. Arnold could say she "always delighted in watching his countenance when Dr. Arnold was preaching."

How nearly impossible it seems to leave Dr. Arnold, when once one has felt the charm of his fellowship and the inspiration of his spirit! He had come to Rugby at the age of thirty-six, nine years of the Laleham quiet coming between his advent there and the thought-stirring days at Oriel. Fourteen years more, and his work ended, but they were years in which all England, from peaceful Fox How to agitated Oxford felt the thrill and power of his magnetic touch. It is a joy to see him as others saw him. In 1844 Caroline Fox meets a Dr. Dew, a former pupil of Arnold's. He says:

> Such was his power over the hearts of the boys that they dreaded doing anything wrong lest it should pain him; they looked forward to his weekly sermons with as much delight as to a holiday, and, as they were quite private, if anything remarkable had taken place in the week they knew that it would be noticed on the Sunday. The classbooks they had to study were rich in marginal notes from his pencil, which made them live and become a pleasure instead of a weariness to flesh and spirit.*

An entry in Henry Crabb Robinson's *Diary and Correspondence*,† for February 8, 1839, is suggestive: "An interesting rencontre in the studio of Phillips, R.A., where Dr. Arnold was sitting for his portrait. Bunsen was reading Niebuhr to him. Mrs. Arnold, Professor Lepsius, and Mrs. Stanley, wife of the Bishop of Norwich, came afterward." Bunsen reading Niebuhr to Arnold! When he heard of Arnold's death Bunsen exclaimed, "The *History of Rome* is never to be finished!" Of Bunsen, the successor of Niebuhr as Prussian minister to the papal court, we may not pause long to speak. He was a fructifying influence upon all these English lives. He is justly described as "the disciple of Niebuhr and the inspirer of Arnold, the counselor of statesmen, the patron of art, the historian of nations, the companion of kings, the guide of the wise, the teacher of the learned, and withal the simple

* *Memories of Old Friends*, by Caroline Fox. † Vol. ii, p. 795.

Christian." This "chevalier" of letters and life and faith Arnold had met in 1827, in a thirteen days' visit to Rome, and for years maintained correspondence with him, ever expressing his indebtedness to him and finally dedicating to him his *History of Rome.* A few months before this "rencontre" in Phillips's studio Arnold had written:

I cannot find what I most crave to see and what still seems to me no impossible dream, inquiry and belief going together, and the adherence to truth growing with increased affection, as follies are more and more cast away. But I have seen lately such a specimen of this and of all other things that are good and wise and holy as I suppose can scarcely be matched again in the world. Bunsen has been with us for six days.*

How sadly unfulfilled has this "craving" of Dr. Arnold's strong spirit remained in some whom he influenced!

But now, with Bunsen and his relation to Arnold in our thoughts, let us turn our steps in another direction—retrace them in part. In 1828 Arnold writes to Augustus W. Hare, then in Italy, his friend at Oxford and fellow-member of the famous Attic Society:

But I think my greatest delight, after all, was in the society of Bunsen [whom he had met the previous year], the Prussian minister at Rome. . . . He reminded me continually of you, more than any other man whom I know, and chiefly by his entire and enthusiastic admiration of everything great and excellent and beautiful, not stopping to see or care for minute faults. . . . I have derived great benefit from sources of information that your brother has at different times recommended to me, and the perusal of some of his articles. *Guesses at Truth* has made me exceedingly desirous of becoming better acquainted with him, as I am sure his conversation would be really profitable to me in the highest sense of the word, as well as delightful.

Of the Hare brothers something must be set down here. Their older brother, Francis, was the father of Augustus J. C. Hare. Their younger brother, Marcus, by his marriage with Lucy Anne Stanley, the sister of the Bishop of Norwich, added another to the links uniting the two families. But it is Augustus and Julius whose diverse characteristics and blended lives afford the suggestive study of the influence of mind upon mind, and of men who, just missing renown, have not failed of great influence. The loss of their mother in early life left them under the care of her sister, Lady Jones, who indeed

* *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*, A. P. Stanley, vol. ii, p. 121.

adopted Augustus and carried him through his education. We have had glimpses of him, at the Heber's meeting Maria Leycester, ardent in his university career at New College while Arnold was at Oriel. Marrying at thirty-five, he accepted the small living of Alton Barnes, "the most primitive village in Wiltshire," a place "absolutely isolated, without any gentleman's house except the rectory, without any public house, with scarcely even anything which can be dignified by the name of a village shop." Here, for five years, he labored for a sparse and simple people, with an indefatigable patience and a Christian spirit. Out of this life came his *Sermons to a Country Congregation*, edited by his brother—sermons whose unconventional directness and earnest simplicity are said to have revolutionized the method of preaching in the English Church. Maurice says of them,* "They seem to me the most interesting and beautiful piece of cottage divinity that I ever met with."

Julius C. Hare was no truer soul than his brother Augustus. In some ways less attractive, his acquirements and tastes and intellectual sympathies brought him into closer relations with more minds. He was the same in age as Dr. Arnold, being born in 1795. In a tour with friends he came at ten years in personal contact with the sages of Weimar, and with this impulse seconding natural tastes became a devotee of the German literature. Marks of this are found everywhere. When he entered Cambridge at sixteen no student before him had at all equaled his acquirements in German. It is he who brings to Dr. Arnold's notice the merits of Niebuhr, whose historical spirit became Dr. Arnold's own. Crabb Robinson is found in his wonderful library, especially delighted with his collection of German books. His very writings—the *Vindication of Luther* and the *Vindication of Coleridge*, wherein he defends him from the charges of plagiarism from Schelling and other sources of German thought—illustrate this characteristic. He was in temperament unlike Augustus, whom he profoundly admired and loved. He was "ardent, impulsive, enthusiastic, demonstrative, . . . equally manifest in love and antipathy, vehement in language, unable to conceal a feeling of any kind, and constantly doing battle of some sort for his friends if not

* *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, by his son, vol. i, p. 213.

for himself." * So Maria Hare describes him as she came into closer contact with him, when, after her husband's death, she became one of the household at Hurstmonceaux, the living of Julius Hare from 1834 for over twenty years. He had gone up to Cambridge while his brother and Arnold were at Oxford, and for the twenty years of his residence there was one of its brightest lights. In 1826 the brothers published anonymously *Guesses at Truth.* In 1827 Julius Hare met Schleiermacher in Germany. He translates Fouqué, carries through the press Lander's *Imaginary Conversations*, with Thirlwall translates Niebuhr's *History of Rome*, and then "vindicates" him against the reviewers' attacks. John Sterling and Frederick Denison Maurice are the pupils of the later Cambridge years. The family living at Hurstmonceaux became vacant, and by agreement with Augustus, to whom it would have fallen, but who preferred his own quieter Alton Barnes, Julius entered upon it in 1834, saddened inexpressibly that his brother, who in the meantime had died, had passed beyond his call.

One of the most charming pictures of the scholar is that given of Julius Hare in the Hurstmonceaux rectory. Arthur Stanley spent a few months there, under his uncle's care, between Rugby and Oxford. Arthur's mother wrote of his influence upon her son: "I cannot speak of the blessing it has been to have Arthur so long with you. He says he feels his mind's horizon so enlarged." And Stanley describes the rectory, which stood far removed from church and castle and village:

> The very first glance at the entrance hall revealed the character of its master. It was not merely a house with a good library, the whole house was a library. The vast nucleus which he brought with him from Cambridge grew, year by year, till not only study and drawing room and dining room, but passage and antechamber and bedrooms, were overrun with the ever-advancing and crowded bookshelves. Of all libraries which it has been our lot to traverse we never saw any equal to this in the combined excellence of quantity and quality; none in which there were so few worthless, so many valuable, works. . . . And what, perhaps, was yet more remarkable was the manner in which the center of the whole was himself. Without a catalogue, without assistance, he knew where every book was to be found, for what it was valuable, what relation it bore to the rest. The library was like a magnificent tree which he had himself planted, of which he had nurtured the growth, which spread its

* *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, vol. ii, p. 78.

branches far and wide over his dwelling, and in the shade of which he delighted even if he was prevented for the moment from gathering its fruits or pruning its luxuriant foliage.*

His nephew gives us a glimpse of his habits:

Well remembered by the few still remaining, who shared them, are the peculiar habits of the life in these years at Hurstmonceaux rectory—the late breakfast in the sunny book-lined room, with the scent of the orange trees and geraniums wafted in through the open doors of the conservatory, the eager discussions over the letters, the vehement declamation over the newspaper, the frequent interpolation of a reading from Coleridge or Wordsworth, the constant interruption from the host of beggars who knew only too well that they were never sent away empty-handed. . . . Then Julius Hare would seize his straw hat and, while composing or meditating, would pace rapidly up and down his favorite walk between the oak trees, whence he could look across the level to the sea; . . . then would come the many hours of writing in his library . . . and the evenings, filled with interest, in which he would pace the drawing room in eager talk, snatching a volume every now and then from the bookcase to illustrate what he was saying, or would sit down and translate some German author into fluent English as he read.

In this library were busts of Augustus W. Hare, Wordsworth, Niebuhr, Schleiermacher, and Bunsen. Here Bunsen often visited him. John Sterling was his curate for a time, and afterward told Caroline Fox: "Hare possesses a wonderfully comprehensive mind, but never does himself justice, leads a recluse life, is little known, and has a very unfortunate address. He is one of our best German scholars, and has a glorious library."

Julius Hare kept up an active correspondence with Arnold, Maurice, Bunsen, and Stanley. In 1844, when nearly fifty years old, he married Esther Maurice, whom he had met through her friendship for Mrs. Maria Hare. This drew Maurice and himself closer together, and, since the latter and Sterling had married sisters, strengthened the affection with which Hare had always regarded that brilliant and pathetic soul. How genuine was his respect and love for Sterling is evinced by his memoir of his pupil, curate, friend, which was published in 1848, and which provoked into being that other *Life of John Sterling*, in which Carlyle is at his best and his worst. In Maurice he had seen at their first meeting a great mind. He wrote of him, soon after his arrival in Cambridge, that there

* *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, vol. ii, pp. 80, 81.

was in his class room "a pupil whose metaphysical powers were among the greatest he had ever come in contact with, but that the man was so shy that it was almost impossible to know him." * How well he knew him, how deeply he loved him, afterward!

The exact balance of intellectual debt between Dr. Arnold and Archdeacon Hare cannot be struck. They helped to make each other, and were allies in arousing the intellectual life of our own time. Hare used to say that he had five popes—"Wordsworth, Niebuhr, Bunsen, F. Maurice, and Archdeacon Manning." Arnold would have recognized three of them at least. Hare edited, with painstaking fidelity, the third volume of the *History of Rome*, left by Dr. Arnold in manuscript, and in his Preface says:

> There seemed to be a kind of propriety in my undertaking the task, not only on account of my previous connection with another great historian of Rome, but also because the first letter I ever received from the author of this work was written for the purpose of making some inquiries about Niebuhr's History, of which he had heard me speak with much praise. The letter was written in 1824; and to me it is an interesting recollection that I should thus have been the means of introducing Dr. Arnold to a writer who was to exercise so powerful an influence over the whole frame of his thoughts.

He declares Arnold to have been "a dauntless lover of truth in the midst of an age when few seek or care for any truth, except such as seems to pamper their already bloated predilections and prepossessions!" "Whether differing or agreeing," he continues, "when I turn from the ordinary theological or religious writers of the day to one of his volumes there is a feeling as it were of breathing the fresh mountain air after having been shut up in the morbid atmosphere of a sick room or in the fumigated vapors of an Italian church." Every word spoken by him of Arnold is warm with the breath of ardent praise.

Julius Hare's personal relations were more intimate with Frederick Denison Maurice than with Thomas Arnold, and he reverenced him no less. Maurice was eleven years younger, but his extraordinary spiritual and mental power gave him early the rights of this high fellowship. With Dr. Arnold he was

* *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, vol. i, p. 58.

not closely associated. Much of his work and prominence came after Dr. Arnold's death. They were on the same spiritual foundations, singularly alike in certain fine traits of character, but saw many things from points of view so different that their expressed opinions are often diametrically opposed. Their direct influence upon each other, as well as that which was conveyed through such intermediaries as the Hares and the Bunsens and Trench, must have been of a positive character, and they profoundly respected one another.

Maurice came to Cambridge from a Unitarian parsonage. He was from childhood intensely spiritual, and a deep thinker. At Cambridge he touched Sterling and Hare. His was the unusual experience of residence at both universities. After three years at Cambridge and a short time in London in literary work he went to Oxford, where he took his degree in 1832, having in the meantime entered the Established Church, to which ever after he clung passionately. A year later he accepted a small curacy in Warwickshire (Bubbenhall), where he wrote his famous contribution to the Oxford discussion—seeming for the time to side with the Tractarians—the pamphlet entitled *Subscription no Bondage.* At the beginning of 1836 he took up his residence in London as chaplain of Guy's Hospital, and became a center from which radiated some of the strongest intellectual and social influences of the time. Six years before John Sterling had married, and now was living in London in poor health. Mrs. Sterling's younger sister became the devoted wife of Maurice in 1837, John Sterling officiating at the marriage. The latter had already passed through what he called the "one Sabbath" of his life, the few months' curacy under Julius Hare at Hurstmonceaux.

It may be well to pause at this date, 1835, and from it observe the people whom we have met in our ramble and the events amid which we have been moving. The Reform bill had passed three years before. The Oxford movement had been for two years stirring the religious thought of all England, and in 1835 Pusey published his famous tract on baptism, which utterly alienated Maurice from the movement, and soon after began the translations for the Library of the Fathers. Coleridge had died the year before, as had Edward Irving—of whom a word must be spoken later on—and Augustus Hare,

of whom Bunsen, who was a constant ministering presence to him in those last days in Rome, wrote to Arnold: "Our dear Augustus Hare has left us. When this arrives you will already have known that he expired yesterday, in a state of perfect bliss. . . . I saw him twice, and loved him from the first moment. His thoughts were always with his friends, his country, his Church, but above all, and up to the last moment, with his Saviour."* Julius Hare had just entered upon the Hurstmonceaux life, with the widow of his brother as a most beloved companion, and her adopted child, the future chronicler of the "blessed brotherhood and sisterhood," as Stanley calls the Hares. Arthur Stanley himself was at the threshold of his brilliant career at Oxford, his father yet rector at Alderley, but within a year or two of Norwich; Thomas Arnold in midcourse at Rugby, passing his vacations in the high fellowship of the Lake group at Fox How and Rydal, where Wordsworth was approaching his threescore and ten and kindling from his inextinguishable spirit the torches of the spiritual leaders of a coming age. Carlyle had a year before astonished the world, and presumably relieved his own mind, by the publication of his *Sartor Resartus*, and John Stuart Mill had begun to edit the *Philosophical Review*. A younger group still was emerging. Matthew Arnold and Thomas Hughes were yet in Rugby. Frederick W. Robertson was nearly ready for Oxford; and Kingsley, after two or three years at the Cornwall School, was at the rectory of Derwent Coleridge, and was soon to remove with his father's family to Chelsea, London, being then about seventeen years of age.

This London group of the period beginning with 1835 is indeed a strange one. The influence of its members upon each other is as certain as it is difficult to trace. They were very young men. Maurice was twenty-nine. Sterling and Mill were the same age with Maurice. Carlyle was forty, the exact age of Thomas Arnold and Julius Hare. Carlyle's and Mill's "conversion," as they call it, occurred the same year (1826), the year of the publication of *Guesses at Truth*. Edward Irving died in 1834, when but forty-three. He was the most notorious of the group and the least influential. Carlyle loved him—so, probably, did Mrs. Carlyle. His career in London

* *Memorials of a Quiet Life*, vol. ii, p. 22.

was meteoric; everybody saw the blaze and the subsequent darkness. Coleridge, to whom he often went, calls him "a mighty wrestler in the cause of spiritual religion and Gospel morality." * With Irving's pathetic career Mrs. Oliphant and the Carlyle literature have made us sufficiently familiar. Carlyle said of him: "His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with. I call him on the whole the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world, or now hope to find." † But we must leave him, simply keeping him in the field of vision as we make our way among his contemporaries who outlived him in a two-fold sense.

With deeper interest might we trace the relations of the other two Scotchmen, Mill and Carlyle, with each other. Our present concern, however, with them both is in their personal and intellectual contact with the others whom we have been meeting. How would a man educated as was John Stuart Mill regard, for instance, men like Maurice and Sterling? How would one who, as he said of himself, "was brought up from the first without any religious belief" ‡ be affected by such a soul as Maurice's, so intensely religious as to call forth Tulloch's remark, "We can hardly think of a mind in recent times, unless it be Maurice's, more habitually under the influence of the divine than that of Arnold's." § How would one who said of himself, "I am one of the very few examples in this country of one who has not thrown off religious belief, but never had it; I grew up in a negative state in regard to it," view the religious vagrancy of a man like Sterling, who was in character so lovable as to center upon himself the ardent affections of men as antagonistic as Maurice and Carlyle, as Julius Hare and Mill, and yet was intellectually so flexible as to share at some time the opinions of them all, and at last to die a disciple of no one of them? Mill acknowledges positive influences from Maurice, Sterling, and Carlyle, at a period when he was coming to the fullness of his powers. ‖ The two former made their appearance in the famous London Debating Society in 1828–29, known to be disciples of Coleridge—Maurice the thinker, Ster-

* *Life of Edward Irving*, Mrs. Oliphant, vol. ii, p. 102.
† *Biographia Literaria*, vol. i, p. 94.
‡ John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*.
§ *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century*, Principal Tulloch, p. 55.
‖ Mill's *Autobiography*.

ling the orator. Mill's opinion of them is worthy of full quotation. He says:

I have always thought there was more intellectual power wasted in Maurice than in any other of my contemporaries. Few of them, certainly, have had so much to waste. Great powers of generalization, rare ingenuity and subtlety, wide perception of important and unobvious truth served him, not for putting something better into the place of the worthless heap of received opinions on the great subjects of thought, but for proving to his own mind that the Church of England had known everything from the first, and that all the truths on the ground of which the Church and orthodoxy have been attacked (many of which he saw as clearly as anyone) are not only consistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, but are better understood and expressed in these articles than by anyone who rejects them. I have never been able to find any other explanation of this than by attributing it to the timidity of conscience combined with original sensitiveness of temperament which has so often driven highly gifted men into Romanism from the need of a firmer support than they can find in the independent conclusions of their own judgment. . . . The nearest parallel to him in a moral point of view is Coleridge, to whom, in intellectual power, apart from poetical genius, I think him decidedly superior. . . .

With Sterling I soon became very intimate, and was more attached to him than I have ever been to any other man. He was indeed one of the most lovable of men. His frank, cordial, affectionate, and expansive character; a love of truth alike conspicuous in the highest things and the humblest; a generous and ardent nature which threw itself with impetuosity into the opinions it adopted, but was as eager to do justice to the doctrines and the men it was opposed to as to make war on what it thought their errors; and an equal devotion to the two cardinal points of liberty and duty, formed a combination of qualities as attractive to me as to all others who knew him as well as I did. . . . Though he was never in the full sense of the word a profound thinker, his openness of mind and the moral courage in which he greatly surpassed Maurice made him outgrow the dominion which Maurice and Coleridge had once exercised over his intellect; though he retained to the last a great but discriminating admiration of both, and toward Maurice a warm affection.*

Sterling detains us a moment longer, not only by the great charm of his personal character, but by the powerful influence he exerted upon others. He certainly did not lead them, but he greatly affected them. The most sorrowful note in all Maurice's letters is that in which he expresses repeatedly his sense of responsibility for Sterling and his profound sadness at the failure of his friend's faith. Mill's opinion we have given.

* John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, pp. 153-155.

Hare's tribute to him, published in 1848, was followed by Carlyle's in 1851. The relation of these two famous character sketches appears in the record made by Caroline Fox: "Long letter from Julius Hare, detailing difficulties in the Sterling memoir which we had foreseen and could well enter into. He seems almost forced to publish more than he would wish, in order to leave Mill and Carlyle no pretext for an opposition portrait." * Hare's characterization of Sterling was the occasion of severe strictures upon the founders of the so-called Broad Church party, which seems to have included nearly everyone who did any independent thinking. Carlyle's characterization has become as truly a revelation of himself as it is of Sterling. It may be surmised that Sterling understood his biographer fairly well. He discovered in 1840 what all the world has learned since, that "Carlyle's low view of the world proceeded partly from a bad stomach." "One day," writes Caroline Fox, "he was, as often, pouring out the fullness of his indignation at the quackery and speciosity of the times. He wound up by saying, 'When I look at this I determine to cast all tolerance to the winds.' Sterling quietly remarked, 'My dear fellow, I had no idea you had any to cast.'"

Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, is remarkable as the one man whom Carlyle never found it in his heart to write down. Mrs. Oliphant, in her *Memoir of Principal Tulloch*, speaks of Erskine as "the well-known and venerable prophet of a shadowy creed which nobody could define, yet all respected and admired." Tulloch writes to a friend, from the house of Mr. Erskine at Linlathen:

> Our old friend here is as full of spiritual wisdom as ever. The long pauses amid the damp autumn leaves yesterday afternoon, as he expounded and reexpounded his favorite idea of the spiritual education under which every man and the whole race of men are, and of God as a *teaching* Father, were very picturesque, but were not very comfortable. . . . What a cheerful, hopeful, yet pathetic confidence he has! . . . You know how much he loves and admires Maurice, yet he quietly said, last night, talking of the Athanasian Creed, "I think Mr. Maurice could find good reason for anything." †

Upon Carlyle and Irving, Erskine's influence was very great; both revered him as a prophet. But it was to Maurice that

* *Memories of Old Friends*, Caroline Fox, p. 247.
† *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, vol. ii, p. 121.

the heritage of his thoughts descended. This letter of Tulloch's was written in 1865. In 1830, before leaving Oxford, one of Erskine's books, entitled *The Brazen Serpent*, came to Maurice's notice, and produced upon him a marked effect. He writes to his sister: "The peculiarities of his system may be true or not, but I am certain a light has fallen through him on the Scriptures which I hope I shall never lose, and the chief tendency I feel he has awaked in my mind is to search them more and more. I hear from those who know him that he reads nothing else himself."*

Maurice came into close personal relations with Erskine, visited him at Linlathen, maintained a long correspondence with him, and in 1852 dedicated to him his work entitled *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, in a letter to Erskine, saying, "I have longed to do what I have done for many years, when an occasion should offer. I wished to tell others how much I believe they, as well as I, owe to your books; how they seem to me to mark a crisis in the theological movement of this time." The singular influence of Sterling upon men of different opinions has been noticed. It is quite as remarkable to see how Erskine of Linlathen left his impress upon men as diverse in opinion and character as Irving, Carlyle, and Maurice.

We must pursue our journey a little farther in Maurice's company. Let the date now be 1850, after a lapse of fifteen years. Coleridge's *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* has been published ten years. Wordsworth has just died, as shortly before had the Bishop of Norwich, Edward Stanley. Thomas Arnold has been dead eight years, and for six everyone has been reading his *Life and Correspondence*, by his devoted pupil, Arthur Stanley. The latter is about to commence his six years as Dean of Canterbury, and has recently published his memoir of his excellent father. Julius Hare, now for ten years archdeacon, has been six years married; has published his *Vindication of Coleridge* and his *Vindication of Luther*, his *Mission of the Comforter*, and his *Remains of John Sterling*, and is groaning in spirit over the perversion to Rome of his fellow-archdeacon, Manning, who has followed the example of Newman, now four years a Romanist in name, as he had long been in conviction.

* *Memoir of Principal Tulloch*, Mrs. Oliphant, p. 216.

Here then at 1850 we find Maurice, after years of controversy and obloquy, in fellowship with some who are like-minded, entering into that deep struggle of Christian socialism with which his great name must ever be connected, as truly as it is with the enlargement of religious belief. Here with him is Kingsley. How he brightens the scene! Derwent Coleridge had called him "a genuine out-of-doors English boy." * R. C. Powles says he had, as a boy, "the vehement spirit, an adventurous courage, a love of truth, an impatience of injustice, a quick and tender sympathy;" so that a college friend could say of him to his widow, "I never saw him do anything that I should have any objection to tell you." At twenty-three he settled at Eversley, on the borders of Windsor forest, where he was to reside for thirty-three years. This was in 1842. His biographer says: "At this time Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* was put into his hands. It was in a great crisis of his life, and he always said that he owed more to that book than to any he had ever read, for by it his views were cleared and his faith established." It is worth noting that already he had been greatly influenced by Carlyle and Coleridge—*The French Revolution*, *Past and Present*, and *Miscellanies* of the former, and the *Aids to Reflection* of the latter "utterly delighting" him. Upon him, too, had fallen light from Wordsworth's heart. In 1844 he writes:

I have been reading Wordsworth's *Excursion* with many tears and prayers, too. To me he is not only a poet, but preacher and prophet of God's new and divine philosophy—a man raised as a light in a dark time, and rewarded by an honored age for the simple faith in man and God with which he delivered his message; whose real nobility is independent of rank, or conventionalities of language or manner, which is but the fashion of this world and passes away.

Arnold's influence, too, reached him. He decided against Rugby because of the Toryism of his father and himself, and ever after deeply regretted it. One cannot help wondering what direct contact with Arnold might not have done for Kingsley. But he revered Thomas Arnold. "In plain truth," he says, "the English clergy must Arnoldize if they do not wish to go either to Rome or to the workhouse before fifty years are out. There is, I believe, an Arnoldite spirit rising. . . . I would devote soul and body to get together an

* *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life*, chap. ii.

Arnoldite party of young men." In 1848 he came into close acquaintance with Julius Hare, Bishop Stanley, Stanley the younger, and Thomas Hughes, through whom Arnold's spirit must have constantly touched him. But Maurice becomes his "master"—such is his constant name for him—his "oak of the mountain," "inspired, gigantic;" and to Maurice, Kingsley became "the freshest, freest-hearted man in England." He meets Bunsen, "such a divine-looking man, and so kind," and Bunsen finds for him an honored place among his crowding friendships.

But our ramble must cease somewhere. We set out at Stoke-on-Terne rectory, when the century was new. Let us rest at Eversley rectory, with the century half gone. To multitudes these men with whom we have been in familiar touch are as fascinating as the heroes of romance. No one of them, from Coleridge to Robertson, is without his devoted admirers among us. But to this individual attraction is given new intensity when it is seen how remarkably their lives interpenetrated each other, and how powerfully each was affected by the rest. When the history of the religious thought of the past hundred years is written, to Coleridge and Wordsworth, the philosopher and the poet of the spiritual life, standing side by side at the gate of the century, will be traced in large degree the impulse which gave to these highborn souls of a later day their key-thought and their master motive. It would indeed be vain to assert that the path over which we have now journeyed is the one royal road upon which truth has come down to our own mighty day; yet, without doubt, our ramble has taken us through the seedplot wherein has started much of the best growth for those fields of social reform, education, and theological thought which the men of the next century will, with hope and ardor, cultivate—from which they will reap for the world harvests abundant and rare.

Frank Mason North.

ART. II.—SHOULD METHODISTS "SING LOW?"

THE somewhat recent demand that Protestants should enjoy fuller religious liberty in the South American republics* has elicited an utterance from a certain Roman Catholic publication which is worthy of examination. The editor of *The New York Freeman's Journal*, the Rev. L. A. Lambert, LL.D.—who some years ago deservedly secured world-wide fame for his noble contribution to Christian literature, *Notes on Ingersoll*—has recently been studying Methodist history. The editorial in his paper plainly indicates that the man who pursued Ingersoll "step by step, piercing him with keen Damascus blade at every turn, aye, dissecting him to the very marrow of his bones," has written in great haste and not in the best spirit.

After quoting the statement of a Methodist exchange that two registered letters had been "addressed by Methodist ministers to the pope, calling attention to the fact that Protestants in certain South American countries, where [Roman] Catholicism is supreme, have no religious liberty," Dr. Lambert says: "It seems to us, in view of the record of the founder of Methodism on religious toleration, that Methodist ministers should sing low." He then affirms, "Had they had their way, and followed the inspirations of John Wesley, this free republic would have had no existence." Having told us that "the Methodists have never been sufficiently numerous to shape the laws or policy of any nation on earth," he next declares: "Had Methodism been always the religion of the people of the South American States, as Catholicism has been, we have no doubt a missionary going there to teach any other form of worship would have a hard and dangerous time of it." Because John Wesley wrote a letter, in 1780, which called forth a great deal of criticism, he is surprised that Methodist ministers should be so "imprudent in pushing themselves forward as champions of toleration," and regards it as a "strange" procedure that they "are now

* In 1894 a committee was appointed by the Chicago Methodist Ministers' Meeting to direct a movement toward securing larger religious freedom for Protestants in South America. In the prosecution of its work it received letters, strongly indorsing the effort, from such representative characters as Dean Farrar, Neal Dow, Algernon Charles Swinburne, General O. O. Howard, Justin McCarthy, W. E. H. Lecky, Bishop A. C. Coxe, Miss Frances E. Willard, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. The present article has been prepared by one actively engaged in that movement.—ED.

appealing to the pope in behalf of religious toleration in South America." Very humorously indeed he asks: "Would it not have been more prudent, and more modest in them, to have left the appeal to the pope in the hands of the Quakers, or some other sect whose founder was not so conspicuous a persecutor of Catholics?" After pleasantly reminding us that "any conduct on the part of Methodist ministers that is calculated to recall the intolerant record of their founder is bad economy," he fearlessly asserts, "The inflammatory addresses of John Wesley were the prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780, which resulted in the death of nearly five hundred people." Then, taking a calm survey of the entire situation, he proceeds to deliver the following admonition: "In view of these facts it is meet for Methodist ministers to set their music to the key of B flat, and sing low."

His assertions suggest a few questions to which our common Christianity may profitably give attention:

I. What is "the record of the founder of Methodism on religious toleration?" Is it such that Methodist ministers should "sing low?" John Wesley wrote a well-known letter, in the opening days of 1780, a letter which Dr. Lambert will admit is the very quintessence of mildness itself when compared with the awful historic facts which made such a letter possible. Its facts are like those contained in the letter written by Lord Acton, an English Roman Catholic, to Mr. Gladstone, and published in the London *Times* of November 9, 1874, facts the very recital of which called forth such a storm of indignation that Lord Acton, "in order to repel the charge that the facts were invented for a theory," resolved that he would "furnish the means of testing certain statements" made by him "in a letter of November 8 to Mr. Gladstone," and so addressed a letter to the editor of *The Times*, which was published in the issue of that paper for November 24, 1874, a letter that stirred the world profoundly from the Thames to the Tiber. Let Dr. Lambert read in its entirety the letter found in Tyerman's Life of Wesley,* and then read the letters of Lord Acton in the London *Times*. We give the three following sentences from Lord Acton's letter to Mr. Gladstone as a sample of religious toleration—not toleration as it was understood by the man who

* Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, vol. iii, pp. 318-320.

said, "The world is my parish," but toleration as it was understood by occupants of the papal throne:

> One of the later popes has declared that the murder of a Protestant is so good a deed that it atones, and more than atones, for the murder of a Catholic.
>
> Now Pius V, the only pope who has been proclaimed a saint for many centuries, having deprived Elizabeth (queen of England), commissioned an assassin to take her life; and his next successor, on learning that the Protestants were being massacred in France, pronounced the action glorious and holy, but comparatively barren of results.
>
> He (Gregory XIII) implored the king during two months, by his nuncio and his legate, to carry the work on to the bitter end, until every Huguenot had recanted or perished.

Dr. Lambert will not deny that such utterances as these—the utterances of popes—should move "any government, Protestant, Mohammedan, or pagan," to consider the question, If self-existence is to be our policy, what course shall we pursue toward the adherents of a Church whose head advocates an exterminating policy for those who do not believe in the teachings of that Church? When John Wesley, whose "genius for government," Macaulay says, "was not inferior to that of Richelieu," was brought face to face with this most difficult question, he did not advocate the persecution of Roman Catholics, but would concede to them both civil and religious liberty.

His letter moved the Rev. Arthur O'Leary to enter into controversy with Mr. Wesley. All will admit that O'Leary's "quaint jocularity and rounded periods are amusing;" but does the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*—a master spirit in controversy—think that they furnish "the slightest answer to Wesley's allegations?" We shall now let Mr. Wesley, in the final paragraph of his closing letter to Father O'Leary, speak for himself:

> Would I then wish the Roman Catholics to be persecuted? I never said or hinted any such thing. I abhor the thought; it is foreign to all I have preached and wrote for these fifty years. But I would wish the Romanists in *England* (I had no others in view) to be treated still with the same lenity that they have been these sixty years; to be allowed both civil and religious liberty, but not permitted to undermine ours. I wish them to stand just as they did before the late act was passed; not to be persecuted or hurt themselves, but gently restrained from hurting their neighbors.*

* Tyerman, *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, vol. iii, p. 322.

To the present day, according to Tyerman, "the arguments in Wesley's letter of January 21, 1780, remain unanswered."

John Wesley's record on "religious toleration" is a noble one. He marched through life endeavoring to discover good everywhere. Is it not a fact that he admired the piety of members of the order of La Trappe, and saw in their experience the work of God—a work of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost? Did he not commend and publish the life of Thomas Firmin, an English Unitarian, "whose real piety, notwithstanding his erroneous notions on the Trinity, he says he dares not deny?" Did he not even go the length of saying that he "makes no doubt that Marcus Antoninus, the heathen emperor of Rome, shall be one of the many who shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God?"

II. Is it true that "the inflammatory addresses of John Wesley were the prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780, which resulted in the death of nearly five hundred people?" What strange things we are now told concerning the man who, during his lifetime, was said to be "a Jesuit, a correspondent of the pope, in league with France, and in the pay of Spain!" John Wesley's "inflammatory addresses" the "prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780!" What reputable historian makes such an assertion as this? It is not Knight, nor Stanhope, nor Green, nor Lecky, nor even the Roman Catholic historian, Justin McCarthy, who, in his *History of the Four Georges*,* says: "Not Mark Antony, not Charles XII, not Napoleon ever went through such physical suffering for the love of war, or for the conqueror's ambition, as Wesley was accustomed to undergo for the sake of preaching at the right time and in the right place to some crowd of ignorant and obscure men, the conversion of whom could bring him neither fame nor fortune." Could McCarthy pay a nobler tribute than this even to the saint who, tradition asserts, banished the snakes from Ireland?

In a sermon preached in 1891, the pastor of the Channing Unitarian Church, at Newton, Mass., also said: "John H. Newman, in one of his works, selects John Wesley as the only man known to him in the Church of God who stood forth as

* Vol. ii. p. 138.

one who might deserve the title of saint."* If John Wesley had been "a persecutor of Roman Catholics," and if at the age of seventy-seven his "inflammatory addresses" had been "the prime cause of the great London anti-Catholic riots in 1780, which resulted in the death of nearly five hundred people," would Cardinal Newman have regarded him as "one who might deserve the title of saint?"

III. Are Methodist ministers, in "pushing themselves forward as champions" of religious toleration, acting a part that is not in accord with the genius of Methodism? The genius of Methodism is, as Dr. Chalmers said, "Christianity in earnest." Cardinal Manning, in his work *England and Christendom*,† tells us that though the early Methodists were "hated and ridiculed" "for their piety," yet "in thirty years they had won their position" and "changed the aspect of society." This Roman Catholic tribute to Methodism stands side by side with that heathen tribute to the great Galilean, "Truly this man was the Son of God." Methodism has ever been the champion of toleration in its highest and holiest sense. She will fight the battle of religious toleration for the oppressed, and not leave in the hands of her most excellent friends, the Quakers, what she ought to do herself. Like her founder, she aims at the spiritual elevation of the people, and in order to accomplish this she never wastes her energies on imaginary wrongs. But, let there be wrongs that are real, wrongs that cry to heaven for redress, wrongs that in piteous tones seem to say to her, "Wilt thou not plead my cause?" and then will be seen the truthfulness of the words of Bishop Huntington, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, "Methodism works for results, and they are generally results worth working for."

The following preamble to the resolution of the Methodist Ministers' Meeting at Chicago, April 2, 1894, clearly indicates the evils that Dr. Lambert's "champions of toleration" are determined to remove: "It has been made evident to us that our Protestant brethren in the republics of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia labor under oppressive disabilities that affect, not only the profession of their faith and the public worship of God according to the dictates of their conscience, but also their civil and inalienable right to be legally married without being com-

* *Zion's Herald*, February 25, 1891. † Pp. 36, 37.

pelled to forswear their religious convictions." This is more than a battle for Methodism or Protestantism; it is a battle for humanity; it is a battle that will win as sure as on the throne sits He of whom we sing, "Allelulia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." That the wrongs referred to in this preamble actually occur on this American continent, in these closing years of the nineteenth century, is not fiction but fact. A letter received by the Chicago committee from the papal Secretary of State, dated Rome, November 30, 1895, asserts that "the constitution of Peru recognizes no other form of marriage as valid than that prescribed by the Council of Trent," and that "the same condition of things relative to marriage exists in Bolivia and Ecuador." In the opening days of December, 1895, the sad intelligence reached this country that in Peru the Lima authorities, roused to action by Roman Catholic priests, had ordered the expulsion of Peters and Jarrett, two missionaries who had scrupulously obeyed the law, and were very popular among the people of Cuzco, where they had labored with considerable success. An Associated Press dispatch, dated Lima, Peru, February 28, 1896, stated that the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Wood labored in Peru at the peril of his life; that *El Obrero*, a paper published in Callao, contained threats against the missionary, and that steps to provide for his safety were eventually taken at the instance of the United States and Great Britain. From Callao, under date of February 4, 1896, Dr. Wood writes of the attacks made by the priests on our educational work, which aim at nothing less than our banishment from Peru, as in the case of the expulsion of Peters and Jarrett from Cuzco. He says that we have just suffered defeat in one of our suburban centers, where all meetings are now completely closed under stress of "persecution carried to the length of pouring kerosene in at the window and attempting to fire the place."

If Roman Catholics in this republic were cruelly denied their "civil and inalienable right to be legally married without being compelled to forswear their religious convictions," the pope and the Roman hierarchy would ceaselessly toil in order to have this "oppressive disability" removed; and their laudable efforts in this direction would be nobly supplemented by Methodist ministers who, acting in accord with the genius of

Methodism, would push themselves forward as champions of toleration. What is the great distinction between Methodism and Romanism in reference to liberty of conscience? When Methodism speaks of "liberty of conscience" she means that every man shall be permitted to worship God in accordance with his own convictions. When Romanism speaks of "liberty of conscience" she means that every man shall be permitted to worship God in accordance with the convictions of the pope. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," in a letter says: "We have occasion enough to see that religious freedom, in the acceptation of the Church of Rome, means only freedom for Roman Catholics. It will meet Protestants nowhere on fair and equal ground." Let him who doubts this remember that the late Cardinal Manning, in a sermon * preached at Kensington, represented the pope as saying: "I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole, last supreme judge of what is right and wrong." With the Roman Catholic hierarchy the phrase "liberty of conscience" means simply "the right to embrace, profess, and practice the Roman Catholic religion" in Protestant countries; with them it does not mean "the right to embrace, profess, and practice" the Protestant religion in Roman Catholic countries. In illustration of this the New York *Independent* † thus expresses itself concerning an editorial comment in the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror* on the subject of religious toleration in South America:

> These remarks are another evidence that the Catholics of this country, enjoying the most perfect religious freedom that the Church has anywhere, have some lessons yet to learn. That they should uphold the State or the civil authority in persecuting Protestant missionaries or ministers, shows that, while they are willing to enjoy to the utmost the blessings of the fullest religious liberty in Protestant countries, they have not quite learned tolerance where conditions are reversed.

IV. Is it true that "the Methodists have never been sufficiently numerous to shape the laws or policy of any nation on earth?" When we compare this statement of Dr. Lambert

* *Sermons on Religious Subjects*, vol. iii, p. 79. † Issue of May 10, 1894.

with his assertion about Methodist ministers that, "had they had their way, and followed the inspirations of John Wesley, this free republic would have had no existence," are we not justified in concluding that the Methodist ministers were giants "in those days," and that the Methodist people in these degenerate times "are but a feeble folk?" We have already quoted Cardinal Manning as saying that, in the short space of thirty years, the early Methodists had "changed the aspect of society." Does not this assertion prove that the Methodists were "sufficiently numerous" more than a century ago, in the best and truest sense, to accomplish this result? It is true that neither the Methodists nor any of their bishops have ever attempted to "shape the laws or policy of any nation on earth" as Pope Pius IX attempted to shape the policy of Mexico, when, in a letter to the unfortunate Maximilian, he said: "The [Roman] Catholic religion must, above all things, continue to be the glory and the mainstay of the Mexican nation, to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship." * Yet it is also true that Abraham Lincoln thought, when a delegation from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in May, 1864, assured him of the attitude of that Church in the life-and-death struggle for the preservation of our republic, that the Methodists were "sufficiently numerous" to be a mighty instrument in the hands of God for the preservation of one "nation on earth." To that delegation the President not only said that the Methodist Episcopal Church "is, by its greater numbers, the most important of all," but also declared, "It is no fault in others that the Methodist Church sends more soldiers to the field, more nurses to the hospitals, and more prayers to heaven than any." †

V. In the light of the past are we justified in concluding that a Roman Catholic missionary "would have a hard and dangerous time of it" in teaching his "form of worship" where Methodism had "been always the religion of the people?" To this question the answer of the editor of *The New York Freeman's Journal* is, "We have no doubt." Yet we are confident that such a missionary would not "have a hard and dangerous time of it" anywhere on this American continent,

* Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1864, p. 526.
† *Abraham Lincoln's Complete Works*, by John G. Nicolay and John Hay, vol. ii, p. 522.

wherever Methodism—aye, or a healthy Protestantism—is the religion of the people. In support of this confidence let us take as an illustration the land in which we live, a land Cardinal Gibbons truthfully designates as "the giant republic of the West." * The following facts tell their own story:

1. Cardinal Gibbons asserts that during the time he was Bishop of Richmond "fourteen per cent" of all the persons confirmed by him in the diocese of Richmond had formerly been Protestants. †

2. He also affirms that of the persons he confirmed in North Carolina "about thirty-five per cent" had formerly been Protestants. ‡

3. In the light of an experience extending over many years, he likewise says in the preface to his latest work, *The Ambassador of Christ*, "I do not think that any age or country ever presented a more inviting field for missionary labor than that which the United States exhibits to-day." §

4. An editorial, "A Field for Missionaries," in the New York *Catholic Review* declares: "We have heard that a Catholic missionary in North Carolina has a congregation every member of which was a convert to the Roman Catholic faith." ‖

5. Cardinal Satolli is reported by the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror* to have said that his "experience" has confirmed him in the belief that this land is "the country, of all others, in which Roman Catholic truth may have the largest field of action." ¶

6. The Rev. Walter Elliott's article on "Missionary Experiences," in the *Catholic World* for May, 1895, gives no hint of Roman Catholic missionaries having "a hard and dangerous time of it" when toiling among Methodists. He tells us that, quite recently in Toledo, O., Roman Catholic missionaries conducted a mission in "big Memorial Hall;" that not even General Booth, "riding on the wave of sympathy which his stupendous movement has aroused, drew better audiences than we did;" that in a hall which could "accommodate a maximum of three thousand, and was packed at every meeting," "we certainly averaged above a thousand Protestants each night, and

* *The Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore, July 3, 1886.
† *The Catholic Church in the United States*, by John O'Kane Murray, p. 585.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 585.
§ Page v; see also pp. 344, 347.
‖ Issue of February 26, 1876.
¶ Issue of July 6, 1894.

some meetings had as high as fifteen hundred;" that the audience which assembled, night after night, was "an attentive, respectful audience, full of interest in religious questions;" that Alexander, a town of "fifteen thousand people, not a thousand of whom are Catholics," is "an excellent field for these missions;" a field where "the pastor averages eight converts a year;" that, in Lamson, "at all the meetings the proportion of Protestants was over half;" that, there, "the missionaries dined with the mayor and his family on Thursday, having been cordially invited." Judging from the way that Father Elliott and his band of missionaries were treated at the hospitable home of "the mayor and mayoress, who are Methodists," it is not unreasonable to infer that these Paulist fathers would enjoy their missionary labors in any country on this American continent where Methodists could be found.

Will Dr. Lambert remember that the entire history of Methodism proves that she accords to every man freedom to worship God in accordance with his own convictions? If a Methodist should so far forget himself as to lay an ungentle hand on a hair of a Roman Catholic missionary's head, the Methodist press would in strongest terms denounce that act. We are sorry that the Roman Catholic press does not pursue this course also. In *The New York Freeman's Journal* * there appeared, some years ago, an editorial in which the editor—not Dr. Lambert, we are happy to say, but Professor Maurice Francis Egan, who is now Professor of English Literature in the Roman Catholic University at Washington, actually advocated the killing of Protestant missionaries in Mexico. †

VI. What are the historic facts concerning Methodists and "this free republic?" Dr. Lambert assures us that, if Methodist ministers had "had their way, and followed the inspirations of John Wesley, this free republic would have had no existence;" and, in the light of this supposition and "Wesley's Tory enthusiasm," he considers that "it is proper for his American followers to be modest." In the long and desperate struggle for the preservation of the Union what attitude did John Wesley's "American followers" adopt? To this question

* Issue of September 24, 1887, p. 4, column 5.

† See also editorial, "The Killing of Protestants in Mexico," in *The Independent*, New York, October 6, 1887.

let Abraham Lincoln's noble utterance, in May, 1864, to the delegation of the General Conference, be a reply. In the long and desperate struggle for the establishment of American independence, what attitude did John Wesley's "American followers" adopt? We invite Dr. Lambert's most careful attention to this subject, while we state what distinguished Roman Catholic ecclesiastics say, and then present the incontrovertible facts of the case. Archbishop Kain, of St. Louis, states * that the "loyalty" of "the followers of John Wesley" was not what it should be; and Cardinal Gibbons asserts that, in the struggle for "the cause of independence, Methodists, with John Wesley, sided with England." †

Assertion is one thing; proof is quite another. Cardinal Gibbons a few years ago wrote a *brochure* designated *The Catholic Church in America*. In that pamphlet reference is made, not to the attitude of Roman Catholics in England toward "the cause of independence," but to the attitude of Roman Catholics in this country. Methodists in England, John Wesley included, were loyal to the English government, as Cardinal Gibbons will assert that Romanists in England, the then head of the Anglo-Roman Church included, were also loyal to the English government. In *The Catholic Mirror* ‡ appeared an article by Cardinal Gibbons on the Roman Catholic Church, in which his reference to the attitude of Methodists toward "the cause of independence" was—like his reference to the Roman Catholics—not to Methodists in England, but to Methodists in this country. He said, "Methodists sided with England," and yet when the present writer forwarded the proofs to Baltimore that such was not the case the editor of the *Mirror*—the cardinal's own paper—after thinking that "our esteemed correspondent" did "an injustice in assuming that Cardinal Gibbons attacked the loyalty of the Methodist Church as a whole during our Revolutionary struggle," said that "the loyalty of the Methodists of the Revolution had never been impeached." The following assertion and comment are also worthy of note: Monsignor Quarantotti, when secretary of the Propaganda, in one of his letters to the English cabinet said: "Roman Catholics would not rebel

* *The Catholic Mirror*, Baltimore, March 11, 1886.
† *Ibid.*, December 26, 1891.
‡ Issue of December 26, 1891.

against his gracious majesty, King George III, as witness the significant fact that in the recent unfortunate rebellion in America it was the Protestant colonies that rebelled, while the Catholic colony of Canada remained faithful to his gracious majesty." Commenting on this utterance of Monsignor Quarantotti, before an immense audience of Irish Roman Catholics at the Academy of Music, New York city, on Sunday evening, January 22, 1888, the Rev. Dr. McGlynn said: "That shows what the Roman machine would have done if it could. It would have made impossible our glorious American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence." *

If we compare John Wesley's *Calm Address to our American Colonies* in 1775 with Pope Pius IX's letter to Jefferson Davis in 1863, we observe on the one hand the action of a subject, and on the other the action of a ruler—the action of a subject who, in later years, acknowledged that he saw an "uncommon train of providences" in the final outcome of that struggle that resulted in the achievement of American independence, and the action of a ruler who, if he did, in later years, see an "uncommon train of providences" in the final outcome of that struggle which resulted in the preservation of the American Union, had not the courage to acknowledge it. Wesley, a subject of King George III, who blundered when he penned his *Calm Address*, did, some years later, see so clearly the hand of God in history that he declared: "By a very uncommon train of providences, provinces in North America are erected into independent States. The English government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical." †

Pius IX's interference in our political affairs during the dark days of the civil war, "following soon after Archbishop Hughes's visit to Rome in the second year of the war, coupled with the facts that, after that, the enlistments among the Roman Catholics nearly ceased, and the papal population became hostile to the war, are very significant." ‡ This interference was not the interference of an English subject, but the interference of

* *The Converted Catholic*, New York, vol. v, p. 128; vol. vi, p. 123. See also Dr. McGlynn's address in Cooper Union, New York city, February 24, 1869, on "The Public Schools and Their Enemies."

† Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. vi, p. 161. The author's last revision.

‡ *Romanism versus the Public School System*, by Daniel Dorchester, D.D., p. 324.

a powerful ruler, an interference deserving the strongest possible censure. Why employ the word "blundered" in reference to John Wesley's *Calm Address to our American Colonies*, and the phrase "the strongest possible censure" in reference to Pius IX's letter to Jefferson Davis? When John Wesley spoke, or wrote, it was the utterance, Christendom believed, of a good yet fallible man. When Pius IX spoke, or wrote, it was the utterance, he believed, of "the living Christ." * That this act of Pope Pius IX, to which we apply the language "the strongest possible censure," may be seen in its true historic light, we invite attention to a paragraph in the Lincoln "Memorial Address" of George Bancroft, delivered before both houses of Congress on February 12, 1866. In this address the historian said:

> It was the condition of affairs in Mexico that involved the Pope of Rome in our difficulties, so far that he alone, among sovereigns, recognized the chief of the Confederate States as a President and his supporters as a people; and, in letters to two great prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, gave counsels for peace at a time when peace meant the victory of secession.†

Associate this startling fact with the following assertion, made in a letter received a few years ago from Lord Robert Montagu, a man to whom Mr. Gladstone, in his work entitled *Speeches of Pope Pius IX*, applies the language "champion of the papal Church:" ‡ "I know, from personal experience in 1863, that your great war, by which you lost thousands of brave citizens and immense capital, was planned and promoted by Jesuits." § After Pius IX—a man who was a pope—penned his letter to Jefferson Davis indorsing the Confederacy, what action did the Roman Catholic Church in America take? None whatever. But after John Wesley—a man who was no pope—penned his *Calm Address to our American Colonies*, what action did the Methodist Episcopal Church in America take? To this question let the following paragraph from *The*

* *Speeches of Pope Pius IX*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., p. 6.
† Page 34. ‡ Page 40.
§ Lord Robert Montagu returned to the Anglican Church in 1882, assigning as his reason "the shock which was experienced at the discovery of the gross immoralities of the Romish priests, and then the knowledge that the prelates of Rome taught the doctrine of rebellion, excused dishonesty and murder, fomented agitations, disregarded the sacred and binding character of oaths, and were always carrying on political intrigues."

Catholic Mirror,* penned by the writer of this article, give reply:

The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first religious body in America to recognize, in its organic law, by a solemn declaration of its Articles of Religion, the new republic. The Methodist Episcopal Church was the first religious body in America which officially and formally recognized George Washington as President of the United States. Bishops Coke and Asbury dined with Washington, at Mount Vernon, May 26, 1785, and the hours spent by these Methodist bishops with the Father of his Country were employed in discussing the wickedness of slavery. The date of their second visit was June 8, 1789, and the object of that visit was to present a congratulatory address, bearing date of May 29, 1789, to the man who, only a month before, had been inaugurated President of the United States.

A calm reflection on the foregoing undeniable historic facts ought to move Dr. Lambert, not only to "appeal to the pope in behalf of religious toleration in South America," but also to reexamine the editorial "Sing Low, Gentlemen," and modify the following sentence: "In view of these facts, it is meet for Methodist ministers to set their music to the key of B flat, and sing low."

* Issue of March 5, 1892.

ART. III.—THE PRIMARY IMPRESSION OF PREACHING.

ONE of the primary objects of all public address, in the nature of the case, is to make a deep and lasting impression on the mind of the hearer. Most of all should the preaching of the Gospel seek and secure such an impression, and in failing to effect it may be said to fail in its essential purpose. Its themes are so sublime and sacred, and the ends it contemplates so momentous and practical, that nothing short of a positive and pronounced influence should attend it. We speak of a certain school in modern art and literature as "Impressionists." First and last, the preacher should be an impressionist, so presenting divine truth to the minds of men that it shall be permanently potent in them and over them, and, under the cooperative agency of the Spirit, transform and govern their characters. No graver and juster charge can be made against the average sermon of the modern Church than that it is devoid of the virtue of impressiveness, leaving the hearer, to all intents and purposes, just where it found him, neither wiser nor better by what he has heard, and least of all awakened and stimulated to the highest ideals and activities of Christian living. "The first question to be asked with regard to an author's style," writes a late American critic, is, "Is it vital? Has it life?" And this is the first question to be asked with regard to the sermon as a written product—Is it vital? Has it life, natural and supernatural, so as to vitalize everyone who hears it? Does it beat and throb with a divine idea and with the sanctified personality of the preacher? A more vital theology and a more vital order of preaching constitute one of the urgent needs of the American Church, and if these exist vital piety will be a necessary product.

I. In noting, more specifically, the possible impressions sought in preaching, it may first of all be stated, negatively, that the primary impression should not be intellectual, should not be of "man's wisdom." *A priori*, all true preaching must be, to an extent, intellectual, in the sense that it must be intelligent, instructive, the result of careful thinking and study, marked by judgment and good understanding. Through and through it must be characterized by common sense and educated

sense. The Bible is the thought of God revealed to men endowed with mental faculty, and must be examined and applied in obedience to such an origin. No argument is in place here as to the need and desirability of an educated ministry. The preacher is presumably a teacher, and, therefore, should not be a novice either in the subject-matter or the art of teaching. He must have wisdom and knowledge, must have his mental powers disciplined and enlarged. Lay preachers have their place and work, but it is not of them that we are now speaking. There are times in the history of the Church when God sees fit to use an ignorant ministry and bless their work, but such agencies are purely exceptional and nowhere represented in Scripture as a normal ministerial order. Far too much has been made of the fact that, as a class, the apostles of the early Church were "unlearned and ignorant men." The days in which they lived and the conditions under which they preached were strictly exceptional, not to speak of the fact that the visible presence of Christ in his divine and gracious personality was an inexpressibly important element in explanation of any spiritual result. In such an age as this least of all, when "the schoolmaster is abroad" as never before, can the ministry afford to be mentally unfurnished. Students and thinkers they must be, knowing the Bible from cover to cover, and knowing as much of all related truth as time and talent will allow. We are living in a day when the clergy, as never before, must command the respect of thinking men; must speak with authority and power; must leave no doubt among the people that, when brains were distributed, they were present and received their due share; and that they have increased their original endowment by individual effort, and propose to keep in line with every progressive mental movement. Hence there should be no busier man than the preacher, making thinking and study his business, and absorbed from head to foot in his great mission. "If God hath no need of our learning," says South, "he can have still less of our ignorance."

Intellectual preaching, however, in the sense in which we are now interpreting it and condemning it, is something different from all this. It is an order of preaching in which the intellectual is made purposely prominent; in which the study is transferred to the pulpit and made conspicuous therein; in which

mental processes as such are magnified above the truth sought by such processes; in which dialectics and logic appear in technical form; in which the sermon is, first of all, scholarly and but incidentally adapted to meet the common needs of the average hearer. In such a method the abstract is preferred to the concrete; the process is professional, even to the verge of pedantry; and profound philosophic discussion marks the manner of the preacher. Intellectual preaching, in this sense, insists on presenting simple truth through scholastic *media*, through the terms and formulæ of the schools, insomuch that, ere the preacher is aware, the didactic method of the Academy and the Porch becomes the adopted method of the pulpit, and the mind of the ordinary hearer is at the limit of its tension in attempting to follow the complex logic of the teaching. "You must judge for yourselves," said the devoted Doddridge, "but permit me to say, for my own part, I would not for ten thousand worlds be that man who, when God shall ask him at last how he has employed most of his time while he had the care of souls, shall be obliged to reply, 'Lord, I have restored many corrupted passages in the classics and illuminated many which were before obscure; I have cleared up many intricacies in chronology and geography—these are the employments in which my life has been worn out.'" In plain English, intellectual preaching, in this sense, is quite above the heads of the people, the preacher forgetting, as is so often done, that the elevation of the pulpit above the level of the audience is not meant to be either mental or homiletic, but purely architectural and material. Of the various false methods of preaching—the platitudinarian, the latitudinarian, and the altitudinarian—the last is the most objectionable, for, as the old Welshman tells us, "We might as well be dumb as not to be understood." Preaching may have range and reach, but must not be out of reach. The Bible in its origin is a supernatural book, but the method in which it is mediated to men must be natural and not beyond the bounds of what Locke has called "human understanding." Moreover, in listening to such a method it is not a little difficult to free ourselves from the idea that there is an intended parade of learning, a kind of mental exhibit to the uninitiated, not altogether devoid of mental pomposity. In such cases abstruse reasoning and a highly technical nomenclature are used,

mere "words to no profit but to the subverting of the hearers." As we listen we exclaim to one who has something to say, as did Falstaff to Pistol, "I pr'ythee now, deliver them like a man of this world." The extent to which in the English language, and especially in the sphere of technical terms, a man may use high-sounding phrases and say nothing is as disheartening as it is common. Able sermons, so called, may be anything but apostolic, and were never less needed than now. The sermon from the hearing of which an audience rises only to say that it was a masterly mental effort is a failure from the biblical point of view, and in the view of those hearers who have come to the house of God for practical ends. The English divine, Dr. Barrow, was a preacher of this order, of whom Charles II remarked that he was most unfair because he exhausted every subject. This he did, and in the process exhausted the hearer, being in favor at the court largely because he never touched the conscience of the king. His method was due in part to the academic habit he had formed as a professor of Greek and of mathematics at Cambridge. It is often said that professors as a class, theological and academic, are unacceptable preachers because too scholastic in their method. The criticism is a just one, and there are good reasons for it; nor should an order of men whose regular work is professional be subject to rigid comment at this point. For a man whose profession is technical teaching to be a generally acceptable preacher demands special talent and special tact and grace, and is a veritable mark of genius. Of the great court preachers of the time of Louis XIV, Bourdaloue was the most intellectual. Richard Hooker, Bishop Butler, and Archbishop Whately of England were such preachers, and hence succeeded in reaching but a limited number of hearers.

II. We remark, further, that the primary impression of preaching should not be literary—should not be "with enticing words." Here, again, it is in point to state that all preaching is and must be, to an extent, literary, in good taste. It must have what Cardinal Newman has called "a note" of dignity and refinement. In diction, structure, method, and general style the sermon should commend itself to well-bred and well-read men. In this sense it should have in it the evidences of culture, and should address itself acceptably to men of culture,

in so far, at least, as not to offend their sense of propriety by the violation of the accepted principles of literary art. The course of liberal training through which the American clergy as a class are supposed to go is of itself sufficient to insure the essential presence of correctness in language and in the general conduct of the discourser. An illiterate ministry is a contradiction in terms, as much so as an ignorant ministry. Such an order of preachers is indeed at times honored of God in special exigencies and for special ends; yet it is strictly exceptional, is under special providential oversight, and in no sense is a precedent for the imitation of the growing Church. The Bible is a book among books, the thought of God in written form, and, as such, has a literary type of its own—its prose and verse, its history and parable, its semiepic and semidramatic poems. Hence the increasing emphasis now laid on the distinctively literary study of the Bible, not only by way of a destructive criticism on the part of the higher critics, but by way of constructive criticism on the part of devout students of the word. Hence the preacher of the Gospel must be conversant with the Bible on its human side, and in his interpretation of it must be loyal to its literary character.

Literary preaching, however, in the sense now understood and condemned, is a something different from all this—in which the literary element is emphasized as the prominent one, by which the pulpit is transformed into the library, and books and authors are the conspicuous feature of the place and hour. The preacher now assumes the attitude of the well-read man, the man of letters, and wishing to be so understood. In the preparation and presentation of divine truth the imagination is exalted, the poetic instincts of the hearer are addressed, sacred discourse is reduced to one of the fine arts, and frequent citations from authors are made a specialty. Such an order of preaching is æsthetic rather than instructive; in good form for the sake of the form; applying to all the clergy the irony of Emerson as to city pastors, that "they may have piety, but must have taste." Sermons replete with quotations from secular literature invariably lose something of their specific spiritual impression, and this is especially so if the citations be from the more psychological and obscure authors, such as Browning and Carlyle, rather than from such simple and nat-

ural writers as Cowper and Lamb, Irving, Whittier, and Longfellow.

Here, again, there is the appearance of literary conceit, by which the attention of the hearer is gradually diverted to purely secular matters, and from the truth preached to the person and attainments of the preacher. What the apostle calls "excellency of speech" may be the paramount purpose, the preacher aiming to be, as Ezekiel expresses it, "a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice." Every minister is, as John the Baptist was, the voice of God to men, but not exclusively voice; a mouthpiece of God, but not exclusively mouth; a man who speaks when he speaks out of "the abundance of the heart" and in obedience to the message that has been given him of God. Of the famous preachers of the time of Louis XIV, Massillon was the most pronounced of the literary order. Jeremy Taylor, of England, was such a preacher, with his rich Asiatic style, captivating the imagination of the hearer and addressing himself directly to his taste. Blair and Guthrie, of Scotland; Tillotson, of England; and Nott, Chapin, and Channing, of America, may be here included. Finished sermons, so called, may be a total failure. The sermon of which the most that can be said is that it is in exquisitely good taste is not the ideal sermon, and violates that fundamental law of simplicity which is nowhere so essential as in the Christian pulpit. We are living in a time when societies of ethical culture are the *media* through which some teachers of the truth are pleased to fulfill their ministry. To these orders there are but two objections, the one being that they are ethical only, and the other that they have primary reference to culture. It was the signal characteristic of the preaching of the early Church that, surrounded as it was by the highest models of Hellenic taste and art, it addressed itself, in simplest terms, to the deepest needs of men, quite irrespective of the artistic canons of the schools of Greece. In the pulpit, at least, what Mr. Arnold calls "the sense in us for conduct" must always take precedence of "the sense in us for beauty," and must control throughout the method of our sermonizing and the spirit of our preaching.

III. We are now prepared to note, positively, the primary impression of preaching, that it be spiritual, "in demonstration

of the Spirit." Whatever may be the intellectual and literary element, the spiritual should dominate and predominate. In answering the question as to what is meant precisely by spiritual preaching we may say, in general, preaching begotten of the Spirit as a divine teacher, developed and applied on methods sanctioned by the Spirit, and always seeking that the Spirit may be honored in it and by it as the Spirit of grace and truth.

In noting more specifically the nature and purpose of such preaching, we state, first, that it is preaching to the conscience. Such a purpose is strongly emphasized in Scripture and in the history of the Church. The word of God is "quick and powerful." It is a trumpet sounding out its solemn warnings, and a light, full-orbed and searching. Such was the preaching of John the Baptist to Herod, and of Paul to Felix and Agrippa. So Peter preached at Pentecost, and Christ himself to scribes and Pharisees. So preached the English and continental reformers to princes and worldly potentates, it being to the lasting honor of some of the court preachers of the seventeenth century in France that they stood up in the very center of Parisian profligacy and warned the great monarch and his courtiers against prevailing sins. In these days, when the time-serving spirit is in the house of God, and the "bondage of the pulpit" is no misnomer, nothing less than a Pauline and Puritan order of preaching will answer, so as to make it morally impossible for sinful men to live on good terms with their consciences. If the preaching of the time is to meet the requirements of the time it must be spiritual in the sense that it is from the conscience to the conscience; pungent and penetrating; searching as the light; breaking in pieces as the hammer of God all that is callous; burning its way as a fire from heaven through all defilement; its language, plain and telling; its method, direct and personal; its injunctions, final. Such is the desperate depravity of the natural heart, and such the leveling of moral standards, as the world goes and as the Church goes, that preaching must be awakening and convincing rather than conciliatory, pneumatic rather than artistic. It is of conscience that Ben Jonson speaks when he says that "the priests of God, if effective in their service, must make their pulpits ring and the aisles of their churches ring with that round word."

Spiritual preaching also seeks to affect and determine the

will as the executive faculty in the city of Man-Soul. In this sense persuasion is the end, a direct bearing on the principle of moral determination in man, to the intent that reflection may ripen into repentance, and repentance into permanent action. Conscience may be reached and the will be untouched. Conviction may be secured this side of any committal of the soul to overt moral conduct, and the hearer may stand as a kind of outside observer of this serious conflict between his moral sense and his personal activity. Hence the need of executive preaching, appealing to the most interior motives of the soul, if so be they may be embodied in the manifest forms of the religious life. In this sense preaching must be practical. In the best sense of the term it must be preaching for effect.

Still further, spiritual preaching addresses itself to the affections. God is love, and a lost world is to be saved by love. Hence, preaching must be affectionate, as expressed by the apostle to the Thessalonians: "But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children: so being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us." There is here Paul's paternal and even maternal interest in men, if so be he might reach them. What are we to say, in this scientific and undemonstrative age, to such a type of sacred teaching? "Rivers of water run down mine eyes," said David, "because they keep not thy law." Nor do we know that, even in this day, we are so wise as to have outlived the desirability of impassioned sermons, begotten out of an inexpressible love for sinful men. In the light of such an order of preaching how insignificant and unworthy appears a merely intellectual and literary effort from the Christian pulpit! Spiritual preaching must thus awaken the conscience, excite to action the dormant will, and appeal with directness to the deepest emotions of the heart. Such preachers were John Owen and John Knox and John Wesley, Doddridge and Baxter and Fénelon, Saurin and Robert Hall and Robert South, Edward Payson and John Summerfield and Bishop Simpson—while in such a gifted herald as Frederick William Robertson, of Brighton, the desirable combination of the intellectual, literary, and spiritual was exhibited, and always with the spiritual so controlling the speaker as to send every

hearer away with the deep impression that he had been under the teaching of a man of God and a master of assemblies, and wholly for spiritual ends.

Such a type of preaching is the most pressing need of the modern Church, and how to make it acceptable to the people is the important problem of the modern pulpit. How to make a spiritual Gospel acceptable to men is the question of moment. It is said that the modern Church is not reaching the people, though having a ministry of high intellectual power. Here is an ideal for the sanctified ambitions of the rising ministry, in which are needed liberal and theological training, knowledge of human nature, an experimental acquaintance with the art of presenting truth to men, personal piety, special possession of the spiritual mind, and ability to commend the Gospel to "every man's conscience in the sight of God." To preach the Gospel as Spurgeon preached it is an ambition well worth time and strength and self-denial and prayers and tears to compass it, if so be the world may be won to Christ. Toward the realization of this ideal it occurs to us to say that preaching, from first to last, should be spiritually helpful to the hearer, whether Christian or unchristian. It is a loving and timely help for which worshipers are waiting. Be the sermon able or indifferent, on the intellectual side; be it finished or unfinished, on the artistic side, it should be a word of cheer and comfort, a word in season to the sinful and sorrowing and struggling. In the versatile history of the Church great sermons may have a place. The call is for good sermons, instructing, warning, solacing, and encouraging, so that the house of God will be the synonym of all that is brightest and best in life. It is possible by divine help so to present the Gospel to the people that they shall see it to be just what they need and impossible for them to live worthily in the world without it. It is because this is the work of the ministry that there is no calling on earth comparable to it in the wealth and quality of its gracious recompenses.

J. W. Hunt

Art. IV.—THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT.

Tennyson, in the long, sweet requiem over his dead friend, Arthur Hallam, dares to say :

> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds.

While we wonder what he means he continues :

> He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
> He would not make his judgment blind,
> He faced the specters of the mind
> And laid them ; thus he came at length
> To find a stronger faith his own.

The man who has never been face to face with doubt is gifted with rare simplicity, or he has never been very far from home. He has not stood much by the world's great highways. Giant Despair still keeps open house at Doubting Castle, and it is a well-worn path that leads up to his door. To be sure, much of our uncertainty—the fertile source of doubt—may be removed by demonstration. The traveler who returns from a voyage around the world sets at rest any question as to the shape of the earth. The telescope verifies the conjecture of Copernicus in reference to the moonlike phases of Venus, and reveals the rings of Saturn which so bewildered Galileo and baffled Huyghens. The sneer of the *English Review* that steam travel is an absurdity has been answered by ten thousand bustling locomotives. There are, however, some questions that cannot be answered, some doubts that cannot be dispelled, some specters that will not down.

Max Nordau, in his famous work *Degeneration*, speaks of Tolstoi's skepticism regarding the genius of Shakespeare, and of Ibsen's suggestion that in the planet Jupiter our mathematical laws may be subverted and twice two may equal five, as the insanity of doubt. This same writer declares that the Oxford movement and modern revival meetings are also signs of degeneration. In his *Conventional Lies of Civilization* he further characterizes religion as a functional weakness, and brands the biblical conception of the universe as childish. Thus he is ready with the thumbscrew for any incredulity in refer-

ence to facts of literature or science, and he keeps the same instrument of torture for any credulity in reference to spiritual things. He is a doubter on principle in the realm of the supernatural, but he cannot tolerate doubt outside that realm. His is the doubt of the iconoclast—the sworn enemy of the truth—the skepticism of the advocate and not of the judge; and it is not this to which we refer.

The honesty that discovers and confesses a difficulty when seeking the truth; the spirit that prefers the sunny side of the street and will walk on the shady side only because the end of the journey seems to lie that way; that asks the way to Zion with face thitherward—it is this of which we would speak. Nor is it our purpose to discuss "philosophic doubt," as Mr. Balfour calls it—the doubt, for instance, of Hume, who brands as sophistry and delusion all knowledge except that which is gained through "mathematical demonstration" and "experimental reasoning;" the doubt of John Stuart Mill, who sees in the natural world nothing but the "possibilities of sensation;" and the doubt of Herbert Spencer, who sees nothing but the "unknowable." We are dealing with common men and with the common facts of existence, facts that every preacher meets and questions that threaten the peace of every soul in whom is the spirit of inquiry.

For instance, the very existence and nature of God are surrounded by much uncertainty. It has never been proved that God is. There is no attempt at such proof in the Bible. His existence is assumed, not demonstrated. We feel that there is a God. In spite of any lack of proof, and even aside from Christian consciousness, it is easier to accept the fact of Deity than to reject it. The late Professor Romanes passed through every phase of belief on this subject. At his graduation from Cambridge he received a prize for an essay on "Christian Prayer in Harmony with Natural Laws." Later in life he lost his bearings and said, "There can be no longer any doubt that the existence of God is wholly unnecessary to explain the phenomena of the universe." But when his splendid powers had reached maturity he came back to his early faith and wrote: "The soul at its best cannot think God out of its life. A belief in him furnishes the only reasonable explanation of the universe." To explain away God would leave a countless number

of other things unexplained. We may not understand him, but we must admit that he is if we would understand in any degree the world in which we live. Nature is God, if there be no other, and all her parts are played with surpassing skill. Nature is a great artist whose genius is seen in sunset sky and autumn woods. Nature is a skilled engineer whose machinery keeps the sun and stars in place with more than chronometer accuracy. Nature is a trained chemist, for no poison on druggist's shelves, nor explosive in the alembic of the alchemist, is more correctly weighed nor more carefully listed than the elements that form the air, or fire, or water. Some intelligent mind must have arranged all this, and some cunning hand must have wrought these effects. If there be no God, then, all hail, Nature! whatever that may be—Nature pronounced with an orotund voice, Nature written with a capital N; for Nature is henceforth our God.

We know, however, that these phenomena are but the manifestations of personality. Just as beyond the pulsing air-waves is the musician, and over the vast reaches through which the light-ripple has come is the star, so back of the trailing vines and tossing waves of the natural world "standeth God within the shadow;" and it is his hand that regulates all these rhythmic changes which we sophomorically call the process of natural law. And yet there is so little of him that we can see! His face is veiled and his steps are muffled. He makes "darkness his secret place." He is a God that hideth himself. There are shadows over the path that leads into his presence. Thus the most vital question of our life is capable of a doubtful answer. The most important landmark in all the chart of truth may lie within the territory of doubt.

Even if we admit the existence of God there is much left unsettled. The government of God is so often a consternation to us and an apparent impeachment of the divine goodness. If there be any system, it so often seems to be a heartless one. If the world is not an accident, then it often looks like an inquisition. If nature is not a fate, is it not sometimes a fury? The philosopher Mill has said that "nearly all the things for which men are imprisoned or hanged are nature's everyday performances." Alexander Pope refers to the apparent indifference of the Creator in the familiar lines:

> Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
> A hero perish or a sparrow fall,
> Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
> And now a bubble burst, and now a world.

From their birth to their death agony life among animals is a struggle. Heat and cold, hunger and thirst, storm and flood —this is the dread gauntlet all must run. Strong enough to be the aggressor to-day, they become the prey of a foe yet stronger to-morrow. Nearly forty thousand species have been swept away in this pitiless struggle for existence. And this not as the result of man's sin, as certain theological schools once taught. This was the order ages before man came into being. Indeed, this Ishmaelitism in the animal kingdom was more pronounced, or at any rate more formidable, in geologic eras than at present. No explanation can be given of this except the law of selection, and there is no pity, no bowels of mercy, in selection. It is bald, grim science. But the same problem meets us when we consider humanity. In Longfellow's poem we are told of the ship that sailed up to the Acadian village and drove forth the farmers to wander and die in alien lands. They said among themselves,

> Man is unjust, but God is just; and finally justice
> Triumphs.

Yet, in their sad lives that justice never came. Here we have it—the old, new story of evil, of misrule, of heartbreaking. If there be a God at the head of affairs, what sort of a God is he? Why is it that so often the useful, the precious are the victims of death, while the weak or the dangerous are left to cumber the ground? Why does he allow war to tramp through the land and leave the print of an iron hoof in so many desolated homes? Why are the prayers of mothers and wives unheeded, while evil men and a mercenary government go on setting traps for son and husband, and blighting their lives with alcoholic poison? What earthly king could be party to such measures without being branded as a Borgia or a Chosroes II? If this be God's world, it seems to have swung a long way from God's heaven, and to have become a dangerous place for God's children. If nature be one of God's servants, she seems to have but little respect or affection for his other servants. Can anyone help asking what all this means? And, if this be all, can we help

questioning the wisdom and the benevolence of such a cosmic system?

There are difficulties in accepting the sacred Scriptures as the sure word of God. They have come to us from a remote past. We cannot trace an unbroken line of succession from the original manuscripts; the earlier links of the chain are lost, and we must depend upon fragments gathered here and there in tradition and in patristic literature to supply the deficiency and prove the genuineness of that which we have. These Scriptures are full of strange, unprovable things, apparent contradictions, and unnatural situations. Very much of their contents is contrary to our ordinary experience, and the greater part beyond the reach of human comprehension. They tell of the new birth of the soul, which doctrine on its face seems an absurdity; of three persons in one God, which seems a contradiction; of fire in a furnace which did not burn; of a man who walked the waves and did not sink; of the dead coming to life. The Bible is not a reasonable book. It does not attempt to convince, nor even to conciliate. It scorns the axioms, repudiates the formulas, and resents the assumptions, of reason. It maintains a lofty reserve. It manifests a haughty indifference to human opinion. It makes no concessions, and asks no favors. Its dictum is, "He that believeth . . . shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." And this with the cool declaration, "What I do, thou knowest not now;" "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed." Mystery there is everywhere, laughing in our face, entangling our feet, and challenging our faith.

What should be our attitude toward these things? It is not necessary that they be treated in the pulpit; at any rate their frequent treatment is not advisable. The pulpit cannot afford to become a transparency for all the unfaiths and mental stumblings of the race. Many a man hears about a new skepticism for the first time in the Sunday morning sermon. Many of our most skillfully adjusted arguments are boomerangs. Many of our great cannon carry shot clear over the enemy into the further camp of our friends. And yet these questions cannot be put out of court. Nor does it meet the situation to point to the analogy of nature. The mystery surrounding life and growth and matter does not quiet the unrest caused by the

mystery in God and his government, and in the book in which he claims to reveal himself. It does not solve one problem to show that others exist. The gainsaying lips may be closed, but the anxious heart is not satisfied.

It may be said that many of these questions are answered by increased spiritual insight. The mature Elisha can see the translation of the prophet when the young theological students at Jericho are blind. The Ithuriel spear of Christian insight not only may transmute a toad into a demon of evil, but it not infrequently resolves what seems to be a demon into nothing worse than a harmless, useful toad. Still, there is a wide margin. Even Elisha could follow his Master but a short distance, and then "he saw him no more." There were bounds which even he could not pass. It is true that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, . . . neither can he know them." It is also true that there are many things which even the spiritual man cannot receive or know. There must be a reason for this aside from the limitations of the finite mind, and it is found at once in the very resolve and effort to make the search. There is no danger of spiritual and intellectual stagnation to the soul that seeks for reasons. This very uncertainty brings into exercise faculties that would fail if not exercised. To neglect a power is to lose that power. Not only are there blind fish in the Mammoth Cave, but the mice and spiders and beetles there are also blind. Surrender eyes, all ye who enter here. "Unto every one which hath [in use] shall be given; and from him that hath not [in use], even that he hath shall be taken away from him." Men have looked for that which they could not see, but have needed, and not only have they discovered new continents, but have developed new powers. And the new continents discovered may be less in importance than the new powers born. Necessity has been "the mother of invention," and she has also been the foster nurse of the inventor. Because of the contradictions in divine government we have such men as Job with his questionings and his faith, Milton with his matchless poem—the purpose of which is to "justify the ways of God to men"—and Butler with his unanswerable *Analogy*. Because of the obscurities in the Bible commentaries have been written, grammars compiled, sermons preached, and arguments marshaled, until the destruction of the

literature inspired by the Bible would well-nigh produce a famine in the reading world.

No land on earth has been studied as Palestine has been. Here are the waters that, contrary to natural law, were once trodden by human feet; here the sepulcher whence, contrary to all human experience, came forth the dead; here grew the fig tree that withered at a word. Egypt also has been put under the microscope. Temple and tomb and pyramid have been required to tell all they know of a people who here wore chains, and who, according to the written records, trod unharmed a dry pathway through the sea. Mount Sinai has been visited by eager scholars. Men have stood with bared heads where once the cloud rested, and have looked among the rocks for a print of the feet which stood upon a "paved work of a sapphire stone." The very rubbish heaps upon the site of Solomon's temple have been sifted, and the absence of bits of marble and other débris of building has been accepted as proof of the statement that the stone was made ready at the quarries, and that no tool of iron was heard in the building. In 1 Chron. viii, 38, are the words: "And Azel had six sons." Surely there can be no esoteric meaning in this simple sentence; yet one of the rabbis observes that "what the wise men have said about these six sons of Azel would load thirteen thousand camels."

As a result of this research there are renewed proofs of the integrity of the Bible and enlarged faith in the wisdom and truth of God. The doubt has provided an antidote for doubt; the darkness itself has manufactured a star. Xenophon tells us that, in the retreat of the ten thousand, the arrows shot by the enemy into the camp of the Greeks were used as fuel and kept the soldiers from perishing with cold. The attacks upon the Bible, provoked by its apparent discrepancies, have awakened inquiry; and, as a result of that inquiry, the book has stood forth in greater glory, while they who, like the queen of Sheba, came to see if such things be so have said with her, "Behold, the half was not told me."

Moreover, it will be remembered that Bishop Butler speaks of doubt as a probation. There are those whose chief temptation is to doubt. They are correct in life and clean in heart, and without the besetment of doubt they would be without besetment. This is the only point at which they are vulnerable.

The struggle on their part to believe the truth is equivalent to the struggle on the part of others to obey the truth. They are willing to submit to the law when they know the law, and it becomes their duty in general to learn their duties in particular. It is our business to understand our moral relations; and he who makes no effort to discover the truth about a commandment which seems equivocal to him, or an obligation which to him seems obscure, is as guilty as he who disobeys that commandment when apprehended or repudiates that obligation when known.

It is well to remember that God does not promise to make everything plain. He does not guarantee to be always the kind of deity we may imagine him to be. He is not under contract to carry out any program we may arrange for him. Herein is a prolific source of doubt. Here is a man who blames God because he has no employment and there is no bread in the family cupboard. His God is a master workman, whose business it is to keep his men employed. Here is a mother whose child is taken away, and at once God is impeached. What God? Her God, or rather God as she apprehends him, who is to be held responsible for the accidents of the nursery and the ignorance of physical laws. There are people who think it is God's business to keep things straight in the world. To them he is no better than a convenient, ubiquitous chief of police, who must look to it and see that murders are not committed and that saloons are not opened on Sunday. And so when disorders arise, of course, God is derelict, and must submit to an investigation of his methods. We make the mistake of applying our time measurements to eternal principles. We do not allow for point of vision. When Donatello finished the statue of St. Mark which now stands in front of the Or San Michele, Florence, it was inspected by the linen-workers who were responsible for its construction. They at once said it was out of proportion, that it was awkward in shape, and that it lacked fidelity to life. They further demanded that the necessary alterations be made. The artist readily complied. The statue was then in the studio. When next the linen-workers came it had been lifted to the niche for which it was intended. The worthy critics were entirely satisfied and congratulated themselves upon their artistic taste. The figure had not been touched with the chisel. We

make the same blunders in our judgments of God. We get him out of proper perspective. We persist in bringing him down to sea level. He is so much larger than "the measure of man's mind." The limitless circle of his purpose sweeps in scarce perceptible curve above and beyond our mathematics and economics. To be sure, he does not forget the sparrows upon the housetops, but the stars that look down all night upon the sparrow's nest are his stars. He is holding the world for righteousness. His plans strike their roots down deep into two eternities. He steps from mountain peak to mountain peak in his progress toward the end of the path. We must come out into the open air. We must get our souls into a large place. We must walk all around God before we can judge him. When we thus know him in all the magnitude of his plans, and in all the tenderness of his mercy, then we shall not fear the mysteries of life and of providence, for back of it all will be a loving God.

John S. Mills

ART. V.—GEORGE ELIOT—A SKETCH.

FEW, if any, luminaries in the bright galaxy of modern English novelists outshine that peculiar and vivid orb the splendor of which still burns steadily across "the dark backward and abysm of time," though the glory of Trollope, Lytton, Kingsley, and even Dickens and Thackeray seems to wane through the passing decades which have quenched so many lesser lights. On the night of December 22, 1880, George Eliot conquered "the fever called living," and entered into her rest, only a few months after the literary Grundies were convulsed with astonishment at the announcement of the marriage of this eminent woman with Mr. J. W. Cross, a London banker, formerly resident in New York. It has been stated that Mary Ann (or Marian) Evans was the daughter of a poor clergyman who at one time was attached to the Church of England, but eventually became a Presbyterian minister. It has been declared, also, that she was adopted in early life by another clergyman of considerable wealth, who afforded her opportunities for securing a first-class education. These statements are entirely inaccurate. The facts of her early life are little known, and she herself was characterized by the reticence of genius concerning her own biographical data.

Mary Ann Evans was born at Arbury Farm, in Warwickshire, England, November 22, 1819. She remained in the parental home, first at Griff, on the same estate, and afterward at Coventry, until 1849. Her father, Robert Evans, was a land agent and surveyor, and served for many years as agent for the estates of more than one old Warwickshire family. In the Midlands he is still held in kind remembrance as a man of sterling probity and uprightness of conduct. Undoubtedly this father was the prototype of more than one admirable character in the stories of his gifted daughter. George Eliot's early years were passed in the regions haunted by the memories of Shakespeare. Though it is not clear just how or where her education was obtained, she seems to have received very careful and adequate mental training. Leaving home, she came to London while yet a young woman, and devoted herself to serious literature. She became associated with John Stuart Mill, Her-

bert Spencer, George Henry Lewes, John Chapman, and other writers in the *Westminster Review*, and in time came to sustain an editorial connection with that publication. In her twenty-sixth year she published a translation of Strauss's famous *Life of Jesus*, her first important work. Eight years later appeared her translation of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. The dialectic nature of the products of her pen introduced her to the philosophic society of that period, of which she soon became a leading member. It is a question whether the abstruse studies in which she engaged were of any great advantage to her in her equipment as a novelist, though doubtless in mental poise and accuracy in the use of language she was steadied and guided by the discipline which she received in her philosophic researches.

Such a genius as Miss Evans possessed could not long remain in the thralls of pure didacticism, and at the suggestion of Herbert Spencer she entered the field of the novelist. The *nom de plume* "George Eliot" she employed for the first time when her initial work of fiction was sent to *Blackwood's Magazine*. The manuscript of this book, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, was dispatched anonymously to the editor of *Blackwood's*, who at once accepted it, believing that he discovered in it the first fruits of an unusual and superior ability. George Henry Lewes acted as Miss Evans's agent and adviser in this transaction, and about the same time began that intimate association and literary companionship which was to terminate only with the death of Lewes, in 1878. Even at this day it is difficult to believe that the circumstances and events of a peculiar professional life, depicted with such rare skill, pathos, and fidelity, were not at some time included in the writer's personal experience. This earliest book of stories revealed in George Eliot the possession of that loftiest attribute of genius, the power of self-effacement and the projection of the author's mind with intensest sympathy into her own imaginative creations, until they become as real and vital as their antitypes of flesh and blood. This gift is sometimes called the dramatic instinct, and is disclosed in its perfection by Shakespeare, and in a scarcely less degree, though in an almost wholly subjective relation, by Browning, and, notwithstanding the eccentric manner of its presentation, in another realm by George Meredith. Of the

work of an author endowed with the dramatic instinct in its highest form the delighted reader might say, as Emerson remarked of Montaigne's essays, "Cut these words, and they would bleed." It is hardly possible to illustrate our meaning by any passage wrenched from its connection, unless it be one which, with its context, is familiar to the reader and in his thought receives emphasis from its setting in the completed story. However, we will venture the following excerpt from *Middlemarch*. It is a portion of that chapter descriptive of the scene between Will Ladislaw and Rosamond Lydgate after they have been surprised by Dorothea Casaubon in a confidential interview:

It would have been safe for Will, in the first instance, to have taken up his hat and gone away; but he had felt no impulse to do this; on the contrary, he had a horrible inclination to stay and shatter Rosamond with his anger. It seemed as impossible to bear the fatality she had drawn down on him without venting his fury as it would be to a panther to bear the javelin wound without springing and biting. And yet—how could he tell a woman that he was ready to curse her? He was fuming under a repressive law which he was forced to acknowledge. He was dangerously poised, and Rosamond's voice now brought the decisive vibration. In flutelike tones of sarcasm she said,

"You can easily go after Mrs. Casaubon and explain your preference."

"Go after her!" he burst out, with a sharp edge in his voice. "Do you think she would turn to look at me, or value any word I ever uttered to her again at more than a dirty feather? Explain! How can a man explain at the expense of a woman?"

"You can tell her what you please," said Rosamond, with more tremor.

"Do you suppose she would like me better for sacrificing you? She is not a woman to be flattered because I made myself despicable—to believe that I must be true to her because I was a dastard to you."

He began to move about with the restlessness of a wild animal that sees prey but cannot reach it. Presently he burst out again:

"I had no hope before—not much—of anything better to come. But I had one certainty—that she believed in me. Whatever people had said or done about me, she believed in me. That's gone! She'll never again think me anything but a paltry pretense—too nice to take heaven except upon flattering conditions, and yet selling myself for any devil's change by the sly. She'll think of me as an incarnate insult to her, from the first moment we—"

Will stopped as if he had found himself grasping something that must not be thrown and shattered. He found another vent for his rage by snatching up Rosamond's words again, as if they were reptiles to be throttled and flung off.

"Explain! Tell a man to explain how he dropped into hell! Explain my preference! I never had a *preference* for her, any more than I have a preference for breathing. No other woman exists by the side of her. I would rather touch her hand if it were dead than I would touch any other woman's living."

Not a little has been said regarding George Eliot's tendency to moralize, again and again interrupting the course of her narrative to deliver a homily more or less obvious even to the casual reader. This may or may not be true; in the opinion of at least one of her readers George Eliot's preachments are of a kind that we could illy spare in a world which is not too easily impressed with the value of moral excellence and the things "pure," "lovely," and "of good report." To return to *Scenes of Clerical Life*, who that traverses "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story" would be content to omit from it such reflections, mingled with glimpses of natural phenomena, as follows?

The inexorable ticking of the clock is like the throb of pain to sensations made keen by a sickening fear. And so it is with the great clockwork of nature. Daisies and buttercups give way to the brown waving grasses, tinged with the warm red sorrel; the waving grasses are swept away, and the meadows lie like emeralds set in the bushy hedgerows; the tawny-tipped corn begins to bow with the weight of the full ear; the reapers are bending amongst it, and it soon stands in sheaves; then, presently, the patches of yellow stubble lie side by side with streaks of dark-red earth, which the plow is turning up in preparation for the new-threshed seed. And this passage from beauty to beauty, which to the happy is like the flow of a melody, measures for many a human heart the approach of foreseen anguish—seems hurrying on the moment when the shadow of dread will be followed up by the reality of despair. . . .

While this poor little heart was being bruised with a weight too heavy for it nature was holding on her calm, inexorable way, in unmoved and terrible beauty. The stars were rushing in their eternal courses; the tides swelled to the level of the last expectant weed; the sun was making brilliant day to busy nations on the other side of the swift earth. The stream of human thought and deed was hurrying and broadening onward. The astronomer was at his telescope; the great ships were laboring over the waves; the toiling eagerness of commerce, the fierce spirit of revolution, were only ebbing in brief rest; and sleepless statesmen were dreading the possible crisis of the morrow. What were our little Tina and her trouble in this mighty torrent, rushing from one awful unknown to another? Lighter than the smallest center of quivering life in the water drop, hidden and uncared for as the pulse of anguish in the breast of the tiniest bird that has fluttered down to its nest with the long-sought food, and has found the nest torn and empty.

The three stories, "The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton," "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story," and "Janet's Repentance," which constitute *Scenes of Clerical Life*, scarcely betray the hand of the novice. So well managed and easy is the dialogue, so smooth are the transitions of the narrative, so finely balanced and adjusted are all the elements of the characters portrayed, that Miss Evans seems to have appeared completely equipped in the literary arena, as Minerva is said to have emerged full-armed from the brow of Jupiter. Though, at this day, it would seem that anyone possessed of literary perception must have discovered in these tales of provincial life evidences of the remarkable imaginative fertility and intellectual richness of the author's mind, it was not until the publication of her next story, *Adam Bede*, in 1857, that her reputation was assured as a fresh and cogent personality in the field of letters. Upon the appearance of this new book George Eliot sprang at a single bound into the very van of modern British novelists. *Adam Bede* has been criticised on at least two grounds: first, it is alleged that the story presents a false and distorted portrayal of "the people called Methodists;" and, second, that in certain portions of the book subjects tabooed in polite circles are treated with indelicacy. As to the first objection, anyone familiar with the history of early Methodism in England will exonerate the author of *Adam Bede* from the charge of inaccuracy or a willful perversion of facts. It cannot be denied that, amid the varying phases, the stirring scenes, and the intense agitation of rude but earnest human nature, early Methodism produced strange and diverse developments both of piety and conduct. The second charge would scarcely be insisted on in these days by any person at all familiar with the products of some recent writers of fiction—though the signs of a healthful reaction against the pruriency of much recent so-called literature, and the demand for Stevenson's, Weyman's, Doyle's, Hope's, and Crockett's romances of derring-do and chivalrous adventure, indicate a return to good old Sir Walter's knightly tales, and the generous and sweetly human pages of Thackeray, Dickens, Hawthorne, Reade, Trollope, and Kingsley.

With what strength and delicacy George Eliot can treat these subjects which are generally tabooed the ensuing passage from *Adam Bede* attests:

It was about ten o'clock when Hetty set off, and the slight hoarfrost that had whitened the hedges in the early morning had disappeared as the sun mounted the cloudless sky. Bright February days have a stronger charm of hope about them than any other days in the year. One likes to pause in the mild rays of the sun and look over the gate at the patient plow horses turning at the end of the furrow, and think that the beautiful year is all before one. The birds seem to feel just the same; their notes are as clear as the clear air. There are no leaves on the trees and hedgerows, but how green all the grassy fields are! and the dark purplish brown of the plowed earth and the bare branches is beautiful, too. What a glad world this looks like as one drives or rides along the valleys and over the hills! I have often thought so when, in foreign countries, where the fields and woods have looked to me like our English Loamshire—the rich land tilled with just as much care, the woods rolling down the gentle slopes to the green meadows—I have come on something by the roadside which has reminded me that I am not in Loamshire: an image of a great agony —the agony of the cross. It has stood perhaps by the clustering apple blossoms, or in the broad sunshine by the cornfield, or at a turning by the wood where a clear brook was gurgling below; and surely, if there came a traveler to this world who knew nothing of the story of man's life upon it, this image of agony would seem to him strangely out of place in the midst of this joyous nature. He would not know that, hidden behind the apple blossoms, or among the golden corn, or under the shrouding boughs of the wood, there might be a human heart beating heavily with anguish—perhaps a young blooming girl, not knowing where to turn for refuge from swift-advancing shame; understanding no more of this life of ours than a foolish lost lamb wandering farther and farther in the nightfall on the lonely heath, yet tasting the bitterest of life's bitterness.

Such things are sometimes hidden among the sunny fields and behind the blossoming orchards; and the sound of the gurgling brook, if you came close to one spot behind a small bush, would be mingled for your ear with a despairing human sob. No wonder man's religion has much sorrow in it; no wonder he needs a suffering God.

Hetty, in her red cloak and warm bonnet, with her basket in her hand, is turning toward a gate by the side of the Treddleston road, but not that she may have a more lingering enjoyment of the sunshine and think hope of the long unfolding year. She hardly knows that the sun is shining; and for weeks now, when she has hoped at all, it has been for something at which she herself trembles and shudders. She only wants to be out of the high road, that she may walk slowly, and not care how her face looks as she dwells on wretched thoughts; and through this gate she can get into a field path behind the wide, thick hedgerows. Her great dark eyes wander blankly over the fields like the eyes of one who is desolate, homeless, unloved, not the promised bride of a brave, tender man. But there are no tears in them; her tears were all wept away in the weary night before she went to sleep.

After the publication of *Adam Bede*, in rapid succession followed *The Mill on the Floss*, *Silas Marner*, *Romola*, *Felix Holt, the Radical; Middlemarch*, *Daniel Deronda*, and *Theophrastus Such*. In the *Mill on the Floss* is presented, with all the skill of composition, nicest choice of incident, and the abounding resources of genius, the love of a brother and sister who in their death were not divided. But it is a moot point whether in *Middlemarch* or *Romola* the splendid literary ability of George Eliot reached its highest level. Perhaps the honors are about equally divided between the two volumes. In *Romola* the figure of Savonarola, the Dominican monk—imposing, dark, mysterious—stalks amid the lurid and stormy scenes which in Florence made tragic the closing years of the corrupt century in which he lived. It is with a loving hand that the writer has painted, stroke by stroke, the portrait of the great preacher and reformer, impressing upon her readers, in a manner never to be forgotten, the Frate's fiery eloquence, his consuming earnestness, his uncompromising boldness, his refinement and mysticism. The strong resemblance which the countenance of George Eliot bore to that of Savonarola has frequently been remarked, and it may have been the unconscious sympathy thus engendered within her that enabled her to produce so vital and memorable a portrayal of the Florentine prophet. One of the most artistically wrought, as well as realistic, incidents of modern fiction is that wherein Tito Melema escapes death by drowning in the stream only to meet it in the long grass on the river bank at the hands of his injured and frenzied father. This passage will also serve as an adequate example of the method by which George Eliot produces, word by word and sentence by sentence, the culminating and abiding impression:

Tito knew him, but he did not know whether it was life or death that had brought him into the presence of his injured father. It might be death—and death might mean this chill gloom, with the face of the hideous past hanging over him forever.

But now Baldassarre's only dread was lest the young limbs should escape him. He pressed his knuckles against the round throat and knelt upon the chest with all the force of his aged frame. Let death come now.

Again he kept watch on the face. And when the eyes were rigid again he dared not trust them. He would never lose his hold till some one

came and found them. Justice would send some witness, and then he, Baldassarre, would declare that he had killed this traitor, to whom he had once been a father. They would, perhaps, believe him now, and then he would be content with struggle of justice on earth—then he would desire to die with his hold on this body, and follow the traitor to hell that he might clutch him there.

And so he knelt, and so he pressed his knuckles against the round throat, without trusting to the seeming death, till the light got strong, and he could kneel no longer. Then he sat on the body, still clutching the neck of the tunic. But the hours went on, and no witness came. No eyes descried, afar off, the two human bodies among the tall grass by the riverside. Florence was busy with greater affairs and the preparation of a deeper tragedy.

Not long after these two bodies were lying in the grass Savonarola was being tortured, and crying out in his agony, "I will confess."

It was not until the sun was westward that a wagon, drawn by a mild gray ox, came to the edge of the grassy margin, and as the man who led it was leaning to gather up the round stones that lay heaped in readiness to be carried away he detected some startling object in the grass. The aged man had fallen forward, and his dead clutch was on the garment of the other. It was not possible to separate them—nay, it was better to put them into the wagon and carry them as they were into the great Piazza, that notice might be given to the Eight.

Romola is not George Eliot's most popular novel, but, as illustrating her vast constructive skill, the polemical bias of her mind, the singular ability with which she could turn current traditions and historical events to the novelist's account, her wide acquaintance with ancient and mediæval literature, and her power of absorbing the peculiar *aura* of an ardent nationality, this book will always be considered among her best. The virile quality of this great woman's writings is indicated by the fact that for years the pseudonym under which she wrote was accepted as the genuine name of a man of extraordinary genius and knowledge. We know of but one other such instance of equal interest on record, and that is of a notable French woman who for many years sent forth her writings to the world under the fictitious name of George Sand.

The private life of George Eliot has been made the subject of much unfair and ignorant discussion. The paucity of details regarding her domestic affairs renders it not altogether safe to pronounce judgment upon what may, superficially, perhaps, appear to be a violation of the sanctity of the marriage bond. It has already been stated that the manuscript of *Scenes*

of Clerical Life was sent to the publishers of *Blackwood's Magazine* by George Henry Lewes. Mr. Lewes was a student of philosophy, the author of a few philosophical treatises, and the writer of a *Life of Goethe*, by which work he is best known. He had a wife who had abandoned him two or three times; after having condoned her offenses on former occasions, he at last refused to countenance longer her vagaries of passion, and so made their separation final. He met Mary Ann Evans, being attracted to her both by her philosophical writings and admiration for her superior intellectual attainments, and, though Miss Evans was reticent to an extreme degree, she was finally persuaded to share with him his home. It seems to have been a case of purely mental affinity. They lived together in London, and henceforth to her intimate friends George Eliot became known as Mrs. Lewes. Lewes became her literary agent and adviser, jealously guarding her every interest, and so protecting and fostering her intellectual life that she was enabled to develop it under the most favorable conditions. This intimate association and close literary friendship terminated only with the death of Mr. Lewes, in 1878. Mr. Lewes having been unable to obtain a divorce from his first, erring wife, the union between the philosopher and the authoress could not be rendered legal by either Church or State, though it was sanctioned by the approval and good wishes of a large circle of refined and intelligent personal friends. Not a few persons are disposed to regard with a lenient eye the moral vagaries of the possessors of genius. It has been said that "the being who is gifted with genius does not possess it; it possesses him, and he and we have to pay the penalty." But nature is a stern Nemesis, and every false position into which we may be betrayed involves its own sorrow and loss. In his volume entitled *My Confidences* Frederick Locker-Lampson says:

> I am sure that she [George Eliot] was very sensitive, and must have had many a painful half hour as the helpmate of Mr. Lewes. By accepting the position she had placed herself in opposition to the moral instincts of most of those whom she held most dear. Though intellectually self-contained, I believe she was singularly dependent on the emotional side of her nature. With her, as with nearly all women, she needed a something to lean upon. Though her conduct was socially indefensible, it would have been cruel, it would be stupid, to judge her exactly as one would judge an ordinary

offender. What a genius she must have had to have been able to draw so many high-minded people to her! I have an impression that she felt her position acutely, and was unhappy. George Eliot was much to be pitied.

And elsewhere he says of the relation of George Eliot and Mr. Lewes, "He was ever on the alert to shield her from worries and annoyance, and keen to get her good terms from the publishers, but somehow it seemed an incongruous partnership."

George Eliot was a passionate admirer of personal beauty in either man or woman, as witness her descriptions of Hetty Sorrel and Tito Melema. Probably this was the result of intense consciousness of her own deficiencies in respect to physicial comeliness. Locker-Lampson again writes:

Nature had disguised George Eliot's apparently stoical yet really vehement and sensitive spirit, and her soaring genius, in a homely and insignificant form. Her countenance was equine—she was rather like a horse, and her head had been intended for a much larger body; she was not a tall woman. She wore her hair in not pleasing, out-of-fashion loops, coming down on either side of her face, so hiding her ears; her garments concealed her outline—they gave her a waist like a milestone. You will see her at her very best in the portrait by Sir Frederick Burton. To my mind George Eliot was a plain woman.

Of her habits of conversation the same writer observes:

She had a measured way of conversing, restrained but impressive. When I happened to call she was nearly always seated in the chimney corner on a low chair, and she bent forward when she spoke. As she often discussed abstract subjects, she might have been thought pedantic, especially as her language was sprinkled with a scientific terminology; but I do not think she was a bit of a pedant. Then, though she had a very gentle voice and manner, there was every now and then just a suspicion of meek satire in her talk. Her sentences unwound themselves very neatly and completely, leaving the impression of past reflection and present readiness; she spoke exceedingly well, but not with all the simplicity and *verve*, the happy *abandon* of certain practiced women of the world; however, it was in a way that was far more interesting. I have been told that she was most agreeable *en tête-à-tête;* that when surrounded by admirers she was apt to become oratorical—a different woman. She did not strike me as witty or markedly humorous; she was too much in earnest. She spoke as if with a sense of responsibility, and one cannot be exactly captivating when one's doing that.

Of the poetry of George Eliot not much needs to be written, though curiously enough she herself preferred it to her novels. It is pale and colorless, as compared with the iridescent splen-

dors of her prose compositions. Her natural mode of expression was not in verse. While much of her prose is essentially poetical, her large powers evidently chafed under the restraints and limitations imposed by metrical laws and the exigencies of rhyme. While her patience as an artist was long and deep, she lacked that subtler gift or instinct which makes the poet the seer, and whereby his utterances are forged from the central fires of his life. "The Legend of Jubal," "How Lisa Loved the King," and "The Spanish Gypsy" are the most notable of her poetical writings. The didactic habit of her mind quenched the singer's sibylline rage. The following stanzas embody her nearest approach to lyric fire:

Sweet evenings come and go, love,
  They came and went of yore;
This evening of our life, love,
  Shall go and come no more.

When we have passed away, love,
  All things will keep their name;
But yet no life on earth, love,
  With ours will be the same.

The daisies will be there, love,
  The stars in heaven will shine;
I shall not feel thy wish, love,
  Nor thou my hands in thine.

A better time will come, love,
  And better souls be born;
I would not be the best, love,
  To leave thee now forlorn.

If the fame of George Eliot rested upon her poetry alone that fame to-day would be a vanishing quantity. It is an interesting psychological question, or perhaps a question in mental pathology, why so many great writers, unsatisfied with their noble conquests in the commoner field of prose, like good Captain Wegg, "drop into poetry." The examples of Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin, Charlotte Brontë, Charles Lamb, Thackeray, and, at the present time, Mr. Gladstone in his translations from Horace, occur at once as cases in point. Probably others could be recalled with a little effort of the memory. But there is one brief poem from the pen of George Eliot which is a beautiful and dignified composition, worthy the inspired muse of the most gifted of the tuneful ilk. These lines have been quoted

frequently, but they may be introduced here as constituting the best specimen of George Eliot's now all-but-forgotten verse:

Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence: live
In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end with self,
In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars,
And with their mild persistence urge man's search
To vaster issues.

So to live is heaven:
To make undying music in the world,
Breathing as beauteous order that controls
With growing sway the growing life of man.
So we inherit that sweet purity
For which we struggled, failed, and agonized
With widening retrospect that bred despair.
Rebellious flesh that would not be subdued,
A vicious parent shaming still its child
Poor anxious penitence, is quick dissolved;
Its discords, quenched by meeting harmonies,
Die in the large and charitable air.
And all our rarer, better, truer self,
That sobbed religiously in yearning song,
That watched to ease the burden of the world,
Laboriously tracing what must be,
And what may yet be better—saw within
A worthier image for the sanctuary,
And shaped it forth before the multitude
Divinely human, raising worship so
To higher reverence more mixed with love—
That better self shall live till human Time
Shall fold its eyelids, and the human sky
Be gathered like a scroll within the tomb
Unread forever.

This is the life to come,
Which martyred men have made more glorious
For us who strive to follow. May I reach
That purest heaven, be to other souls
The cup of strength in some great agony,
Enkindle generous ardor, feed pure love,
Beget the smiles that have no cruelty—
Be the sweet presence of a good diffused,
And in diffusion ever more intense.
So shall I join the choir invisible
Whose music is the gladness of the world.

The later works of George Eliot were extremely successful in a pecuniary way. She received but fifteen hundred dollars for *Scenes of Clerical Life.* But *Middlemarch* brought her forty thousand dollars, and *Daniel Deronda* nearly as much more. Only one other female author has rivaled George Eliot as regards financial rewards of her work—Mrs. Humphry Ward.

Upon the death of Mr. Lewes, after a year and a half of virtual widowhood, George Eliot was married May 6, 1880, at St. George's, Hanover Square, London, to Mr. John Walter Cross. Mr. Cross was much younger than his bride, and had long been a valued and esteemed friend of both herself and Mr. Lewes. Says Locker-Lampson of the new union:

George Eliot's more transcendental friends never forgave her for marrying. In a morally immoral manner they washed their virtuous hands of her. I could not help thinking it was the most natural thing for the poor woman to do. She was a heavily laden but interesting derelict, tossing among the breakers, without oars or rudder, and all at once the brave Cross arrives, throws her a rope, and gallantly tows her into harbor.

A little more than seven months after her marriage with Mr. Cross George Eliot passed into that realm where Time himself "shall furl his wings and cease to be." The funeral of Mr. Lewes had been held in the mortuary chapel in Highgate Cemetery, and there the funeral of George Eliot was also held. It was a day of snow and slush, and a bitter wind was blowing, "but still," avers an eyewitness, "there was a remarkable gathering from all parts of England." Of her burial place a writer in the *London Chronicle* says:

When you get to the top of Swain's Lane you see two gates; take the one on the right and, entering, keep to the left. The path sweeps round a little hillock, and in a few steps you see in front of you a great block of buildings. This is St. Pancras Infirmary. You keep straight on until you come to the last turning to the left; take that, and after ten yards you come on a plain gray granite obelisk and pedestal, together not more than ten feet high. Without your attention being called to this quiet memorial, amid so many elaborate commemorations of sorrow, you would pass it unnoted. But stop a moment and read. This is what you see:

"Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence."

Here lies the Body of
"George Eliot,"
Mary Ann Cross.
Born 22 November, 1819;
Died 23 December, 1880.

That is the simple yet eloquent inscription cut on the granite pedestal in severely plain letters of gold. The Spartan brevity and simplicity of it is in keeping with the great writer's life and philosophy. And the inevitableness of the "common lot" is unconsciously emphasized by the fact that on her right is a monument more ornate than her own, chronicling the death of an unknown family. Here, facing the east and the rising sun, lies the ashes of one who bore a proud name in the brilliant roll of English literature, resting after a busy life of earnest purpose and much great work accomplished. Many may regret that a more conspicuous, a more elaborate monument does not mark the *Friedensheim* of the author of *Middlemarch*, *Felix Holt*, *Adam Bede*, and *Romola*. These have to be reminded that George Eliot's most "enduring brass" is to be found in her works and the memory of her life.

The attainments of George Eliot were remarkably extensive. She was a classical scholar, and to her familiarity with the principal modern languages she added an acquaintance with Russian and modern Greek. She was widely learned in the physical sciences, the arts and philosophies, and was a profound student in the history of human thought and investigation. The peculiar characteristics of her mind were acute analysis, unerring perception of fitness and relation, a luxuriant but chastened fancy, and a rare and delightful energy of expression. Her style is a compound of classicism and didacticism, of scientific technicality and broad colloquialism. Not one of her countrywomen of this or any former period, excepting Mrs. Browning, can compare with her in expressive ability, keenness of discrimination, and forceful and elegant English. Among female writers what Mrs. Browning is in poetry George Eliot is in prose. Though not so much given to the use of the incisive and vigorous Saxon words with which our language abounds as Mrs. Browning was, yet she fully equaled her in knowledge of the delicate shades of difference in nearly synonymous terms, while she easily surpassed her in methods of technical utterance and the fullness of her vocabulary. The mantle of high-priestess of British novelists, the peeress of Dickens and Thackeray, and the greatest of that trio of great female story writers, Jane Austin, Charlotte Brontë, and George Eliot, lies where she dropped it. Who shall be worthy to wear it after her?

James B. Kenyon.

ART. VI.—RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ENGLAND BETWEEN PURITAN AND METHODIST.

THE period between Puritan and Methodist began, in England, with one reaction and ended with another. The first reaction was against extreme Puritanism, the other against extreme deism. The first reaction began with the return of a king to his kingdom, the other with the entrance of a Christian scholar into the religious world. Charles II and John Wesley mark the limits of the latest period of English irreligion.

The Cromwells had died. The Commonwealth had passed away, not so much for a lack of Cromwells as for a lapse of the old Puritan spirit, which sought by means of armaments and parliaments to institute a "kingdom of God" on earth. Puritanism had made godliness the standard, but Puritanism was without a standard godliness, inasmuch as, in spite of its nobleness of purpose and strength of will and strenuousness of effort, Puritanism was limited by her narrowness and weakened by her pettiness, and in the name of godliness soon exhibited the tyranny of spirit it had condemned under the name of king. Puritanism had stood for religion, but religion had become politics, and politics had narrowed the nobler idea to the confines of a limiting theory.

From the death of the first Cromwell, in 1658, to the return of the exile King Charles, in 1660, a whole age seemed to pass over England. The sober dress of the Puritan was changed to the gaudy dress of the cavalier; the holy twang was displaced by ribaldry of speech and flippancy of utterance; the demeanor of life passed from a too severe seriousness to a most detestable levity. In Parliament, where the stern-faced Puritans had sat in their gloomy righteousness, now gathered cavaliers whose passions, suppressed by the events of the last two decades, found issue in statutes more revolutionary than the mandates of Cromwell. The official body which had removed the crown, and the head with it, from Charles I now placed the scepter more firmly in the hand of Charles II.

Ecclesiastically, Puritanism was exchanged for episcopacy; morally, pleasure, too base to be called frivolous, displaced austere gravity of manners; religiously, the revolution in charac-

ter was attended by a revolution in thought, and these changes passed to such an extreme that the second reaction was expressed in the greatest revival in religion the world has known. The Pentecostal revival soon lost its power in the baseness of Rome, but modern evangelism is reaching and vivifying the entire world.

The moral purpose of the period was to find a basis for ethics independent of revelation. It is noticeable, however, that men who would free themselves from the strictures of superhuman authority seek such freedom by a method which will protect them against such an authority should it unexpectedly exist. Hence, between Puritan and Methodist, religion must be retained; for its necessity was admitted, though its divine sanctions must be removed, as their inconvenience was manifest. Men assented to the existence of objective truth, to which the mind might reach upward from below, but which could not be imparted from above. A universal human scholarship not a divine inspiration seemed possible.

The human mind, therefore, must seek its religion, since none could be revealed. The method the mind should adopt, the direction in which it should seek, and the inspiration of the quest were determined by the intellectual elements of the age, expressing themselves in ethics, in philosophy, and in science. In ethics five men are representative. Hobbes, deriving morality from self-interest and finding moral sanction in the royal will; Cudworth, deriving morality from reason; Shaftesbury, from good will; Hutcheson, from good taste; and Bolingbroke, from pleasure, good or bad, indicate the progress of the ethical thought of England during the period under review. Hobbes had set the pace, and it was in vain that Cudworth and Shaftesbury and Hutcheson emphasized æsthetic morality; the nation, with God undeified, passed beyond such influences to an age whose moralist was Bolingbroke. The Puritan had cut clean to the bedrock of moral obligation, and in such an age only as thin a blade as his could cut so deep. When ethical thought dulled its edge on moral theory devoid of divine sanction the foundations were not uncovered, and vice and crime sprang up amid the ruins of an effete morality. Life without the inspiration of God soon lacked, also, the aspirations of man. Philosophy, too, added her ingredient to the character of the

thought of the time. The voice of Francis Bacon calling men to the study of nature, and of Descartes calling men to the study of man, were heard; Locke, inquiring into the origin of knowledge, taught men that religious knowledge, also, might be uncertain; while Spinoza, critically examining the scriptural writings, cast a shadow upon the authority it had been assumed the Scriptures possessed. The nation was accustomed to change; they had seen political and social changes innumerable; old things had been rapidly passing away; new things had been speedily displaced by newer things; a transition in religion was compatible with the experience of the times.

The transition began with a destructive process. In the earlier part of the period Lord Herbert, Blount, and Hobbes had viewed religion from a political standpoint, and had found it inimical to the political spirit. But with the opening of the eighteenth century the lead of Locke was followed by Toland and Shaftesbury, who examined the first principles of religion, while Collins and Woolston, following the guidance of Spinoza, critically attacked the miracles of Christ and the prophecies of the Old Testament as evidences of Christianity. The constructive process followed. Even beneath the attacks of the destructive writers lurked a half-expressed consciousness of deity; the defenders of Christianity, also, impressed the thought of the time with the religious sense, while the religious sense itself could not be satisfied with the negations of the earlier writers. But whither should men turn to find that God whose existence and character revelation had not revealed? Man must have a God; the spirit of the age, making its appeal to reason, sought a solution of the mystery of the divine existence in the nature which that God had made, and which reason was revealing. The world was being brought into the light of human knowledge. The discoveries of science had revealed the wideness of the universe and the uniformity of creation and the reign of law. As men turned away from the old, which was depreciated by the new criticism, they instinctively laid hold of the new, just rising clear and attractive from a long neglect. Nature, forgotten during the long process of speculative thought, offered an attractive source from which might be drawn what the soul of man instinctively felt must be possessed, a sense of divine relationship. Natural religion was to take the place of re-

vealed religion; Tindal and Morgan and Chubbled the attempt to find in nature the Deity they could not find in revelation. The theist had conceived of God without the universe, separated from his works and independent of law, himself his own law, and his will supreme and arbitrary in determining law; the deist, on the other hand, would find God immanent in nature, especially in man, thus presenting once more an idea which had been firmly grasped by the early Greek fathers. It was a noble conception. It insisted on a God at hand, not afar off; it brought Deity and nature into sublime harmony; it proposed to make nature everywhere speak of God. Yet it failed, not merely to take the place of the old religion, but to afford any vital religion at all. While assuming that God was near, yet, by denying revelation, it placed him afar, inasmuch as he could not make his presence known to the human heart. God might speak through nature to man, but he could not speak to man himself. Nature stood always between man and Deity, and soon nature alone was seen making its appeal to the senses, not to the soul. The God whom these men sought to make immanent in his universe was about to be excluded altogether by a process whose logical result must be blank atheism.

Meanwhile, the Christian faith had not lacked defenders. Waterland and Foster replied to Tindal; Bishop Sherlock wrote his *Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus* against Woolston; Lyttleton had defended revelation; Warburton had written *The Divine Legation of Moses;* and Bishop Butler had replied to everyone in his famous *Analogy.* It was a contest of giant intellects. The defenders of Christianity adopted the basis of argument afforded by their opponents. Their appeal, also, was to the reason. Hence, in their defense of Christianity the intellectual element predominated. An ethical tone pervaded their writings, and all proved themselves "moralists rather than theologians." During the whole process dogmatics were left in abeyance, and even Butler, who gave a new force and new standing to theological determinations, afforded little clew to the mystery of the divine relationship to the soul. For, in fact, the individual had been forgotten in the intellectual struggle. The Churches preached no longer doctrines, and insisted no longer on other than the ethical content of religion. The whole effort of the Church and of

Christian thinkers was given to the negative process of self-defense against the deism of the age.

An interesting comment on the futility of the religion of nature to sustain the moral character of the time is the rise of the "British essayists," whose purpose was to stay the rising tide of wickedness by literary efforts. *The Tattler*, *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, *The Rambler*, sustained by such editors and contributors as Steele, Addison, Pope, Berkeley, and Johnson, undertook to make vice unpopular and evil character disreputable by humorous and sarcastic discussions of the vices and follies of the people. From the lighter vein of humor they soon passed to severe denunciations and keen criticisms of popular methods of life. It was doubtless the most important attempt in history to elevate the moral tone of society by literary means. Its success was only partial, even though the influence of such writings was very great. But the failure of this movement was not more a proof of the weakness of literature to purify society than the existence of that literature is a reflection on the religious character of the times.

Evidently the results of the struggle of three quarters of a century were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Skeptical thought, driven from the position of deism, looked now toward atheism; forced to abandon the religion of nature, men were about to abandon religion of any kind. Religion became identified with ethical culture, and ethical culture proved itself incapable of lifting the dark pall of immorality and spiritual indifference which hung over England when the eighteenth century began. The theology of the time, such as it was, "suffered from the divorce between intellect and a living Christian experience." The apologist had won a victory against deism, but the world still lay in the moral stupor of religious indifference, receiving from dead ecclesiasticism, as it were, the formula of the bread of life, but finding nowhere any warmth to stir the hidden leaven. Deism, to be sure, was not dead, but it was paralytic; the Church of the new century may not have been dead, but it was torpid; theology, having spent its powers in a successful self-defense, was, nevertheless, facing a problem which the deists had set, and which the century would only begin to solve—the harmony of revelation and law in the religious life; the whole English world seemed waiting the introduction of a life which

should fuse the severed elements of truth held in separation by the deist, who emphasized law, and by the apologist, who insisted on the importance of revelation.

The Methodists came at this appointed time. It has not been clearly enough recognized that the distinctive feature of Methodism was not simply a revival of emotional religion. There was something deeper about it than that. Its greatest service was that it brought to the theological content of religion the spiritual element to give it life. Methodism began the solution of the problem just stated. With the deist, Methodism found God immanent in nature; with Kant, Methodism found his most positive revelation in the convictions of the soul; with the old theology, Methodism placed God supreme over nature. Methodism brought the life, also, that could fuse these essential truths into a vital religious state of the individual soul.

Wilbur C. Maddox.

ART. VII.—THE VENDETTA—HOW LAW EVOLVES FROM THE PATRIARCHAL CELL.

THE vendetta had its home in Corsica. When a man was murdered a kinsman of the victim drew his sword and pursued the felon to vengeance. But the Corsican vendetta had its analogues in the penal jurisprudence of many people, illustrating all stages of legal development, from the rudest and most archaic conditions to the refined and finished systems of our modern times and Western world. It is the object of this article to exhibit the influence of kinship in the evolution of law.

By kinship we understand the relation of individuals who trace their descent from a common ancestor. While many seem to live companionless and isolated from the association and affection of kindred, or wholly without known relatives, thoughtful contemplation of vital statistics brings to mind with wonderful suggestiveness the conception of the brotherhood of man and the great truth that God made of one flesh all men to dwell upon the earth. The blood of Victoria is found in about all the royal families of Europe, and in direct line the queen's descendants will soon occupy the thrones of Russia, Germany, and England, not to mention the lesser principalities where they already rule. Nature provides us just as prolifically with ancestors. Each one of us has four grandparents to two parents, and going back to the twentieth generation he finds that over one million ancestors have poured their blood into his veins. This is subject to some qualification, for kinsmen may intermarry, even such near relatives as first cousins; but this circumstance only adds emphasis to the statement that all men are brothers.

It seems a simple task in these days to determine the province of jurisprudence, and to define law as the whole body of those rules which are enforced in courts of justice. But the antiquarian and the student of oriental institutions has no such conception of the law. He finds law commingled with sacerdotalism and jurists confounded with priests. The sanction which compels obedience to public authority is often wanting, and social disapprobation is the only coercive force in law. Down to our own time, and in the most highly evolved polit-

ical societies, we find ecclesiastics holding office as ministers of state, diplomatic envoys, aristocratic legislators, and chiefs of the judiciary. Bishops have been the tutors of princes, and the Church has been the monopolist of learning. Aside from an elective ecclesiastical principate in the empire of the popes, lasting to the present generation as an independent member of the family of nations, with armies and revenues, with nobility and a diplomatic corps, with treaties and legislation, and aside from the spiritual baronies of the Middle Ages, we find episcopal tribunals charged with jurisdiction over marriage, alimony, and divorce, as well as over the temporal interests of the probate of wills, the guardianship of orphans, and the administration of the property of intestates. The ecclesiastical courts were not abolished in England till forty years ago.

There is, therefore, no justification for the lofty scorn with which some churchmen regard the law—as we know it—as the product of the evil devices of ungodly men, framed with a view to defeating the ends of justice, and administered by men of selfishness, ambition, and unworthy motive. In reality, our law is not the product of the creative genius of some great legislator; it is rather the result of the gradual unfolding of national life and character. It has its beginnings in neighborhood customs, in the usages of markets, in the necessities of trade, and in the orderly course of exchange. It receives its first formulation in the adjudication of tribunals; and when its development has ceased it takes on its final form in a statutory enactment. All the forces that act on man in society—political, religious, moral, and economic—contribute to its development. It may be properly regarded as the will of the state; for the people stand ready to vindicate its decrees by the last ounce of public authority.

While our modern law responds promptly to the call of economic necessity, ancient law was a stranger to the principle of progress and exalted tradition as an infallible rule of right. Ancestor worship and a reverence for the past, which it is difficult for us of the West properly to estimate, aided in accomplishing this result. In fact, the jural notion presents itself to many orientals of our day, not as suggesting a rule of human action, formulated to control present conduct and relying for its vindication on the presence of force; but it appears insepa-

rably associated with past immemorial usage, and amounts to an official utterance of the undeviating practice of the fathers. The oriental regards the phrase, "It has ever been the custom of our ancestors," as equivalent to the formula, "Be it enacted."

While it is not entirely pertinent to the present discussion, which is concerned with jurisprudence, it is certainly suggestive to note the influence of kinship in religion. Man in general inherits the religion, as well as the language, of his ancestors. Some jurists of distinction have not hesitated to refer all the institutions of early law to the zeal with which provision is made for the celebration of funeral rites and the perpetuation of the memory of the dead. The first appearance of deities is in the shape of household or hearthstone gods, which theorists have sometimes associated with the spirits of departed ancestors. These conceptions, while general among the rudest of the races of men, are also to be met in the most historic and venerable religious systems. It is easy to find such suggestions in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Jew regards his religion as hereditary. He spends little money on missionaries and maintains no propaganda. He regards Hebraistic theism and religious ceremonial as the system of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Jehovah's jealous care is for Israel, whose battles he fights and whose sins—generally the going after false gods—he punishes. Absorption by marriage or adoption into a new family, subject to the jurisdiction of a new house-father, prompts the one initiated to say, "Thy gods shall be my gods."

But in politics the influence of kinship is equally apparent, and quite as universally discoverable. The king is the father of his people, and the basis of associated life and action among primitive men is the fact or legal fiction of consanguinity. Human history begins with an account of brotherhood quarrels. The Latin legend of Romulus and Remus is antedated by the Hebrew story of Cain and Abel. Tribal sovereignty, in the order of evolution, precedes territorial sovereignty; in fact, the latter, if we are to credit Sir Henry Maine, is a tardy offshoot of feudalism. In primitive antiquity men acted together, not on account of local contiguity, but because of their descent, actual or simulated, from a common ancestor. The student of law and politics need not recognize anything im-

portant as earlier than the patriarchal state. The sociologist, the anthropologist, and the paleontologist may push their inquiries farther back into primitive antiquity and make useful investigations into the weapons, the clothing, the food, and the speech of the earlier progenitors of the human race. But savage troglodytes, scattered over vast areas, without common literature, history, and traditions, can furnish but meager contributions to juristic and political science. Promiscuous association of the sexes leaves paternity unascertained. This threatens the stability of property and the regularity of inheritance. The dawn of civilization comes in with the reign of law and with that degree of sexual jealousy which makes it possible, by legal presumption, to determine paternity and impose its obligations. We can conceive of no high civilization unguaranteed by law; law is at once the cause and effect of high civilization. Thus Herbert Spencer, the sociologist, misunderstands Sir Henry Maine, the jurist. Each has made profound investigations in the field of primitive antiquity. One is a student of social, and the other of juristic, phenomena. Mr. Spencer's authorities on the subject of "the primitive man" are works of adventure and exploration, written mostly in the last half century by travelers, and, in some instances, by men of science, who have gone into heathen continents and to the uttermost ends of the earth in search of sociological information. Many phenomena, of course, have been misinterpreted, and many recorded observations have been discredited as "the slippery testimony of travelers' tales." Considering the gradual stages in human evolution, Mr. Spencer may have made the nearest approach of any philosopher or man of science to the primitive man; but from a standpoint of absolute chronology his sources of scientific investigation in general do not go back of the present generation. Sir Henry Maine finds no occasion to speak of the Aleutian Islanders, whose institutions furnish much valuable material to Mr. Spencer. As late as the last year of Mr. Arthur's administration the President of the United States, in a message to Congress, remarked the entire absence of civil authority in Alaska, except as represented at one station in the customs service; there was no law for the collection of a promissory note, the punishment of a murderer, or for devolving the estate of a decedent.

The nomadic Abraham, paying no taxes and professing no allegiance to any earthly ruler, himself fights kings and exacts tribute from them. Like the leaders of wandering Arabs and the fighting chieftains of our American Indians to-day, the founder of the Jewish race illustrated in his own person a leadership which comprehended all the functions of modern government, judicial, military, and diplomatic. But he found no abiding home till he rested in the cave of Machpelah. Our federal government still treats the aborigines in part as subject races and in part as independent sovereign nations. As wards of the law the Indians are fed and clothed at public expense. As belligerents they are met on the battlefield with the honors of war. As proprietors of land they are remunerated for cessions of territory made through formal treaty. But at all times their political existence and tribal independence are considered apart from the territory, ever changing and narrowing, which is called the reservation. So throughout European history, till feudalism charged land with the burden of meeting military necessities, we find in the coinage and in public documents phrases like *rex Francorum*, but no titles suggestive of territorial sovereignty.

Perhaps the law of wills and inheritance exhibits more impressively than any other body of juristic doctrine the influence of kinship in legal evolution. In point of historical development intestate inheritance precedes testamentary succession. The conception of a will, as a means of disinheriting children and devolving an estate in accordance with the excessive partiality, fleeting caprice, or malignant temper of the testator, is a conception of our modern times, and was not familiar to the jurisprudence of primitive antiquity. In fact, ancient law regarded a will as a means of perpetuating the family in a succeeding generation by nominating a new chief on whom the headship was to be devolved. Little power of free testamentary alienation was recognized. The patriarch was more like a trustee or steward of common possessions belonging to the family than an original proprietor. He could not do as he saw fit with what seemed to be his. Often a son, on coming of age, could compel his father to make a partition of the family holdings, as suggested by our Saviour's parable of the prodigal son. Sir Henry Maine and others have found this

curious rule in many widely separated sections of the Eastern world. Under early Roman law the son, whom the father might have punished by leaving him only a small portion, could bring a complaint against the will as undutiful or inofficious, and obtain judicial relief against paternal injustice. In France to-day the practice of dying intestate is very general, and the law limits the testator's power of bequest to the portion which the law gives to one child on intestacy. The Roman testator was required to mention his children in his will, in order to escape the imputation of insanity. It is hardly necessary to say that with the evanescence of paternal authority and filial reverence in our own day, in America, the old restraints upon the power of testamentary alienation have disappeared. It is not necessary for a father to make any testamentary provision for his children; and, if the estate be in personal property, the widow, too, may be left unprovided for.

Intestate succession is based entirely on consanguinity throughout the whole civilized world, where the influence of the one hundred and eighteenth Novel of Justinian has made itself felt. No successful efforts have been made to dislodge this principle. The main motive to accumulate wealth is the desire to endow one's family. The wickedness of unlimited inheritance and the unreasonableness of collateral succession, which many advanced thinkers seek to prove, are in no way inconsistent with this doctrine. The objection which is made to unlimited inheritance may as yet be only of theoretical interest, while the succession of collateral relatives can be justified by the politico-economic argument that no property should be left ownerless.

Sir Henry Maine has taught us that the family was the unit of ancient society, and that early law knew nothing of the individual. The family was regarded as immortal and inextinguishable, like the modern corporation. When niggard nature denied heirs of the father's blood adoption supplied the defect. The Hebrew custom, under which a man married the widow of his elder brother who had died childless, illustrates the same doctrine, that the family must not be allowed to perish. Adoption and frequent change of name among the Japanese are likewise explained on this principle. The patriarchal headship was a representative relation. In the *manci-*

patio of the Roman law some jurists have found an oral will, taking effect immediately, without secrecy and with full knowledge on the part of the heir of his expectations thereunder, or more properly of his realizations under a conveyance which, while testamentary in its form, was yet a transaction *inter vivos*.

Land has been held by families as an inalienable and common possession of a group of kinsmen under many distinct legal systems. While communal holdings have preceded individual ownership, and while agricultural and pasture lands have shifted from one group to another under periodical allotments and reallotments, house lots or homes for residence have been among the first instances of private ownership of land disentangled from legal possession by communities. An illustration in point can be found in the Hebrew institution of the return to the family of the grantor, in the year of jubilee, of land that had been alienated. Our present estate in fee simple absolute shows the influence of the principle of kinship in the evolution of the law of landed property, in the very technical formulation of such an estate as granted to a man *and his heirs*. The history of the law of real property exhibits the early grant, or *feudum*, as originally made for the life of the grantee; later on, when fiefs became hereditary, the coequality in ownership of the grantee and his heir presumptive was recognized, and the consent of the latter became necessary to a sale.

Crime, too, was looked upon by ancient law as a family offense. The family of the aggressor was held liable to make satisfaction to the one injured or his next of kin. Every townsman was in effect on the bond of his neighbor to answer for his misconduct, and was therefore bound to pursue and overtake any fugitive criminal with hue and cry. So, under the rude systems of primitive jurisprudence, the wife and children of the offender, though innocent of all complicity in his criminality, suffered the penalty with him, even death sometimes, as in the case of Achan. More refined codes deny the equity of this rule, and provide, as we find in the later Jewish law, that children shall not suffer for the parent nor the parent for his children.

It is difficult to distinguish a crime from a civil injury, except in an arbitrary way. Modern codes rank crimes as

offenses which are prosecuted to judgment by the king or the people as plaintiff, while offenses left to the discretionary vengeance of the injured party or his family are deemed civil injuries or torts. It is useless to say that crimes affect the public, and that civil injuries affect individuals only. Every tort and every breach of contract, even, affects the credit of the community; every case of dishonor of mercantile paper makes it more difficult for an honest man to borrow at the bank; every repudiation of a tradesman's bill enhances the price of commodities to the consumer who pays his debts promptly. On the other hand, while every murder is an offense against Almighty God, and against the peace and safety of the people of the State, to use the quaint language of the old English indictment, still the deathblow falls with great weight and often with crushing effect upon the family of the injured party where a breadwinner is violently removed. Our criminal law has reached its present condition only through centuries of gradual development. In early law torts and crimes were not readily distinguished. Almost all offenses, including murder, were expiable. A pecuniary fine, which was levied on the transgressor, atoned for all wrong that had been done to private parties, and public prosecution was unprovided for. The right of private vengeance has been recognized throughout all the ages of legal history, from the time of the establishment of the Hebrew cities of refuge and from the days of Job down to the abolition of the duel, if, indeed, we have yet reached that time. Looking at the English law, we find that killing a citizen was at first cognizable by criminal tribunals only when committed in the actual presence of the king. Later on, through the course of generations and centuries, the royal castles and palaces, the highways, and finally the whole kingdom came within "the king's peace." And, in the meantime, while this development was taking place, society was compelled to rely on the vendetta for the punishment of violence.

Kinship as a factor in legal evolution has also been felt in the department of law called procedure or remedial justice, and particularly in the law of evidence, which has to do with the methods and means by which matters of fact that are the subject of judicial inquiry are established or disproved. Our present method of proof is to take the sworn statements of wit-

nesses and documentary testimony properly identified. This, however, is one of the latest developments in legal science and history. Throughout the long ages of legal evolution much reliance has been placed on the oaths of litigants and others who have assumed to assist the courts to ascertain the unknown from the known. Our Anglo-American trial by jury, with the requirement of unanimity, has doubtless felt the influence of the custom of compurgation which long prevailed on the continent of Europe. This was a plan of trial under which the parties litigant, instead of summoning as witnesses those who had an exact and circumstantial knowledge of the matter in dispute, called on their relatives and friends respectively to testify as to the general good character of the plaintiff, on the one hand, and of the defendant, on the other hand. Unanimity is of the very essence of such procedure. Wager of law is found in the Pentateuchal jurisprudence; it allowed the defendant to go free on taking oath to his innocence. It lingered to a late date in European law. A woman, accused of adultery, could establish her innocence by swearing to that effect at the church altar. Wager of battle, too, not formally abolished in England till the present century, was an instrumentality of proof, by which a man could appeal to Heaven to requite a wrong done to a kinsman by giving victory in a duel to him who had the right. It is to be admitted, however, that compurgators were not necessarily the kinsmen of the suitors, and also that wager of battle was invoked as a remedy in many cases not involving any violence or injury to a relative.

The tendencies of the times are away from family unity and solidarity, away from the despotism of patriarchal authority over women and children, toward individualism and democracy. This is to be seen in the legal emancipation of woman and in the freedom of divorce. In social and religious life it can be noted in the disposition to substitute for parental watch-care and direction the labors of the Sunday school teacher, the kindergartner, and the governess. In politics we find it in the steady advance of women, married and unmarried, to the fullness of civic privilege and responsibility. Over a generation ago Tocqueville noted, during his travels in America, that the spirit of democracy seems incompatible with reverence for parents. There has been no change in these later years.

Deference to age and assumed merit, resting on parenthood or official authority, is fast vanishing in this country. The overshadowing influence of the family is a reminiscence of the antiquarian.

The *status* of women and of married women in various legal systems is full of interest and suggestiveness. Many enthusiastic social reformers deceive themselves through their failure to recognize the distinction between the *femme sole* and *femme covert* of our Anglo-American law, and rush to the conclusion that legal incapacity is based on the assumed mental inferiority of females. This is grievous error. No such principle is contained in the common law, though it was present in the civil law, where the perpetual tutelage of woman was established *propter animi levitatem*. Legal incapacity, which is a personal privilege, available for the protection of the incompetent person, is, in Anglo-American law, not a monument to woman's intellectual inferiority, but rather a necessary consequence of family solidarity and unity. It is not woman, but the married woman, that the common law pronounces incompetent. The *femme sole* may own, hold, and alienate property, real and personal, without legal limitation. But the personality of the married woman, according to the old English rule, is merged in that of her husband. Her personal property becomes her husband's on marriage; the husband is entitled to the rents and profits of her landed estate; he must pay his wife's debts contracted before marriage; he is liable for her torts; acts of violence done by the wife in the husband's presence render him guilty of crime; the wife's suits must be prosecuted and defended by her husband; the husband cannot make any contract with his wife; and all capacity to contract is practically denied the married woman.

These rules of the English common law are not out of harmony with the jurisprudence of all those systems which recognize the family as the unit of society. The Hebrew law is well illustrated in the text of the tenth Sinaitic commandment, where the wife is classified with slaves and domestic animals as the property of her husband. In the agnatic family of Rome woman was the slave of her father till married, when she became the slave of her husband; and the death of father and husband brought her no emancipation, but sent her into

bondage to her nearest kinsman. She was in perpetual tutelage.

Woman never figures in genealogies where the family is agnatic and recognizes patriarchal headship. Her two sons by different fathers may be legally unrelated to one another, as under the Roman law. The gospel writers, Matthew and Luke, trace the ancestry of Jesus back to Abraham, not through the blessed Virgin, but through Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth, the father of our Lord. Any attempt to connect the flesh and blood of the Saviour with the royal house of David through females would have failed of its purpose, on account of the inability of jurists of that time to grasp a conception so utterly foreign to all their thought. The kaiser may be supposed to interpret German sentiment accurately in his remark that woman's sphere is with the children, in the kitchen, and at church. In Germany woman is a beast of burden, and is often seen yoked with brutes as a draught animal on the farm. In England, where, according to Blackstone, woman is the great favorite of the law, no woman can secure a divorce on account of her husband's adultery, unless this offense be accompanied by cruel and inhuman treatment.

In New York, and generally in the United States, statutes have wrought havoc with these rules of the common law. A married woman may now own and sell property and make contracts binding on her separate estate, as if she were a *femme sole*. She may alienate by deed or will any of her real property without her husband's knowledge or consent, and without his joining in the deed to bar his old right of curtesy. She has a larger measure of control by deed and will over her real estate than her husband has over his real estate; for the wife's right of dower in the realty of her husband cannot be threatened by any act, on his part, of conveyance or testament, nor yet by any proceedings on the part of his creditors through attachment or execution.

The married woman has thus been emancipated from the thraldom of the ancient law. Not only is her own condition bettered, but family holdings are made more secure against financial reverses. Her independence is secured by a distinct and separate treasury under the roof of her husband. In fact, the husband may be a guest in the home of his wife and chil-

dren. This doubtless suits the disposition of many. The husbands are few who object to having rich wives. The most worthy of husbands aim to establish such independence as a shelter from the storms of business life. And every man, whatever he may think best in the case of his wife, covets for his daughter just such a position of independence and equality. Domestic life is sweetened where the husband finds in the society of his wife the companionship of his equal instead of the service of a domestic drudge. Women, and men, too, are brutalized by asserting the principle of obedience to the husband's authority as the right rule of domestic life. We are only supremely happy when in the company of our equals. The banquet in the home of our wealthy friends we most enjoy in retrospect, when we talk it all over with our daily companions. While at the feast we are ill at ease, and wish it past. So, democratizing the family establishes liberty where despotism once reigned, and prepares the conditions most favorable to the highest individual development of both man and woman.

The antiquarian may drop a tear on this newest page of the statute book as he contemplates the passing away of the old family life with its reverence for paternal authority; the venerable sages, who have survived the struggles of the last fifty years, may warn us that these new statutes are like so many centrifugal forces tending to disrupt the unit of society and scatter its component atoms; the saints of the former times who linger among us will invoke the authority of mediæval canons, and denounce the law reforms of to-day as amounting to a denial of the precepts of true religion and the authority of the word of God. But liberty continues the manifest destiny of the race, because it is the spirit of Christianity.

Isaac Franklin Russell

ART. VIII.—CHRIST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

DURING the last two decades, perhaps more than at any other time in the century now so near to its closing, the speculation has been indulged in by a class of highly cultured and thinking minds as to what would be the effect upon the present century or the one so soon to succeed it were Jesus Christ to project himself as fully into the tendency of its thought and practical life as when he in a physical form appeared on the historic hilltops and valleys of Palestine and "went through the cities and villages, teaching, and journeying toward Jerusalem." This speculation has not assumed so much the form of that now somewhat famous interrogatory of the versatile and highly accomplished Stead, "What if Christ should come to Chicago?" but it is in the burning question, How shall Christ come more fully into the life of the age and the trend of its thought? In the attempt to answer the question, either in the above form or in some other, many forceful scholars have written fascinating pages and have led their readers into entrancing fields of cultured thought. But while there has been an abundance in the way of literary merit there has also been a plethora of philosophical and metaphysical statement, and there are thousands who will challenge the accuracy of positions taken or the legitimacy of conclusions arrived at.

What is there in the theological phenomena of the times to arouse suspicion or awaken any alarm? It is true that the American mind is being constantly disturbed in its religious beliefs by the immigrations from the Old World—especially from Great Britain and Germany—and that there is an overwhelming influx of the false theories of Berkeley, Kant, and Hegel. The one idea upon which the thought of the age needs to rest itself is that of Edwards, the "absoluteness of God." This principle, if resolutely employed, will insure both continuity and progress in the thought and life of Christianity in every zone.

But the absoluteness of God is reached through the finality for mankind of the mind of Christ. The mind of Christ is employed as the creative and conservative principle in theology and in other intellectual movements of the times. Christ is

seen as the supreme instrument of the Spirit in the moral education of the race. A Christological interpretation becomes a theological principle, and issues in the methods of the preaching of the times. Revolution is as sure to take place in the religious thoughts of men as in human affairs or in the history of the nationalities of the world. Christ is needed to move among these contrasting and antagonistic forces in order to bring about a settlement amid this confusion. If it is true that this revolution is going on in the religious thought of the world it needs the guiding hand of the divine Christ to bring it back into the old and well-beaten pathways of truth.

If we were seeking for the most striking illustration of this thought we might find it in the revolutions of nations. The ancient Greeks fought desperately and won splendid victories at Platæa and Salamis, but had no conception of the service those two victories would render to mankind. They fought for their own hearthstones and freedom, but they did not see that their trophies were to be something more than scores of standards taken and heaps of Persian dead. They were hewing out a path through which Pericles and Phidias, Sophocles and Plato might march out of the ideal world into the clear light of history. There was a divine Power protecting them, and there was ultimately the marvelous development of the Greek intellect and genius, and the literature of the world has felt the magic of its touch. The Revolutionary fathers had but little conception of the drift and ultimate product of their work. They had a genuine love of liberty and a hatred of oppression, and they determined to throw off the yoke which galled their neck at whatever cost. Each of these actors performed his part well, but not the wisest of them—not Adams or Jefferson, not even Washington—comprehended the genius of the play. Their action started a vast scheme of providential service whose end is not yet and will not be for centuries to come. If there has been a divine intelligence overlooking the revolutions of the world, and an infinite power so shaping human action as to send results down through the ages that ultimated in the highest good to mankind, so this same divine force must appear amid the antagonisms of thought in this age and bring out of what, in so many ways, seems the most appalling chaos the effulgent light of a brighter morning.

It is not sufficient that men depend on the expansion of mind in its travels through the sciences. This has been done in many cases, and the unfoldings have shown the boundless resources open to human genius. The field of astronomical science has been entered, and it has been noticed what great expansion has taken place in the human mind since the beginning of the Copernican demonstrations. Before some inquirers in this field "the universe has broadened out in the mind of the modern thinker, as compared with the narrow notions of the early observers of the heavens;" and they claim to have seen in this fact an illustration of how the mind may be broadened into a higher conception of what Christ and Christianity are to the life of this age. Still another domain is entered, and there is supposed to be a marvelous expansion of the human mind in the conclusions to which so many thousands have come regarding the age of the world and of the human race. Dr. G. A. Gordon has come into this field and has given the following utterance: "Instead of a race with a career running only for six thousand years we have a humanity with a probable history of a hundred thousand years." Carlyle paints in glowing terms the history of the French Revolution, Oliver Cromwell, and Frederick the Great; but is this a mere hint of the life of the three modern nations preceding our own—the French nation and the Prussian in the eighteenth century, and the English in the nineteenth? We have the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, as delineated by Gibbon; the *Five Ancient Monarchies*, as set forth by Rawlinson; but can it be possible that this is only "the beginning of the new conception of history?" It is claimed that in these and other familiar historical facts there are evidences of the existence of the human race extending backward to almost endless ages beyond the historic period, and there is great significance in the expansion of thought as it comes down to us from such a distant past. In this expansion and growth of the race many claim to see the onward progress of the Christian idea, and that the Christ of to-day must mean vastly more to the race than he ever did in any other period in the world's history because of this expansion. This idea of expansion is carried down even to the life of Paul, and it is claimed that it has a rich embodiment in his life and labors. Upon this subject another has written in the following words:

The apostle Paul has indeed a magnificent sense of history, and a profound philosophy of it, as is abundantly attested by his speech to the Athenians, and by passages of the greatest moment in the letters to the Galatians and Romans. But the ideal of a Christ for humanity, ultimate as a form of thought although it is, and capable of infinite expansion in answer to the developments of time and the facts of the case, could not have meant for him what it must mean for the believer to-day. The restricted conception of salvation inaugurated under the apparent appalling compulsion of facts by Augustine, cherished through the Middle Ages, revitalized by the reformers, and descending with the Puritan inheritance to the present generation, is possible to those only who shut their eyes to the vastness of human history. The consciousness of history as of unmeasured extent, and as embracing countless multitudes of the human race—inferior doubtless in every way to the men of to-day, but upon whose sacrifices and rude civilizations, representing worlds of struggle and suffering, the modern age has built, and without which even genius itself would be comparatively helpless—is one of the great forces that are calling for a new conception of salvation. It is impossible to believe that the unmeasured worlds of prehistoric man that at the present time are rolling into the vision of the nobler spirits—and whose wonderful contributions in the way of brain and muscle and rude inventions, of the indispensable preliminaries of civilization, are receiving wider and more reverent recognition—do not stand in the eternal loving thought of God in Christ. The idea that confines salvation to the remnant, whether that be the remnant of the Hebrew prophet, or that of the mediæval saint, or of the Puritan, is to-day incredible. If cherished it can have but one issue—atheism.

Notwithstanding all the sentiment that has been cherished in regard to "prehistoric man," and in spite of all the books that have been written on the subject, including the works of Hitchcock and Winchell, it will require something more than a mere dogmatic statement, though embellished with the highest style of rhetorical finish, to produce a general belief that the age of the world extends very far back of the Mosaic account.

Nor should it be forgotten that the Christ idea of all the centuries is not an evolution but a revelation. To the followers of Wesley, Fletcher, and the hosts of other renowned believers and eminent Gospel teachers, from the earliest ages down to the latest century, such conclusions concerning the age of the world, based on such a premise, must be wholly repugnant and unwarranted by any of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, and without justification in any phase of human experience. Paul, without any question, had the highest ideal

of Christ for humanity, but this ideal was not gathered simply and alone by the all-masterful logic at his command and the philosophical deductions he was able to bring forth from the teachings of Jesus. It was that which he was able to gather out of a rich experience into his own soul and life by a personal contact with him, and the efficacy which he found in the atonement in its removal of sin and guilt from his own soul. It was out of this personal experience that he was able to say to the Ephesians, "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God." The ages have flowed steadily on since then, and marvelous changes have taken place in the physical conditions around us. New discovery and new inventions in the arts and sciences have come forth in every century, decade, and year in numberless thousands; and the round earth has blossomed out with what the brain of man has conceived and his cunning hands have wrought. Wings have been given to his thoughts; he has harnessed the lightnings to the chariots of his progress; he has laid his hand on the forces of nature and made them do his bidding; he has multiplied the latent forces about him a million times and utilized them in almost every conceivable way. But, while he has been marching on amid these boundless achievements, he has been perpetually reminded that there are many things about him that remain the same as at the beginning. The plan of the material universe, so far as it is perceptible by human intelligence, remains unchanged. When he looks into the heavens he sees the same stars twinkling above him and the same sun and moon that came forth in the early morning of creation now shining in the same resplendent glory that first dawned upon the heavens when God said, "Let there be light." The same breezes that filled the sails of the primitive ships of Columbus and fanned the brow of Miles Standish on the American continent are wafted to him. So, when he—like Saul crying out in the bitterness of his soul from the renowned hilltop that overlooked Damascus, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?"—asks for pardon and peace, he must hear the voice of that same Jesus speaking to his inmost consciousness the relief that never has been found elsewhere.

Thus, whatever man finds new in the onward march of the ages; whatever developments may confront him in science,

art, or history; however much thought may be enlarged and the mind strengthened by new forms and adaptations which may chance to be about it, the Christ of the nineteenth century is the Christ of "yesterday, and to-day, and forever." He is the same Christ as of Peter, James, and John, of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus. And when he shall go into the twentieth century, whose morning radiance is now gleaming over the mountains, he will be the same Christ, handling with ease whatever forces he may see fit to touch, and augmenting and strengthening his kingdom as the decades advance.

In the presence of these most significant facts, what is the place of Christ in the pulpit of to-day? It has been truly said:

> An historical character truly interpreted yields a working philosophy of the universe, and that becomes a message for the preacher, and upon his lips presses for triumphant utterance in the life of mankind. Thus the modern pulpit has a large task on its hands, a task that must mean for all genuine preachers a magnificent opportunity. Still, the very greatness of the opportunity must create a certain noble solicitude, must tend to press the preacher back upon the infinite inspirations.

As Jesus, in carrying forward his great work, and laying hold upon every opportunity which presented itself to him for giving an uplift to humanity, retreated back "upon the life of God," so the preacher of to-day must find his source of strength and power in the Infinite.

No man can be a very close discerner of the signs of the times if he cannot see that the representative men in the Church, and all the other Christian toilers of to-day, whatever accidental accretion may lie in their pathway, or however violent may be their encounter with the adverse opinions of men, are moving "as close as can be to the pure and august word of the Lord." There is, therefore, a specific mission for the Christian minister of to-day. The mass of humanity that is crowding about him on all sides must be brought into a "new and profounder sense of the meaning of Christ in the spiritual training of mankind." There is on every hand a hungering for the "meat which perisheth." While a few earnest toilers are hurrying with willing feet along every pathway of duty the millions are rushing into all secular avenues in quest of gain. Every open gateway to new discovery and new inven-

tion is entered, and on all sides there is a frenzy to reach a new and unexplored field. Great facts in national history, buried in the slumber of ages, are being brought to the surface. Archæological and technological science are opening up to modern gaze the wonders of the long ago. The geography of the world is constantly changing. National and international policies are being examined with a vigor and closeness unprecedented in the annals of the past. See how the systems of finance of the great nations of the world are being turned over and over again. Even philosophy in its most modern phases is ransacking the whole round earth in the most persistent investigation, and men everywhere are giving the outcry of Goethe, "More light! more light!"

But, while these phases of life are discoverable everywhere about us, it can also be plainly seen that no such spirituality comes into the life of the age as is demanded by the highest necessity of our moral being. The Christian scholar, looking most deeply into these conditions and deploring this modern trend, has set in motion an aggregation of influences which may ultimate in the wonted relief. The pulpit must find a conspicuous place among these forces. It has been well said:

> The longing for the true word of Jesus, the desire to reach the creative mind underlying Christendom, the hunger for help in the task of interpreting the world and its life, is the great motive in the characteristic criticism, historical research, and theological construction as at present carried on by Christian scholars. The ultimate problems of reason are so difficult, the final questions of faith are so urgent and perplexing, that along a score of different lines Christian thinkers are returning to their Master. It is felt more and more that there can be no substitutes in creeds, in Church authority, in patristic tradition, in apostolic interpretation, for him, and that without him there can be no solution of our human problem. The preacher must join in this sublime return. His question is primarily one of moral dynamics, and it can be met, as to-day it requires to be met, only by a new and profound sense of the meaning of Christ in the spiritual training of mankind.

Too much stress cannot be laid on the idea of the closest contact of the preacher with the great Teacher. Says another:

> Preachers need to revive the sense of the supremacy of their calling by living more completely under the shadow of the divine Preacher. Preaching has, in a way, become universal. All the sciences, all the noble arts, and all serious schemes of thought point finally to life as their grand ultimate. . . . It remains true, whatever reason may be assigned for it,

that there exists a widespread undervaluation of the prophetic office in the Christian ministry. . . . Preachers need to return to their divine Master along this line. He created no outward society, formed no institution, relied for the permanence of his influence upon no administration. He was the chief of preachers, and moved upon the mind of his time through his imperishable words. . . . The word conceived in truth, born in love, and spoken in the fullness of insight and power is the foundation of Christendom. The prophetic office of the ministry, the calling of the preacher, is the corner stone of our civilization; and if the present members of this calling shall live in the consciousness of Christ the Preacher there will be a universal revival of confidence in their vocation.

The loss of confidence in the ministry of this age, to the extent suggested in the above quotation, cannot be received without a flat denial of the historic records of the ministerial office as they have appeared in the passing centuries. When the preacher arises to great eminence in his office it does not necessarily follow that, because he represents that particular calling, therefore his influence is a passing one. No life has been impressed half so permanently on the history of the ages as the life of Christ; no men have lived longer in the admiration and the affections of the world than have those who have been foremost in propagating religious truth; and no literature has gained a more distinguished perpetuity than Christian literature. It would be superfluous to make the attempt to bring forward cases illustrative of this position. Volumes written on this subject have been made to glow and throb with the consecrated lives that have been impressed on the history of the world.

Morality constitutes a very essential part of human life, and when the moral consciousness in any degree has gone to wreck it is the mission of the minister of Jesus to undertake its recovery. The sympathies of the Lord Jesus are indissolubly joined to this mission. The need of mankind is voiced in the sentiment of the psalmist, "Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." To quote another: "A moral bath is the world's first necessity; a soaking in the sea of penitential feeling; the cleansing and renewal of life that can come only out of the depths of regret and hope, and the conscience and heart dissolved in high emotion and transformed into a sublime passion."

Christ must be supreme in the modern pulpit. The ground for this supremacy is in the fact that the "ultimate reality in

the universe is in the personality of God, and that only personality can mediate personality." Science cannot accomplish the mediation; philosophy, because it seeks only the unity of the physical world, cannot do it; and the only hope that is left to the world is the mediation of Jesus Christ, who is the "only divinely recognized personality before the eternal throne." There can be no just denial of the following statement:

> If the modern pulpit wishes to bring men to God it must, first of all, bring them to Christ; for the widest outlook over the records of humanity's long and sad struggle, and the deepest insight, join in support of the assertion that "there is none other name under heaven given among men" whereby the educational power of the Infinite is brought, in boundless measure and resistless form, to bear upon the whole human character. . . . In the sacred elevation of the personality of Christ the worshiper to-day finds his Father in heaven; and upon this mountain of the Lord the modern pulpit, if it is to retain its power over the hearts of men, must forever stand. . . . Since his advent there has never been a really great preacher who did not build upon him; and the preachers of the future who will move mightily upon the conscience and aspiration of men will move upon them in the forms of his everlasting power.

Let this sentiment pervade the last utterance of the pulpit in the nineteenth century, and it will be the crowning acclaim of the pulpit in the twentieth century.

J. D. Buell

Art. IX.—THE PLANTING OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ITALY.

The world-saving impulse is natural and universal in Christianity; it is instinct in the Master's spirit and teaching. Every loyal follower of Christ looks, prays, and labors for his universal dominion. This world-conquering spirit reaches its highest development in Methodism. It gives special attention to the inward religious experiences out of which this impulse naturally arises. It is not fettered by the doctrine of decrees and effectual calling that grows out of an extreme view of the divine sovereignty. It believes that salvation is purchased for all men, and therefore should be offered to all. By character and belief it is impelled to earnest evangelism. Without undervaluing the services of others, Methodists feel themselves peculiarly charged with the great commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, and they are rapidly translating into fact the speech of their founder, "The world is my parish." The pebble thrown into the sea a hundred and fifty years ago has sent its widening ripples to all shores, till they now contend with the outrushing floods at the mouth of the Tiber.

Italy has special claims upon American consideration. One Italian discovered, and another gave name to, our continent. Other more subtle, but not less potent, influences from the sunny land helped to shape our laws, our literature, our art, and our religion. It was natural, just, and in every way fitting, when we saw Italy suffering from the incrustations of centuries of error fastened on it; when, overrun by barbarians in the fifth and sixth centuries, its pure Christianity was transformed by the introduction of pagan rites into the mongrel called Roman Catholicism, to send back, in tribute for the services rendered us, the influences of a pure, strong, free life by preaching there the Gospel that made us what we are.

Methodism is the logical, historical, and practical antithesis of Romanism. The one is intrenched in form, the other in life; the one requires blind submission, the other intelligent faith; the one offers salvation in the Church, the other in Christ by faith alone; the one demands obedience to the pope, the other makes Christ Lord of all. It required a number of upheavals

to raise the submerged Christianity above the overflow of worldliness and pagan rites brought in through Constantine and the incursions of the barbarians that prepared the way for the Dark Ages. The Reformation of Luther liberated the intellect and lifted the world above the Dead Sea level of stagnation; the English Reformation threw off the bondage of ecclesiasticism as represented in the Roman hierarchy; and the Reformation of Wesley lifted the Church above dry forms and dead creeds into the life and liberty of the sons of God. The fruit of this last, highest movement must now, by every consideration of duty and love, be carried back to confront the condition from which it is the farthest reaction, and to drop in the rich mother soil seeds that ere long will wave in abundant harvests. The mailed, bedecked warrior of the Middle Ages is challenged to combat by the free, buoyant, trusting David of the new life, on the field of glory where once gladiators fought and martyrs witnessed their faith unto death.

The proposed, long-discussed mission to Italy at last took form in the appointment by Bishop Ames, in March, 1871, of the Rev. Leroy M. Vernon, D.D., as missionary to Italy. The discussion in the Missionary Committee had been able and earnest, for the question was a difficult one. The proposition was at last carried, under the gallant leadership of that valiant knight of progress, large faith, and generous outlook, Gilbert Haven. It was objected that our first duty is to pagans; that, while our funds are inadequate to their needs, we should not divert them to nominal Christian lands; that Italy is a country of churches and cathedrals, with a numerous ministry, and though they misuse their privileges our responsibility in the case is not so great as for those in absolute heathenism. These views were supported by such master spirits as Daniel Curry, D.D., W. L. Harris, D.D., and many others. But strength of argument, weight of intellect, and official position availed not against the splendid faith and contagious enthusiasm of the progressive members of the committee, who at last won their case by a bare majority. When the action was taken and the bishop had selected a man for the field the proposed appointee long hesitated to accept the offered responsibility. The writer was in frequent consultation with him on the subject, and it was finally decided neither to accept nor decline, but to leave the appointment ab-

solutely with the bishop. With the committee almost equally divided, and with an impending General Conference foreshadowing changes of personalities and policies, the missionary sailed for Italy in June, 1871, with little behind and less before him to inspire confidence and enthusiasm.

A year was passed in Genoa waiting for New York to make up its mind, but the time was well improved in learning the language, investigating the field, and getting *en rapport* with the Italian people. At last, Gilbert Haven having been elected bishop and placed in charge of the Mission, a cablegram was received from him December 5, 1875, "Headquarters, Bologna." The missionary, weary with waiting, flew to the next train for Bologna, and in a few hours telegraphed to New York that he was on the field. This old university city, if not the best headquarters, had at least the advantage of being central and conservative. Dr. Vernon had recommended Rome, but when his official superior said Bologna he promptly acquiesced.

One of the first difficulties encountered was that of securing a place to hold services. All parties were suspicious of the stranger; the eyes of the priests were upon every movement; and they held the keys, not only of the kingdom of heaven, but of business, society, and the home as well, and it would be perilous for any owner of property to rent to one they disapproved. A room was engaged, but the priest found a plausible pretext for annulling the contract, and thus released the owner from his awkward position. Centuries of growing, tightening despotism had made the hierarchy master of Italy, down to the smallest detail in the life of the humblest citizen. But Garibaldi had been thundering at the prison doors of his enslaved countrymen; and Victor Emmanuel had actually made a breach in the walls of Rome, and a larger one in the stronger wall of the pope's temporal power, and had then marched to the Quirinal, where he was seated amid the huzzahs of the populace as king of all Italy. These rude shocks at last began to arouse men from the sleep of ages, and they were already rubbing their eyes in the early dawn of a new era of freedom for Italy. Even the priests felt the change, and were a little less arrogant in their absolute rule over the people. By persistent effort in meeting priestly craft with skillful artifice after four months a place for services was secured. The long-delayed

work was happily begun in Bologna, and a few days later in Modena, under the labors of Rev. J. C. Mill and Signor A. Guigou, experienced missionaries, at the time providentially thrown within Dr. Vernon's reach. Once getting under way, all Italy lay at the feet of these new conquerors, and the advance on Rome was not long delayed. Ere a month had passed Forli and Ravenna had been taken as preaching stations, and soon Bagnacavallo heard the Gospel from Signor B. Godino, while Signor B. Malan entered Pescara and Chieti. Bible colporteurs were sent abroad to prepare the way of the Lord by distributing his word in places to which his ministers also were soon to be sent.

But the obstacles to be encountered were many and great. The Gospel finds difficulties enough in unregenerated human nature where false teaching has not perverted the understanding; but where a corrupt faith has taken possession of the soul and is in league with the carnal man, allowing his demands while maintaining a respectable formalism, they are greatly increased. Nothing is more subtle and demoralizing than the casuistry of Rome, which balances sin with penance, purges it with indulgences, justifies it by making heretics the victims of the wrongdoing, and finds release from its penalties in purgatorial fires. Lying, theft, robbery, and murder, if committed against the enemies of the Church, leave little stain on the conscience. Minds saturated with such perverted notions of fundamental moral principles, under the fostering care of the "holy mother Church," are a poor soil for Gospel seed. Even devout and upright Roman Catholics, of whom there are many, might see little occasion to turn to "another Gospel, which is not another." They believe the fundamental truths of the Gospel, accept its rule of life, and live in its hope. What more has the missionary to offer? Does he proclaim God as the Father, Jesus Christ as the Saviour, and the Holy Ghost as the Sanctifier? Does he insist upon obedience to God's law and faith in his word? All this, and more, they hold as tenaciously as he; the missionary was himself instructed in these very things by the Church of Rome, or by agencies that sprang from it, and would he now become its instructor?

Then, again, the Italian has great respect for art, architecture, ritual, and a scenic service that appeals strongly to the imagi-

nation; and he would be unfavorably impressed in passing from the splendid cathedrals of Rome to the poor, hired, unchurchly apartments where the Protestant service was housed. In men of sincere minds the reaction from the corruptions of the papacy, while strong, was toward skepticism, rather than toward another form of Christian faith. That is the law of reaction; destroy faith, and the mind flies to skepticism rather than to other faith. One of the hardest forms of unbelief to deal with is that so prevalent in Italy, born of moral revolt from the inconsistencies of the professors of faith.

Great as the difficulties were, the Gospel soon began to bring forth fruit, and the toilers were cheered with the promise of harvest. The heart of the superintendent was made glad in these early months by the acquisition of a veritable Timothy, as he afterward proved, the highly educated and gifted Signor Teofilo Gay. He had graduated from the Geneva Theological Seminary under Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, had served a year as assistant pastor of a French church in London, and had in his make-up the sterling stuff of his Waldensian ancestors. He threw himself into our work with great enthusiasm, entering Rome as the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church November 2, 1873. He at once took high rank among the liberal spirits, advanced thinkers, and aggressive evangelicals of the city, and soon became the foremost man in the evangelical Protestantism of Italy. Before the year closed work was established in Florence by Rev. A. Arrighi, an Italian who emigrated to America when a boy, and, having there been converted, was educated by that veteran advocate of an Italian mission, Dr. Charles Elliott, for the work of preaching the Gospel in Italy. Mr. Arrighi, well known to the writer as a fellow-student in college days, returned to his native country at his own expense, offered his services to Dr. Vernon, and at Florence began one of the most successful stations the Mission has had. Our cause here encountered one of its severest persecutions, the priests actually leading in acts of violence. Stones and clubs were used, windows and doors of the church were broken, lights were extinguished, and the congregation was badly frightened; but the next day the rioters were lodged in jail, the church had much free advertising, sympathy was aroused, and the wrath of man turned to the praise of God.

A notable conversion in July, 1874, greatly cheered our Methodist "Italian band." Professor Alcesta Lanna, Ph.D., D.D., a young man of great reputation as a scholar, and in high position in the Roman Catholic Church, after long and anxiously seeking for light, being "instructed in the way of the Lord" more fully, came into a joyful acceptance of Jesus Christ by faith. It was the "joy of the Lord," for he was sacrificing much for no visible gain. He was a professor in the Appolinari, the most popular Catholic college in Rome, had been professor of philosophy in the Vatican Seminary, and had an assured comfortable salary with the prospect of promotion before him. But his soul had long been ill at ease. He earnestly sought light and peace, and when he found the pearl of great price he gave up all he had that he might secure it. He thenceforward became a most interesting and helpful factor in the Mission, serving for many years as pastor in Rome with great ability and fidelity. At the close of the same year another conversion added much to the growing confidence and strength of the Mission. Professor E. Caporali, LL.D., the son of a Viennese baroness, "a wide-ranging, industrious student of the German type," well known as an editor and author, chanced to enter one of our evening services in Rome and at once felt the awakening power of the truth under the influence of the Spirit. After a season of mental struggle, under a deep sense of sin, he entered by faith into the peace of Christ, and gave himself heartily to the work of God. He had high literary ambition, and was at that time carrying through the press a work of great literary and scientific merit, that contemplated thirty volumes of five hundred pages each. At the time he gave up all for Christ, though he was able afterward to continue his literary labors in connection with his services to the Church.

In the year 1874 Bishop Harris held the first Annual Meeting of the Mission. He cordially agreed with the opinion of the superintendent that the headquarters of the Mission should be in Rome, and so ordered. Though originally opposed to the Mission, the bishop now became one of its warmest friends, declaring in many public addresses after his return to America that no mission of the Church had shown as large results at the same period of its history. Upon removing to Rome, Dr. Vernon immediately began preliminary measures for building a

church in that city, with the view of giving strength and permanence to the Mission at the national capital. Obtaining consent from the board in New York, he purchased a lot on Via Poli, and began the erection of a church. The work progressed as rapidly as slow Italian methods would permit, and on Christmas Day, 1875, the first Protestant Christian church for native Italians was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God as St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church. A solid, neat structure, capable of seating about three hundred, and well located for our work, it gave standing and strength to the Mission, and gave notice also that we had come to stay. A fine congregation was soon collected, and the ministry of the word brought forth fruit in many conversions. The writer had the privilege of looking into the face of a large and intelligent congregation in this church in 1888, while Dr. Teofilo Gay, then at the height of his popularity, preached an earnest sermon.

With a strong and secure position in Rome, with learned and able expounders and defenders of the new doctrine boldly preaching salvation by faith under the very shadow of the Vatican, our people and cause took new heart throughout Italy, and cheering reports from all quarters stimulated the superintendent to push the work with renewed energy. A most interesting incident that was to attract the attention of all Christendom began in the acquaintance and friendship that sprang up between Dr. Vernon and Count Enrico di Campello, a canon of St. Peter's Church at the Vatican. The count was highly educated, and had fine natural abilities; he stood high in ecclesiastical circles, and had before him brilliant prospects if faithful to the Church of Rome. But he had long chafed under the manifest corruptions of that moribund ecclesiasticism, and a spiritual hunger had been awakened which the dry husks of its dead formalism could not satisfy. For three years he was a frequent visitor at Dr. Vernon's study for discussion and prayer, with an ever-growing desire for deliverance from the bondage in which he was held. The struggle was long and fierce. On the one side were the associations of his life, the venerable Church, its great institutions, its splendid cathedrals, its promise of promotion; on the other, associations with strangers who might not remain in the country, a feeble and despised sect, small and obscure places of worship, and no security for sup-

port or position in the future. But he was deeply in earnest, brave, and true, and with such a nature there could be no doubt about the final issue. He finally reached a decision that brought peace to his soul, and on September 14 renounced his lucrative canonry at St. Peter's and his allegiance to the Church of Rome, and in presence of the congregation of St. Paul's, Piazza Poli, united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. The conversion of such a distinguished son of the Church attracted great attention, and the secular press in Rome and throughout the world gave prominence to it as the most significant case of the kind since the Reformation. Had not another Protestant communion coveted this prize won from the papacy, and promised to open for the count such a literary career as he desired, which it never fulfilled, he might have become eminently useful in our Mission. But having been lured from us, and disappointed in the assurances given, he at last took an independent position, in which he has been true to his dissent from the papacy and loyal to the pure Gospel.

The Gospel had now been planted in most of the leading cities and centers of influence in Italy. In Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Naples, Bologna, and in many smaller places effective missionary work was being done. Priests, and ministers from other Protestant communions, were offering their services in greater number than could be accepted. The Annual Meeting of the Mission that convened in Rome March 16, 1881, under the presidency of Bishop Merrill, marks an epoch in the history of Italian Methodism. Seventeen ministers assembled with buoyant faith and overflowing enthusiasm, bringing cheering reports from the fields where they had toiled for the Master and witnessed the triumphs of his Gospel. The work seemed so hopeful, solid, and genuine, and the outlook was so full of promise, that, after careful inspection and deliberation, the bishop felt it his duty to organize the Mission into an Annual Conference. This action gave the Mission autonomy, dignity, and strength, and all went forth to their fields of labor with new heart and hope. Just ten years after his appointment Dr. Vernon saw this splendid result of his toil, a new star taking its place in the constellation of Conferences. There were at this time one thousand members in our churches and a good Sunday school force at work on the Italy that is to be.

But if our altar fires burned brightly the fires of persecution burned not less fiercely. It was not for us to win a crown in Italy without fighting for it. Many plots, schemes, false accusations, tumults, and scurrilous publications had been employed to hinder the Gospel; but the most violent and dastardly attempt, as of old, was by a Judas from within. One of our ministers, of more than ordinary ability as a preacher, had been accused of flagrant immoralities, and the matter assumed such shape that the superintendent was compelled to take notice of it. He long hesitated to give the watchful foe cause for "a railing accusation" against us; but when the evil within threatened greater injury than could come from taunts from without he felt compelled to act. An investigation, according to forms of Discipline, resulted in the conviction and expulsion of the accused brother. After a few months' wandering "through dry places, seeking rest, and finding none," like the evil spirit of old, he said, "I will return unto my house whence I came out," either to enter or to destroy it. Entrance being denied, he attempted the second thing proposed to himself. He instituted a civil suit against Dr. Vernon for defamation of character and loss of salary. The penalty for such a crime as charged is very severe in Italy, and if the superintendent could be convicted he might expect years of imprisonment. Conviction, by a court made up and surrounded by papal influences, was not wholly improbable. The papers were served upon Dr. Vernon and he was placed under arrest. The case came before the court in Naples July 23, 1882, with Dr. Vernon in the prisoner's dock. For five days testimony and argument proceeded, Roman Catholic judges sitting in judgment on a Protestant missionary who was in Italy for the purpose of overturning their system of doctrine and worship. It was a fortunate thing for our cause that Bishop Harris was able to appear as a witness, giving important testimony as to the exact conformity of the proceedings in the expulsion of the accused minister with the law of the Church in such cases—the point on which the case turned. After his return to this country the bishop, with tears in his eyes, related the incidents of the trial to the writer, and how promptly he responded to a telegraphic summons that reached him in Vienna, though he felt that he was putting his life in peril by going into cholera-

scourged Italy at that time. Great ability was displayed by counsel on both sides; and such a disposition to be fair was manifested by the judges, and so conclusive was the testimony for the defense, that Dr. Vernon's counsel declined to address the court when final opportunity was given. The court, after a few minutes' recess, announced its decision, entirely absolving the accused. Thus Cæsar, at his judgment bar, rendered unto the Gospel the things that belong to the Gospel.

Annual Conference sessions were held in 1883 at Turin, in 1884 at Perugia, in 1885 at Bologna, in 1886 at Venice, in 1887 at Pisa, and in 1888 at Rome. These dates cover a period of agitation in which questions of administration were violently discussed, diverting attention from evangelistic efforts, dividing and dispiriting the workers, and giving a pause to the rapid progress that had marked the history of the Mission. No true man need fear honest and fair criticism of his work. Dr. Vernon invited the most thorough inspection of all that had been done in Italy. At his request the Missionary Board in New York appointed two of its most prominent members, Bishop C. D. Foss and Dr. John F. Goucher, to thoroughly inspect the affairs of the Mission. These servants of the Church, after a winter spent in Italy in execution of their trust, made a report that must forever stand against all attacks upon the administration in Italy.

Yet it would be impossible to avoid differences of opinion upon the administration of such a work. A few points on which differences arose may be indicated. The administration aimed to produce a pure, strong Italian Methodism, as distinguished from an American Methodism, on Italian soil. Only superficial thinkers or dreaming theorizers, who sit in their quiet studies far from the field of action and spin Utopian schemes, for the practical application of which they never shed a drop of blood, would think of loading down the Gospel on its entrance into a new and hostile field with the mannerisms and customs of a foreign land that were not essential to its truth and spirit. To preach the Gospel successfully to Italians one must become an Italian in all but his sins and superstitions, offering not an American but an Italian Saviour. Those who impose on the Gospel a social cult or political cast are hinderers rather than helpers of its progress. It is better first to

gain entrance for the pure, simple Gospel, and trust to its leavening influence for the rest.

Another principle was that forms of service and methods of work should be determined by what is most effective and best adapted to Italians. Evangelistic services were conducted as they are in England, as they were in America by our fathers, and as they are in most mission fields to-day, without inviting penitents to the "mourners' bench" or "altar." This was not because Italians would not come, but because they would come with the old Roman superstition about the efficacy of sacred places. To facilitate spiritual apprehension it was necessary to keep as far as possible from the Roman reliance upon places, penances, and forms. Many objected to this who could have found a better field nearer home for their criticism.

It was also deemed wise to interfere with social habits and customs as little as possible until the Gospel obtained a footing and wrought needed changes by its spiritual transformations. Wine-drinking at meals, and as part of the meal, is universal in Italy, though intoxication is very rare. The superintendent believed it wise to deal with that question as our fathers dealt with it in this country, as the Wesleyans in England are dealing with it to-day—to let the preaching of the Gospel develop a sentiment before a law is announced. Among the early Methodists of this country it was not an unusual thing for ministers to indulge freely at the houses of their members. To have required total abstinence in the beginning, as many insisted should be done, would have resulted in the Italians abstaining, not from wine, but from Methodism.

The fact that the hymnology of Protestantism in Italy was employed in our services was sharply criticised. It was objected that the Methodist Hymnal should be translated and used; but no one of these critics ventured to furnish a translation or suggest anyone who could. It requires almost as much genius to translate as to write a hymn, and there is probably not a living Methodist to-day on either side the ocean who would risk his reputation in an effort to translate our Hymnal. It was a great help to the Protestantism of Italy, a bond of union against an opposing, colossal unity, to use the same hymnology in all its branches; and it was hoped there could be no great sin in using the hymns of Luther, Watts, Toplady, and

others that have so large a place in the Methodist Hymnal. Other equally frivolous criticisms, born of partial knowledge and the lack of sympathy natural to those remote from the field, did much toward interrupting the harmony and chilling the aggressive spirit of our conquering force in Italy.

The literary and educational needs of the Mission were carefully considered and provided for as far as means would permit. The *Corriere Evangelico* and the *Fiaccola* were weekly publications that gave the Gospel to the people in print in able discussions of live religious topics. The *Nuova Scienza*, a monthly review, took high rank among the best literary publications in Italy, addressing educated minds on profound and stirring topics. The superintendent translated our Articles of Religion, General Rules, Ritual, and such portions of the Discipline as seemed necessary for use in our Italian churches.

We now approach the close of the planting period and pause a moment to look at the characteristics of the chief instrument under God in this work. Dr. Vernon held thorough loyalty to his Church and its officials to be a part of his religious faith, and an administrative duty, as well as a personal privilege. He hesitated not to differ from his official superiors, but was prompt to obey their orders and loyal in supporting their plans. Too much a gentleman to be discourteous to any, he felt it a necessity of character and condition cordially to obey them that had the rule over him. His complete self-abandon to the work and to the men who aided him in it was a marked characteristic. To his peril and personal injury, he refused for a number of summers to leave Rome, that he might personally watch and aid every movement and that he might be to his helpers an example of devotion. Often did the writer observe in visits with him among his laborers how absolutely he gave himself to them and made himself one with them, winning in return that ardent affection and attachment to his cause that still lives in many hearts in Italy. He also displayed great care in administration. When he may have seemed slow he was disentangling the complex conditions by which he was surrounded, and endeavoring to discover a safe path before setting forth. Many priests were offering themselves, whether for hire or for love of Christ he must ascertain. Jesuitical traps were laid for him, and the watchful papacy was ever ready to attack in the rear if unable

to stand in front. It required great skill to steer safely through the perils that beset him and to satisfy the demands of the home Church and of the missionary office. He became a recognized master of Italian literature and art, and used the language with a correctness and facility acquired by few Americans. These qualities, grafted into a stock of sturdy honesty, high self-respect, and supreme devotion to God, made him a workman in Italy that needeth not to be ashamed.

The superintendent at last grew weary in his work, though not of it. Accepting the appointment to Italy at the first without having desired or sought it, he often longed to lay it down and return to his native land. When the writer was in Italy in 1875 he was intrusted with authority to negotiate with the authorities at New York for the superintendent's return to America, if it could be effected without detriment to the Mission. But after repeated interviews with Bishop Simpson and the missionary secretaries it seemed inexpedient to press the matter at that time; assurance was given, however, that a competent man would be selected and sent to Italy as soon as convenient, that he might become acquainted with the work and be ready to relieve the superintendent. In 1886, Dr. William Burt having been sent to Italy, Dr. Vernon at the General Conference of 1888 resigned the superintendency. After seventeen years of fruitful labor he turned over to the Church one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine members and probationers, sixty-one thousand dollars' worth of property, twenty-four pastoral charges, and twenty-six members of Conference.

Space will not permit fuller mention of the heroic men who helped to achieve these splendid results, such as the able and laborious Enrico Borelli, and his devoted and early crowned son, Emilio; the diligent and faithful Giacomo Carboneri; the highly educated and versatile T. D. Malan; and many others "whose names are in the book of life." Italy will hold them in grateful remembrance, and God will recompense their toils.

Art. X.—THE BIOGRAPHY OF SPIRIT.

I.

Who has yet written the biography of that nameless, mysterious "it" which is the essence of personality? It were easier to describe *aiguilles*, crests, precipices, the mountain's iridescent glory or awful gloom! A wonderful fraction of world it is! or, rather, a world within a world! But of its creation no record so complete as that of the earth, in the Book of Origins. Only God breathed into his nostrils the breath of lives, and man became a living soul. In that man I, too, became a living soul! His Eden, with its "tree of life" in the midst of the garden, was my home, and his expulsion was also mine—yet not finally and forever, for there is a "second Man" whose return to the tree of life is mine.

Of this the Mayas—they are types—had, perhaps, no full conception. Their day-signs, still to be read in their strange calendars, show that they thought chiefly of human life in its physical or sensuous aspects. The serpent with them signifies poverty and labors; a flower or herb, brevity of life; a lizard, ills of nakedness and cold; a deer, the necessity of seeking food; a tiger, bad luck; a skull, universality of death; a stone knife, war; a winged head, the variety or uncertainty of events; water, abundance; a rabbit, eating, drinking, and making merry; a shower of rain, pleasure and worldly contentment; a house, tranquillity; an eagle, freedom. The only sign that refers to the distinctive life of the spirit, dissociated from the life of the body in its physical environment, is that of the devil, "who takes souls to hell;" and the only one that evidences faith in a god is that of the moon, symbolizing the deliberation with which the Creator contemplated the act of making the world.

So that, though much is said in symbol of the distress and delight of life, and little of its origin and destiny, enough is expressed to show that in prehistoric ages, and among peoples whose life was never transfigured by biblical truth, the story of the human spirit was regarded with profoundest interest because of its tragedy, its intense and culminating criticalness. Even the poor Maya believed in a devil and a hell, and it is

easy for us to infer that he regarded with terror the signs of the lizard, the skull, the tiger; and that he contemplated with ecstasy the signs of the rabbit, house, and eagle. It is also easy to conceive that he became bitter and defiant under his poverty and labors, and that he longed for good days of plenty and freedom. For the life of the spirit is related to all nature, humanity, God, eternity, and each life is an inlet to the whole tide of existence. It is what it is, because life is composite, and the individual spirit is an index of it in its motions. This gives to the biography of the spirit its perennial charm, its ever-fresh interest, so that, in this later time, educators are approaching the conclusion that the true method of educating is by biography.

II.

Saint Augustine, Rousseau, Amiel, and Marie Bashkirtseff have written journals of the inmost life. With varying purpose, to quote the poet Sill, they faced their life, "that silent ghost, and forced it speak what it would have with them." Yet their apparent frankness is outweighed by their reserve. Like ourselves, they, too, fronted barriers to comprehensive self-knowledge and exact prescience of the final development of the spirit. Indeed, the key-word to their confessions is dissatisfaction. They felt that they had been thrust upon the stage before they were ready for the best playing of their part, and that they would be summoned from it before comprehending the plot of the drama, before knowing whether they had played in tragedy or farce.

Augustine believes that he will ultimately become transformed into the likeness of the divine Jesus, and that his part in the drama does not end when he disappears from the stage. Less popular than the *Confessions* of Jean Jacques or the *Journal Intime* of Amiel, Augustine's *Confessions* is a great autobiography, because it is saturated with passionate aspiration after the holiest—after God. The saint hungered and thirsted for God.

Rousseau was a deist who ignored the obligations of the moral imperative embodied in the law. He neither hungered nor thirsted for God. Bashkirtseff trifles with God, and charges him with disloyalty to himself. On a certain day she wrote, "The life of anyone—one's entire life, without any con-

cealment or disguise—is always a grand and interesting spectacle." It is, indeed, the only grand and interesting spectacle. It is that which gives grandeur and interest to the arts, to science, to history, to letters, to poetry, to the drama. Poor Marie! "I still have my conscience, and I pray to God every night in despite of my reason," she wrote in her *Journal.* She patronized God, condescended to address him, associated him in a way with her art—and died.

It is, perhaps, too soon to compute the effect of Amiel's *Journal* upon modern thought, but not too soon to form a judgment on Amiel himself, that poet who wrote prose, that idealist who dreamed dreams and waited for a day that never came in which his dreams would body themselves in deeds.

Contrast with these the *Journal* of John Wesley. It lacks "charm," let us admit, because it is so ethically strenuous, so uncompromising. Wesley was not a saint, not a poet, not a philosopher, not an artist, not a creator of new industries, nor an inaugurator of new commercial relations; but his life was penetrated with the impulses of moral mastery; it was majestic in great achievement, because he recognized the end of existence to be the culture of the spirit of man under tutelage of the Spirit of God.

G. M. Hammell.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In our March number of the present year we requested each of our subscribers to mail, on a postal card addressed to the editor, his vote for or against our cutting the leaves of the *Review*. As yet only a small number, not over five hundred, have responded. The polls are still open, and we renew our request for a full and immediate expression of preference. There are reasons why the leaves of the *Review* should not be cut unless there is a strong demand for the change.

Colonel T. W. Higginson remonstrates against a too sweeping denunciation of immigration. In the light of American history such denunciation is absurd, and, moreover, it is ungracious in any man upon our soil to wish to bar, except for the gravest reasons, the entrance of later arrivals by closing the ports at which he or his near ancestors came into the land. As human history runs it is not long since the Pilgrims landed. We are all newcomers. To say that the red man is the only native American is not much of an exaggeration.

"It is immigration, not natural increase, which has made the material greatness of this country." If for the most part they are the plebeians of Europe who come, we should remember that only the day before yesterday the ancestors of our present patricians were plebeians. Take the Astors for example. The latest arrivals are Americans in the making. If their appearance is appalling, they probably look no worse than did earlier crude and squalid immigrants who have vanished into respectable descendants. Taking our country as a whole, it is amazing with what rapidity the generality of newly arrived foreigners merge invisibly into the common mass of the population. Frequently their children, or at farthest the second generation, can scarcely be distinguished from the lineal descendants of the founders of the republic. In America, as De Tocqueville saw and said, a log hut, or a dugout, or a shanty, is "not a home, but a halting

place on the way to something better," possibly to the White House or a palatial mansion.

In order to deter us from permitting the snobbishness of race prejudice to grow up among us, Colonel Higginson first reminds us that in the past each new class of arrivals brought some good quality and did some useful work of its own; and then recites certain facts, trustworthily reported, which tend to show that it is "a mistake to assume that any one race monopolizes all the virtues, or that the community" receives more injury than benefit from new importations. He writes: "The late Rev. Horatio Wood, who was for more than half a century city missionary at Lowell, and who watched the whole change from American to Irish factory girls, told me that in one respect it brought a distinct moral improvement: the ignorant Irish girls were more uniformly chaste than the Protestant farmers' daughters whom they superseded. Now the French Canadians have replaced the Irish; but a Protestant physician of great experience, whose practice included several large manufacturing villages, almost wholly French, told me that he had never known an illegitimate birth there. At the old 'North End' of Boston, where Irish superseded Americans, and have now given place to Italians and Russian Jews, a city missionary has testified to a moral improvement from the change; the Italians, though quarrelsome, are temperate, and he says he never saw a Jew intoxicated. No doubt the prisons show a larger proportion of foreigners than of natives, because the foreigners represent the poorer class and the less befriended. But the eminent scoundrels, who are rich and shrewd enough to keep out of prison, are rarely foreigners; they are more often the native product and use the others as their tools; one such successful swindler doing more real harm in the community than twenty men convicted of drunkenness or petty larceny. Even as to crimes of violence it is not among the vehement Italians that lynchings occur, but in those portions of the Union least touched by foreign immigration. Let us make laws, then, to regulate those landing on our shores; but let us not forget that the ancestors of our lawmakers also landed here."

The writer of this editorial note, whose American citizenship dates back to the early English Puritan settlers of New England, seeing sense and fairness in Colonel Higginson's words, transcribes them here as a needed counterbalance to certain intemperate diatribes against immigration, as if it were a chief cause of nearly all the nation's ills and perils.

SCIENTIFIC TESTIMONY TO CHRISTIAN FAITH.

THE question is often raised as to the side upon which the majority of scientists are ranged in the controversy between faith and unbelief. We know of no one who has taken the trouble to investigate the subject carefully. It is probably true that the few epoch-making scientific men of more recent times have been either antagonistic to Christianity or unable to accept it. On the other hand, a very large number of men occupying first rank in the realm of science have held more or less firmly and consistently to the Christian faith. In other words, with the few exceptions noted the expert testimony as to the compatibility of Christianity and modern science is by no means wholly unfavorable to the faith of Christ.

It is fair to ask whether both sides do not overestimate the value of the argument; and it is a noticeable fact that the popular apologists and assailants of Christianity are about the only ones who employ it at all. The attitude toward the Christian system of a celebrated scientist is, doubtless, a convenient defensive or offensive weapon; but it may be dangerous to our faith to allow, even by implication, that a small number of men, however able, can be appealed to on the ground of their scientific attainments for the settlement of the correctness or incorrectness of our faith in Jesus Christ. We did well to rejoice in the "conversion of Romanes," as we should in the conversion of any other unbeliever; but it is possible to place too much dependence on it in our popular contention against scientific unbelief.

Perhaps Christians have been compelled to reckon up the number of scientific men who espouse their cause, in order to rebut the extravagant claims of infidels. There appears, however, to be a tacit admission on both sides that learning can decide the issue. Very early in apologetic literature do we find a tendency to dwell with satisfaction upon the talents and erudition of certain adherents of Christianity. Because natural science is the most admired form of learning in our day this generation limits the appeal chiefly to its devotees. If this method of defense and attack means anything it is that scientific investigations are conducted with an exactness and a freedom from prejudice which thoroughly guarantee their conclusions.

Is, then, scientific thought more exact than any other thought? No one who knows what has been achieved in the investigation of nature can fail to admire the painstaking care with which these researches are conducted. But surely it is no detraction from the

merit of natural science to say that only in the means, and not in the principles of investigation, does it possess any advantage over other departments of learning. We name but one instance out of many when we say that historical research is as exact and severe in its methods, and as cautious in its announcement of conclusions, as is natural science.

This brief review will suffice to point out that natural science has no claim, on the ground of exactness, to the position of arbiter of the faith not equally valid for philosophy, psychology, and history. Nor have scientists any advantage in point of freedom from bias. It is a law of the human mind, from which scientific men are not exempt, that intense application to one idea blinds to the value of all that lies beyond that particular sphere of thought. History abounds with illustrations. Our civil war had come to an end twenty-five years before any considerable number of those who participated in its agonies could adjust themselves to new political problems. Bismarck has never been able to grasp any other thought than the unity of Germany, though that has been an accomplished fact for more than a quarter of a century. And even among scientific men, and within the realm of science itself, there are numerous instances. Martineau, in his *Study of Religion*, reminds us, although in another connection, that "Tycho Brahe, though a Copernican in relation to the planets, and, in applying the theory, himself the discoverer of three lunar inequalities, stood out against the diurnal and annual motion of the earth;" that "Huygens and John Bernouilli, entangled in the vortices and plenum of Descartes, set their faces against the Newtonian physics;" that "Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, could never let go Stahl's phlogistic theory of combustion;" and that Brewster could not "surrender to the undulatory doctrine of light."

Thus the laws and the history of thought demonstrate that the judgments of scientific men, as the judgments of others, are not infallible. Mental horizons are limited. The logician cannot understand the artist and the poet. The business man fails to fathom the motives of the student. The politician has no mental sense capable of putting him into sympathy with the dreams of the idealist. Those legal minds are rare which are capable of feeling the full force of an opponent's position.

If the man of science is no more exact or free from bias in his thinking than other men of trained minds, why should we lay so much stress on his testimony concerning Christianity? In fact, there is only one point upon which he is specially qualified to

speak with authority on these subjects, and that is as to the compatibility of certain forms of Christian doctrine with specific scientific theories. And even on this point the theologian is as capable of judging as is the scientist. Where incompatibility exists time only can reveal whether both or but one shall have to change ground.

When, therefore, we find scientific men denying the validity of the evidence for the existence of God, or of design in the structure of the world, we should recall the fact that their opinions on these points are worth no more than the opinions of other educated men, and that, owing to their habit of looking at nature, each in but a limited number of aspects, they may be even less capable of judging accurately concerning matters beyond the realm of their thought than others less skilled in science. No presumption for or against a religious tenet can be based on the opinion of a scientific man as such, for he has no means or abilities for testing their truth not equally possessed by multitudes of others. On a subject so vital and personal as one's religious faith each must determine for himself. And Christianity is of such a nature that all of its essential tenets, so far as they pertain to this life, may be tested by the thoughtful mind, in experience, here and now. The faculties necessary for this crowning evidence of the truth of Christianity are, though obscured in some, bestowed upon all, learned and unlearned, alike.

WHY MEN DIFFER IN REASONING.

THE mind—the thinking power—has always puzzled philosophers at the most practical point in its operations. Minds being alike and the data for reasoning being the same, why do different minds reach unlike or antagonistic conclusions? The reasoning process itself is so simple that no mistakes seem possible. A familiar example runs: All men are mortal; John is a man; John is mortal.

The conclusion—John is mortal—is so plain that no mind ever did or can draw any other. One may deny that John is a man, and also assert that there is as yet no proof that John or any other living person is mortal. But we should not stop to discuss with people who denied either the major or the minor premise. And yet all differences in conclusions must arise out of variety in estimates of premises. Then, the matter must be thrown farther back; for major and minor premises depend on facts and the

meaning of facts. If the facts are differently appreciated, different premises will be laid down. It will be found in all large differences—say in politics—that the facts are not the same or that their values and meanings are differently weighed.

I. The data for reasoning are the same; but some minds do not know the data at all, or very inadequately. To ascertain the data one must take facts apart, see how they are made up, and construct data. As a rule a datum in any large concernment—as in politics or religion—is composite, a number of facts are grouped in it. And the facts constitute the field where the dispute ought to be waged; but as a rule men try to settle their differences by logic, though logic has nothing to do with the case. From time to time for centuries philosophers have taken up the case of a poor citizen of Athens, who believed that he owned all the ships in the harbor. He counted his ships, estimated their cargoes, the length of their voyages, the amounts gained by each ship, and his own profits. It was observed that his figures were remarkably accurate, so much so that he was seldom wrong in his estimates of his own income. He was wrong on only one point. He did not own the ships, and he thought that he owned them, and built his fortune on that false basis. The little fact that he made a mistake about destroyed all his calculations. No matter how perfectly he appreciated all the other facts, his one error overthrew the conclusion that he had a right to a large income; and they called him a lunatic. The mistake of fact was fundamental; on the fact of ownership all the rest depended. The world is full of men not in mental hospitals who are just like this poor Athenian. The facts at the bottom of their edifice of logic are all wrong; the logic is good, perfect; the error is down below the logic.

The differences, then, in our opinions start in knowledge of facts. The man who is wrong does not know his facts. It is possible that there may be ten or more wrong conclusions—that none of us may be right because no one knows the facts as they actually are. It is a familiar experience that two disputants may be both wrong; both are ignorant of the facts. On some questions no one in a thousand men may be right. Ignorance vitiates all logic. We have a familiar device for narrowing the field of possible error—the excluded middle. The planet Mars is inhabited by living beings or it is not so inhabited. No third supposition is possible. But it does not furnish any facts in proof of number one or number two merely to exclude number three. Many persons write and talk as though this device added some data to

their side. The question of fact remains open; we must ascertain the things essential to life, and ascertain their existence in Mars. But these facts prove only that Mars *may be* inhabited; that it *is* inhabited remains to be proved by other facts. If our telescopes show us the works of living beings on Mars the case is made out. We may err at each of the three stages: what we call essentials of life may be an imperfect list; these essentials may not exist in Mars, though we think they exist there; and what we call the works of living beings may be wrought by the elements.

II. In political and religious discussion—the two large matters of dispute among men—it is always the fact which is the real matter of difference. The fact is not a bit of reality; it is a piece of mentality; the mind in perceiving it gives it form, color, relations; and the coloring and relating of the fact differ in different minds through the affections, prepossessions, and interests of the different disputants. This is the second great cause of conflicting opinions.

The affections, including all the bias they produce, may exclude the fact from knowledge. "Ye will not come unto me that ye might have light." The case is typical of all rejections of light. "I am not reading anything on the other side," said a politician, when offered a document. The affection for an opinion hedges it round and excludes the fact; if it enters the field of vision it is modified to suit the needs of affection. Reasoning from consequences would seem to be fatal to whatever works evil or injury; but affection finds another cause for the evil. To go straight to a consequence is difficult when the thing to be found is unwelcome. The affection struggles to change route, and it is apt to succeed. Buckle had for thesis that faith—he called it credulity—retards or arrests civilization. He easily made all the facts say so; though most skeptics admit that some forms of faith are a force helpful to civilization.

What passes for argument in all fields is open to suspicion in regard to the facts under the premises. The mind makes history to please its affections; two minds make each a different history out of the same facts. There is no safety for the reason except in pure and disinterested purpose; and opinions may be dearer than lands or gold. We instinctively distrust the man who has an interest of a money sort in his opinion; but the man who has no such interest is often more dangerous through his love for his opinion.

III. We are apt to put too high a value on our reasoning

powers. They are, in fact, so simple and easy for all men to exercise that culture of them is hardly needed. What we do need is a love of truth which will cast out the love of our own opinions. Then we shall reason to common conclusions if we all know the actual, inevitable fact. All culture of the mind ought to be concentrated upon finding facts, their relations and their weight. We shall find ourselves weighing them by logic, finding them by logic, fixing their relations by logic; and we shall differ in our opinions because each of us has a different fact when we have finished the process, because we began with a different fact. There will be "many men of many minds" just as long as appreciations of facts differ. We shall see eye to eye when the facts we see are absolutely the same for us all.

The value of our study, if it has any, lies in locating the source of our differences. We are too apt to say that the other man reasons badly. Men never reason badly except from sheer purpose. The reasoning is correct when one is sincere, often when one is not sincere. The error is not one of logic; it is one of fact. An analysis of the premises of two debaters will show that they are not talking about the same things—that they are building on different foundations. Common facts will make common premises and conclusions.

IV. Are we hopelessly shut up to ignorance of the facts? Must we go on differing because we know different facts which our debates assume to be the same facts? It is very common to say that no man can escape bias—that, therefore, affection in each of us must create our facts for us. It is equivalent to declaring that the truth cannot be known. It happens, however, that many facts and groups of facts are understood by all men alike; that in a civilized society the number of such facts increases with civilization. Differences are relics of barbarism, survivals from more ignorant ages; or they are engendered in perverse wills. Ignorance and sin cause most of them. Of course no reference is made here to those choices which satisfy our lawful affections and aptitudes, through which we choose our affections and our pursuits in diverse ways.

The reasoning man is in all of us the same; the judge is one in his decisions. But ignorance and perversity make the same case a different case on which the judge renders diverse judgments with perfect accuracy. It is incorrect to say of any man that he cannot reason; the proper statement is that the truth of fact is not in him.

THE ARENA.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

THE contributor of an article on this subject, the Rev. F. W. Crowder, Ph.D., claims that he is "fundamentally" misapprehended in our critique found in the November-December *Review* for 1896. Let us see. Our contention is not on the value or importance of intellectuality or of knowing the Scriptures; these cannot be urged too strongly. No more is it about the necessity of religion; but the question is one of location—of residence. The point at issue is as to whether religion is *mostly* within that realm of psychology called the intellect or of the sensibilities.

To show that this is fairly stated, and that the contributor holds knowledge to be *chiefly* the seat of spirituality, we quote his own words: "What is the seat of spirituality? . . . Let it for the moment be supposed that spirituality is mainly a state of the feelings—a position widely held among Christian people." He urges, then, that knowledge precedes and determines feeling, "and consequently that spirituality is primarily a matter of knowledge. This is one of the positions to establish which is the aim of his article." Again he says, "If spirituality is mainly a matter of the feelings, then it is apt to be concluded, as many thinkers in this day have concluded, that theories and doctrines have small place in it." And still again he writes, "Thus it is seen to what extremes of thought he is in danger of drifting who holds to the view that religion is primarily or mainly a thing of the feelings." His position, fairly stated in his own words, is that religion is not "primarily or mainly a thing of the feelings," but that it is "primarily or mainly" a thing of knowledge. Such teaching is incorrect and proportionately harmful.

In his reply the contributor admits our position, that the conscious self is a unit and always acts as such, yet he tries to hold that the knowledge in the unity always antedates the feeling, and if this is reversed the soul lapses into childhood or infantile heathenism. Yet we know that profound thinkers come to believe in immortality and other things because of feeling. In most noble souls love is the strongest argument for future life. One has well said that "no man who loves his mother can consign her to eternal sleep." This is not prejudice, but experience.

Our statement that "what satisfies the soul is, not thought, but the real, life-giving Christ himself," the contributor declares is a "dark mystery, into which no human mind can enter." It may be a great mystery, but not a dark one, as it is illuminated by the personal Holy Spirit, whose symbol is a tongue of flame. It is not true that "no human mind can enter" into this conscious communion and fellowship. It has become the most real thing in human consciousness, and that, too, by the laws of science and philosophy. It is not apprehended by the intellect, but in that department of the mind called the affections or feelings. Our

brother must admit that knowledge is not religion—at least, not the Christian religion. That is the same old Socratic idea that knowledge is virtue, the fallacy of which was shown in Christ's new philosophy of the heart. He buttresses his argument by a quotation: "Within the sphere of feeling the rapture of the sensualist and the devout elevation of the saint are precisely on a level; the one has as much justification as the other." This shows his estimate of a religion of the heart or affections. They are no more on "a level" than virtue and vice, the witness of the Holy Spirit and remorse, or Satan and God.

No man can think very far into this subject without seeing that the principal part of religion lies within man's pathematic nature—the affections, the feelings, the heart. We plead for the broadest, truest, and profoundest thought, for scholarship the most erudite and philosophical, both in Scripture and out. At the same time he must recognize the facts as to the proper adjustment of our holy religion to the human soul. The mind has three powers—intellect, sensibility, and will. These three are one, and act as a unit. Yet each has its office, and fills it. (1) The intellect is the faculty of perception, or thought. (2) Sensibility, or sensitivity, is the capacity of feeling; it includes "sensation, both external and internal, whether derived from contemplating outward and natural objects or relations and ideas, desires, affections, passions; it also includes the sentiments of the sublime and beautiful, the moral sentiment and the religious sentiment. (3) Will is the faculty by which the rational mind makes choice of its ends of action. Psychologists place the propensities within the pathematic sensibilities. Even curiosity, or the desire for knowledge, is a feeling. If seniority were the question, surely feeling must be regarded as senior and knowledge the junior. However, our discussion is not one of age or dates, but of location, as to where religion dwells. Veracity, or the propensity to utter the truth, is a feeling. So is the propensity of self-love or desire for happiness. Feeling is the home of all the benevolent affections; it includes the parental, filial, and fraternal. Within this realm is found philanthropy, or love of the race. Patriotism is a matter of feeling. The deepest consecration of the human mind is loyalty, which is not of the intellect, but of the affections. Take two men of equal knowledge, and one may be a Benedict Arnold and the other a George Washington. When the feeling changes one plunges from the heights of loyalty into the abyss of treason. Gratitude is an affection, and all the knowledge of an archangel will not make a soul religious if this be lacking. Out of the heart "are the issues of life." The highest of all authority makes it clear: "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Religion is love, and not a matter of knowledge, but of feeling. Knowledge goes with all these, but it is not religion.

Principal Caird, in his *Philosophy of Religion*, chap. vi, says: "That the essence of religion lies in feeling is held to be proved, either (1) simply by an appeal to ordinary popular convictions, or (2) by certain considerations of a more scientific character." He also writes: "The logical or scientific faculty, we instinctively feel, is not the organ of

communion with God, nor, by its greater or less acuteness and activity, can a man's spiritual state be tested. It is possible to possess ratiocinative powers of the highest order—keen and penetrative intelligence, capacities of observation, comparison, reflection, the cultured intelligence which renders a man a competent literary and historic critic, a subtle apologist, a deft framer of theological dogmas and systems of divinity—and yet with all this intellectual equipment to lack that element of 'living faith,' that state of the heart and affections which constitutes the essence of true piety." Dr. Caird places "living faith" among the feelings. Another clear statement from the same source is: "Indeed, if religion is a thing possible for all, if it is a relation of the soul to God not conditioned by any special gifts or arbitrary acquirements, its essence must obviously be altogether independent of that intellectual ability and culture which are far from universal. It must come to the human spirit in a way possible for the simplest and rudest alike with the most acute and cultured intelligence. Religion thus cannot be identified with knowledge, or regarded as having its seat in the intellect. . . . And if, as already shown, the inward principle of religion is not an intellectual one, where can it lie but in the region of feeling or emotion?"

The education of the intellect is important, and the work of our schools should receive greater emphasis, but it is not religion. The heart should have equal training with the intellect. Dr. Caird again says: "The ultimate source and secret of the religious nature is to be found neither in the philosophic intelligence nor in the sphere of external achievement, but in the feelings of self-abnegation, of conscious dependence, of awe, reverence, aspiration—in that disposition or attitude of the heart toward God, call it what you will, which often gives moral elevation to the humblest intelligence and spreads spiritual grandeur around the homeliest and obscurest life. . . . Religion is defined as the elevation of the human spirit into union with the divine. But this, it may be maintained, necessarily implies that the principle of religion lies in feeling. For it is here, and here only, that the deepest union between different natures can be achieved. It is only in feeling that any object ceases to be merely external, and becomes implicated with the very nature and consciousness of the subject itself. So long as a thing is merely known it is still something outward and foreign to my consciousness." He further shows that "knowledge implies the distinction of subject and object. In knowing I put myself in opposition to the object, I coolly contemplate and examine it. But in feeling this opposition vanishes, the determination of the object becomes one with the determination of my own inmost nature, so that, in a sense, they are no longer two, but one. When a being or object reveals itself to feeling, it, so to speak, loses any vestige of foreignness or estrangement, and becomes blended with the consciousness to which it is revealed."

It is well for the contributor to write on the importance of a converted man knowing the Scriptures; but the question as to that faculty of the human mind in which is found the essence of religion is entirely another

matter, and should be taught correctly, if at all. There is a tendency in our day toward a phase of scholasticism which undermines and subverts true and deep spirituality. Hence the transcendent importance of correct views upon so vital a matter. One must be more of a lover than a thinker, else he would stand ill at ease in the ranks of heaven.

Syracuse, N. Y. J. WALLACE WEBB.

FREDERICK W. ROBERTSON AND HIS PLACE IN ENGLISH THEOLOGY.

THE man that would arrive at a charitable estimate of the character of Robertson does well to make allowance for his poor health. His life was like the melancholy days of autumn when the sere leaves are covering the ground as with a shroud. This somber view of life falls short of the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. For our Lord prayed, in "the purest pearl of devotion in the New Testament," that his joy might be fulfilled in his disciples, that is, might be made complete in them. Christ was more a man of joys than a man of sorrows. Was not the shattered body of the noted preacher of Brighton, England, a cause that led him to say so much about the cross and so little about the crown?

We would scarcely expect to find in Robertson a lack of breadth. Robertson belonged to the Evangelical or Low Church school at Oxford and at Winchester, the field of his first ministerial work. The later part of his life, especially during his ministry at Brighton, he displayed an intolerant opposition toward this branch of the Episcopal Church. The Low Church was especially engaged in revival and philanthropic work. Robertson's sermons themselves, in fact, lacked the power of immediate persuasion. His sermons lack the world-conquering rush of Wesley's sermons that urged the hearers on to immediate repentance of sin.

The Low Church, however, forty years ago was narrow and bigoted. We need not wonder that the able and learned Robertson left its warm ranks for the more scholarly ranks of the Broad Church, the school of Maurice and Kingsley, and, subsequently, of Stanley and Phillips Brooks. The company here was more congenial. For there is a world of difference between his teaching about different authors who, he claimed, wrote the Book of Genesis and the bitter tenacity of the *Record* newspaper in its assertion of the dogma of verbal inspiration. We need not be surprised that Robertson felt more at home in the Broad Church.

We cannot excuse, however, his blindness to the merits of the Low Church. In fact, he announced as a principle of his life to find the soul of goodness in things evil. His broad mind was not content, for instance, with a mere exposure of the error of Mariolatry. Why did the Catholic Church make this error? A Protestant does not deal adequately with the doctrine of Mariolatry until he gives in its place, not a systematic doctrine of the head, but a popular gospel of the heart, a gospel of comfort and tenderness and love. Why did Robertson not deal as broadly with the Evangelical school? But he did not seek to find the good. He rather revolted in disgust from his old party. On this subject his biographer, Stopford Brooke, says: "Robertson's conception of Christianity as the

religion of just and loving tolerance, and of Christ as the King of men through the power of meekness, made him draw back with horror from the violent and blind denunciation which the 'religious' papers of the extreme portion of the Evangelical party indulged in under the cloak of Christianity. 'They tell lies,' he said, 'in the name of God; others tell them in the name of the devil; that is the only difference.'"

Robertson passed over the great and good men in the Low Church school. Did he forget the humanitarian effort of Wilberforce in the freedom of slaves? Did he forget the precious memory of Simeon and his care for the unchurched masses? We would not expect that Robertson's gallant heart would forget the pathetic story of Cowper and Mary Unwin. Surely the author of the old favorite, "There is a fountain filled with blood," should not have been dismissed so summarily. Robertson was unjust in that he labeled all the adherents of the Evangelical school with the stamp of the *Record* newspaper.

Love of simple truth is the crowning trait of Robertson's character. We will see that this spirit marked his course in his attitude toward the Anglican views in the Episcopal Church and in his method of interpretation of the Bible. His lot was cast in a time of ferment in England on High Church doctrines. As he was a Low Churchman at one period of his life, so there was a time when Newman and Pusey made a deep impression upon him. But, unlike the so-called Tractarians, this lover of historic truth made a searching study of the Middle Ages. Ranke's *History of the Popes*—significantly placed by the Catholic authorities on the Prohibitory Catalogue—showed the Brighton pastor that he could not fellowship with the Anglican party.

We may appreciate this fair and admirable method better in contrast with the romantic method of the High Church. Cardinal Newman has painted the poetic side of the mediæval Church: "The fair form of Christianity rose up and grew and expanded like a beautiful pageant from north to south; day after day and in the still night, and over the woody hills and in the quiet plains, as constantly as the sun and moon and stars go forth in heaven, so regular and solemn was the stately march of blessed services on earth, high festival and gorgeous procession and soothing dirge and passing bell and familiar evening call to prayer, till he who recollected the old pagan time would think it all unreal that he beheld and heard, and would conclude he did but see a vision, so marvelously was heaven let down upon earth, so triumphantly were chased away the fiends of darkness to their prison below."

All this is beautiful and eloquent. But is the beautiful description a mirror true to the times? Is it not rather an idealized picture? Robertson would want Newman to speak of Maria and Theodora and the popes that Dante, himself a Catholic, found in the black and filthy pit of hell, where the sweet light did not strike their eyes. The thoughtful man builds on truth, the everlasting rock of truth.

Robertson pursued his search for facts no less in historical theology than in biblical theology. His method of interpretation of Scripture is

remarkably in accord with the method of the best scholars of to-day. We may not agree with all his results. For instance, does he not disparage the spiritual element in baptism? His general method, however, is admirable. The historico-grammatical interpretation has yielded rich fruit in his discourses on Corinthians.

Such is the place of Robertson in English theology. His noble aim was to gain "the vantage ground of truth." In a time of violent storm, when the Bible was besieged by the vagaries of rationalistic critics and by overzealous friends, blind to the results of biblical inquiry, while the storm of the naturalists and dogmatists was raging about him, the Brighton preacher applied himself to a calm study of the Scriptures, and reached an independent and fair interpretation. The presumptuous claims of Anglicans he rejected. Fellowship with God without priest or ceremony is the inestimable boon of the children of God. The position of extreme High Churchmen is a chilling height of untruth.

Truth—truth with divine light and life—not venerable tradition, but the truth of history and the Bible, is the polar star that guides the Christian to good success. And the great second thought of the Christian world will be, We are determined to have light and life. This is the message of one of nature's noblemen to the Church of our time. And Tennyson, admired by Robertson, has given lofty expression to the spirit of this message in the lines:

> Follow you the Star that lights a desert pathway, yours or mine.
> Forward, till you see the highest human is divine.
> Follow Light, and do the Right—for man can half control his doom—
> Till you find the deathless Angel seated in the vacant tomb.

Oconto, Wis. ROBERT SENEY INGRAHAM.

ROMANS II, 6–11.

Authorized Version.—"Who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in welldoing seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life: but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace, to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God."

Revised Version.—"Who will render to every man according to his works: to them that by patience in welldoing seek for glory and honor and incorruption, eternal life: but unto them that are factious, and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, *shall be* wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; but glory and honor and peace to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for there is no respect of persons with God."

Conybeare and Howson.—"And he will pay to all their due, according to their deeds; to those who with steadfast endurance in welldoing seek the glory which cannot perish, he will give life eternal; but for men of guile, who are obedient to unrighteousness, and disobedient to the truth,

indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish shall fall upon them; yea, upon every soul of man that does the work of evil, upon the Jew first, and also upon the Gentile. But glory and peace shall be given to every man who does the work of good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; for there is no respect of persons with God."

The doctrines of the passage, Rom. ii, 6–11, are such as to give it rank among the most important passages in the book to which it belongs. It may be doubted, however, whether these doctrines, as set forth in the above translations, are as impressive as Paul and the inspiring Spirit intended. The force of the thought of any particular passage is dependent to a considerable extent on the force of the language in which it is presented. We may accept as tenable the statement that Paul is entitled to the credit of having cast the passage before us with due regard to the balance of its several parts. It will take little time or effort to convince one who has taken the pains to examine the foregoing translations that, singly or combined, they do not accord to the apostle such credit. Now, if Paul's language is to be accepted as correct in respect to its symmetry, then the translations are to be considered as an imperfect expression of the apostle's language. And so Paul's teachings are, as exhibited by them, necessarily placed in obscurity and are, consequently, less impressive than they were intended to be by their author.

The plain purpose of Paul was to express himself in what may, perhaps, be called a double inverted antithesis. But the above translations do not, evidently, show such purpose. The first contents itself with a translation of the words, and leaves the reader to determine as best he can the form of the language. The second attempts to clear up the first by forming a single antithesis, and so leaves its second term as to stand in readiness also to do further duty; but the second antithesis does not appear, and the language is left more or less confused. The third differs from the other two in that it uses the first member of the second antithesis as the second part of the first antithesis, leaving the second to go begging for a first member. They all agree in that they offend against the symmetry of the passage, though the last does so more openly.

The evident difficulty is with respect to the four words, "indignation," "wrath," "tribulation," "anguish." It will be observed that these words are in the nominative case. And they are nominative, too, where an objective only might seem to be in place. The question is, What shall be done with them? The answer of the Authorized Version is, Do nothing with them. The Revised Version and Conybeare accept a change of construction and supply a verb.

There is another translation which demands attention. It is that of Beet, who, in respect to the disposition of these nominatives, is in agreement with Meyer and Whedon. The translation is as follows: "Who will give back to each man according to his works (Psalm lxii, 12). To them who, according to perseverance in good work, seek glory and honor and incorruption, he will give eternal life: but to those of a mercenary spirit, and disobedient to the truth, but obedient to unrighteous-

ness, shall there be anger and fury. Affliction and helplessness will come upon every soul of man that works out the bad, both of Jew first and of Greek; but glory and honor and peace to everyone that works the good, both to Jew first and to Greek. For there is no respect of persons with God." Without doubt symmetry is secured in this translation. But can the method be commended? It differs from the others in that it divides the several words in question, using the first two in opposition to eternal life, and the second two to open the second antithesis. But why divide these words? They naturally belong together. Even the explanation that the first two are to be recognized as feeling and action in and by God, which result in the sad effects described in the second two in respect to man, does not save the method from question.

A criticism which may be entered, more or less, against all these translations, unless it be the first, is that acceptance of a change of construction may be noted in respect to the close of the first contrast. The first member of this contrast ends in a clear objective, namely, life eternal. It seems, therefore, out of place for the second member to end in a nominative. It would be an easy construction, and far more natural, to supply an objective to contrast with eternal life. And what idea would come to mind more readily to contrast with eternal life than that of eternal death? It must be considered a loss in impressiveness to pass within the contrast, from the plane of an idea itself to its contents, but especially so when the passage is from one idea to the contents of an opposite idea. This is done when the contrast passes from life eternal to the contents of death eternal, that is, from life eternal to "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish." The real opposite of eternal life is eternal death. The objection cannot be accepted as valid, namely, that in the second antithesis the contrast is between the contents of eternal life and those of eternal death. For, in this case, there is no change in plane within the contrast. And, if the second antithesis, by comparing contents of the ideas rather than the ideas themselves, be thought to be below the first, let it be considered what gain is made by, after ideas themselves are compared, bringing on a contrast between the contents of the ideas, especially when, as here, this is done in an inverted order.

We venture to submit a translation which preserves the construction and at the same time maintains the proper symmetry of the passage. It will be observed that the changes made are additions to the Authorized Version. It is as follows: "Who will render to every man according to his deeds: to them who by patient continuance in welldoing seek for glory and honor and immortality, eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey the unrighteousness, he will render eternal death. Indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish shall be poured out upon every soul of man that doeth evil; of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; but glory, honor, and peace shall be given to every man that worketh good; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile: for there is no respect of persons with God." E. J. V. Booth.

Crestline, O.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

SCIENTIFIC SPECULATION AND BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

A DISTINCTION must be observed between scientific certitude and scientific speculation. What has been established beyond all doubt must be accepted in its bearing upon religious problems, while what is merely speculation should command only respectful consideration. It is a safe law that whatever Scripture contradicts a positive and incontrovertible fact must be reexamined to ascertain whether it has not been misinterpreted. New study of truth has often shown new meanings to familiar passages. In this way advances in scientific and philosophical knowledge become very helpful to the comprehension of the word of God.

On the other hand, the Christian scholar must also consider modern speculation in the light of Bible truth, and may at times be able to correct the former by the latter. While a scientific or philosophical discovery is still unproved it cannot destroy the validity of Bible statements which are apparently contradictory to it. New discoveries in any department of inquiry related to religious truth must always be considered in their bearings on interpretations of the Scriptures. When there has been a long discussion, and some conclusion has been reached that seems satisfactory, men adjust themselves to the decision and settle down into the conviction that so much has been established for all time to come. Soon, however, some new form of doubt arises, perhaps from an entirely different point of view, and we are called upon to reinvestigate the same points which we supposed had been settled forever.

The doctrine of extreme evolution, as applied to intellectual, moral, and spiritual truth, is an illustration of the tendency, and raises questions of Scripture exposition from a new standpoint. If all we are is caused by what our ancestors have been and what our environments have made us, and not by anything with which we have had to do or could possibly control, we must reread our Bibles and note the harmonies or disharmonies growing out of such a doctrine; and we must reexamine the story of the fall of man and ask whether by any honest interpretation the first chapter of Genesis can be harmonized with this view. The evolution doctrine makes man begin at the bottom and rise by gradual processes until he has reached his present state of perfection. We must then ask what is the Bible account of man's original position. Our current theology assumes that man was made in God's image, that he was wise and pure and good. It is claimed that he was originally perfect, and that the fall of man in paradise was the root of his degeneracy. Now we have a direct contradiction, unless the matter can be adjusted by a new interpretation of the biblical account. Attempts are now being made to adjust the statement of the fall to this evolution hypothesis, but thus far without success. Canon Gore is reported in the *Expository Times* of

April, 1897, to have attempted a harmonization thus: "It is not true that the Bible represents man as perfect. No doubt theologians have thought so, from the Augustinian age until now, and some of them have unreservedly said so. Thus, Robert South supposes that 'Aristotle was but the rubbish of Adam, and Athens but the rudiment of paradise.' But the Bible does not say so, and it was repudiated by the earliest Christian theologians, East and West." He adds: "The Bible does not claim that man was created perfect. It looks forward to man's perfecting; it does not look backward." Here we notice the influence of the doctrine of evolution in interpretation. If the doctrine be accepted we must either reject the authority of the early chapters in Genesis or interpret them in a way not currently accepted by the Church. But this view of evolution is not universally received, and therefore we may with perfect freedom discuss the question of the fall of man from the standpoint of philosophy and in the light of the historic interpretation. It is enough for this time to call attention to the fact that as interpreters of Scripture ministers should gather light from every quarter, but that they may not allow unproved hypotheses to overthrow current beliefs.

UNITY IN CHRISTENDOM.

It would be very difficult to define in what respect the Church, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, may be said to be one. It is a proud boast of Roman Catholicism that it is one in succession from the primacy of Peter, and also one in the sense that it is everywhere the same. The absurdity of this boast is manifest on the slightest examination. Not only have there been interruptions in the historic continuity of the Romish Church, resulting in wide schisms within the body, but there have also been changes in doctrine and in forms such as to make it a very different body from what it was a few centuries ago. The doctrine of the immaculate conception may serve as an illustration of her changed attitude toward historic truth. With strange inconsistency Roman Catholic writers arraign Protestant Christendom for its divisions, when the divisions existing in their own ranks are equally great. They attempt to reconcile these things by affirming that they all march under the banner of Roman Catholicism. With equal accuracy we might say that all Protestant bodies exist under the general name Protestantism.

But our discussion is related to Protestantism. What is the unity of Protestant Christendom? There is certainly little unity of Church government. It is a study for the theologian to comprehend the varied forms of ecclesiastical government, from the absolute democracy to the most advanced hierarchy, some organizations founding their government and ordinances on New Testament usage and others claiming the right to adapt government, form, and ceremony to the age in which they live. The attempt at uniformity in this respect is a signal failure.

There can be no real uniformity in doctrinal formulas. The creeds of Christendom are varied largely from each other in general statement, so

that if we take the general formulas of the Church they are not all one. The creeds of the individual denominations of Protestant Christendom also vary extensively. Any attempt to formulate an extended utterance on anthropology, Christology, and eschatology which would be satisfactory to everybody must result in failure. General statements could be admitted, but in details they would widely differ. There can be no satisfactory basis of unity in doctrinal formulas.

The proposed bond of unity around the historic episcopate has proved entirely unsatisfactory. The questions are at once raised, What is the historic episcopate, and who is in possession of it? Roman Catholicism denies it to the Church of England; the Church of England denies it in turn to all other forms of episcopacy; the Greek Church differs from both in its claim of the historic episcopate, and hence that cannot constitute a ground of unity.

Nor would any form of Church government be accepted by the various bodies of Protestant Christendom. This might be extended to a discussion of the forms and ceremonies of the Church which each holds as more or less vital to its existence as an organized body and which few would be willing to surrender to any general organization that would propose to include all; and yet such surrender would be absolutely necessary if the unity of Protestant Christendom would be secured. The only method of reaching such external unity would be in the calling of a general council composed proportionately of the members of every organized Christian body, with an absolute agreement of each body that the decision of the majority should constitute the basis of union. With so many conflicting opinions on all the points under consideration we can scarcely expect that such a council will be called during the present generation.

The unity of Christendom must be a unity of spirit rather than of external form, either of government or of ordinances. It would be possible for a creed to be laid down which should embrace only fundamentals, and to state these in a form so general that few could take exception to them, but the very generality of the statement would destroy its power. The unity of Protestant Christendom, then, must remain largely where it now is for many years to come, namely, the unity of spirit and the unity of purpose. The salvation of men from sin, the promotion of the highest ethical life, of which Christ is ever the teacher and the model, and the bringing of mankind to the life of blessedness beyond the grave—these constitute a basis of unity around which all may gather together and work together, united in the spirit of Christ and in the high purpose of the world's redemption, without the surrender of any of those things on which the body to which they respectively belong depends.

In all this nothing is intended to be said which should antagonize in any way the effort that is being made to promote the absolute unity of Protestant Christendom. Perhaps the development of the kingdom of Christ may bring about a condition of things in which each may sink the claims of his own personal organization, but such a state of things we cannot now anticipate. This we must leave to the future. The unity of

Protestant Christendom—based on the authority of the Holy Scriptures, on the supreme dignity of Jesus Christ, and on the freedom of interpretation of the word of God, or on some conditions similar to these—may yet come to pass, but to all appearances it is not yet.

THE MINISTER'S SUMMERING.

It is remarkable how the minister's work season coincides with the external conditions of the gay world in which he labors. As civilization advances stated periods of repose become more frequent. The fashionable world, on the other hand, arranges its amusements somewhat with respect to the Church calendar. During the Lenten season many Christians dress in somber or plain garments, and when the Easter bells ring out the glad announcement, "Christ is risen," as if by magic they array themselves in gay and festive attire. It is not of the essence of Christianity; it is rather the formal expression of religiousness. Holiday and festal seasons also demand the time of the people, and it is practically impossible to conduct aggressive work during certain periods of social activity. In many city churches the season of active labor, therefore, does not last more than six months. As soon as the spring opens many families go away to their country seats and do not return until late in the autumn. For several months the church is practically or completely closed, and nothing is possible for the minister but to do the best he can.

The summer for everybody, except those engaged in manual labor, has become a season of change and relaxation. Even those who do not give up business altogether are flitting from place to place, and the environment of the preacher's life makes this the season for his rest. This is true even in places remote from the city. The habit has grown until the summer months, especially July and August, have become recognized periods of relaxation, at least from excessive toil; and at this season the subject of the minister's vacation is of special interest.

A condition of the minister's summering should be that he shall gain strength for active work afterward. A church can better afford to supply its pulpit during its pastor's necessary absence for recuperation than to have him work on in an exhausted physical condition. If it should be objected that the same principle would apply to all workers, we would answer that in a measure it is so. We believe that every employer would consult his own interests by giving a reasonable vacation to those in his service, but this is especially the case with ministers. The nervous exhaustion consequent upon preaching is such as does not belong to other walks in life, nor indeed to the other professions. The extreme tension of preaching services involves an amount of nervous strain incomprehensible to those who have not passed through it. The minister's summering, however, should not go to the extent of requiring a more extended vacation than is necessary for his good and that of the church.

A minister's vacation should be one of absolute rest. It is to be feared that our summerings have become occasions of mental excitement rather

than periods of healthful repose. One cannot go very far in the summer without being conscious of the presence around him of a restless, surging lot of people, moving in every direction, more intense, apparently, than when engaged in their ordinary duties. These are undoubtedly on the way to rest, but they should sometime find it. When one has been for months under intense physical and mental pressure the mind and the body should have a season of absolute repose. A minister of great eminence once told the writer that after a period of almost perfect exhaustion he had actually slept almost six months—not, of course, continuously, but every day his sleep occupied a great deal of his time. He found himself completely restored to health, and is now nearly eighty years of age. For a busy man the quiet nooks where few people go, where there is no telegraph office and only a weekly mail, will be most favorable. The tendency of the time, however, is to aggregation. Men and women in the summer move in crowds and seek excitements which certainly are not restful, except so far as rest is involved in change of work. It would be a false view, however, to imagine that all one's vacation should be spent in absolute inactivity. A part of it may well be spent in recuperation among congenial associates and associations, and especially in those places where the mind is occasionally occupied by lectures and other matters of general interest. A couple of weeks spent amid such environment may be restful, as well as intellectually profitable, but even here the minister should only attend what he can assimilate easily. One should never try to hear everything. As he looks over the programme of a summer school, for example, and sees the list of eminent speakers on very interesting topics, it is very natural that he should want to omit nothing. This is a mistake. He should only select those exercises which he will enjoy most, and which will be the most profitable, without taxing himself too greatly. The helpfulness of the summer school would be largely augmented if this principle were kept in mind by those who desire to participate in its benefits.

Again, a minister's vacation should be in the midst of associations quite unlike those of his ordinary routine. One who is in a place that is eminently healthful will find great advantage in going to another place which is in itself no more healthful, but where the whole atmosphere is different. One whose home is among the mountains would do well to seek the seashore and feast his eyes and mind on the new environment that he will find there. Not only is the air different, but the general aspect of things is different, and he will gain much by the change. Those from the sea, on the contrary, should go where the noise of its waves is not heard, and where they can look on grove and hill and mountain. They will find something new, and therefore stimulating. Those from the country churches would do well to go where they can gaze upon architecture and art, and gather inspiration from these lines of thought and life. In fact, the advantage of summering is, on the whole, that of change; change from nervous excitement to quiet; change from mountain to valley—change from the river to the sea.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ALPHABETIC WRITING.

THE origin of writing, or the use of characters and signs of various kinds to record events and to convey ideas to others, must not be confounded with alphabetic writing. Cumbersome and intricate systems, more or less perfect, have been known to several countries of the ancient world from the infancy of the human race. But alphabetic writing, so simple and yet so perfect and well adapted to reproduce most sounds, and which has readily adapted itself to all lands, is comparatively new. This is natural, for the invention of a system of signs, which has been adopted with some modifications by all the more civilized and cultured nations of the world, presupposes a time of great mental activity. Indeed, it is no wonder that tradition makes the gods the first teachers of penmanship, for, as Renan has truly said, the invention of alphabetic writing is one of the greatest creations of the human mind.

The alphabet as employed by us is the product of development, which, step by step, can be retraced through the Latin and Greek to the original on the Syrian coast. But, having followed letters back to the countries on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, we come to a standstill and are obliged to ask, Whence did the Syrians or Phœnicians derive their system, so different from the cuneiform script of the Babylonians or the more artistic hieroglyphs of Egypt? Is the so-called Phœnician alphabet a pure invention, or are these letters in turn modifications of still older alphabets? One thing only is certain, namely, if the Phœnician alphabet was evolved from an older system the connecting link between it and its prototype has not yet been discovered.

We know that Babylonia had its script at least thirty-eight or forty centuries before our era, and possibly many, many centuries earlier even than this; for since Professor Hilprecht's latest discoveries at Niffer it begins to look as if Babylonian culture was nothing more than a development of a much older civilization. So, also, the hieroglyphs of Egypt have been traced back in almost an unbroken line to about the year 4000 before the birth of our Lord. The Phœnician alphabet, however, though supposed to have been invented about 1500 B. C., has left no traces of itself as belonging to so early an age. The oldest undisputed specimen of alphabetic writing so far discovered is that in Phœnician characters on a portion of a bronze cup found in the island of Cyprus and dedicated to Baal-Lebanon, perhaps in the time of Hiram I, some ten centuries before Christ. The next oldest, excepting possibly some seals on which a word or two has been engraved, is the famous Moabite Stone, brought to the notice of the learned world in 1869 by Dr. Klein, a German missionary. It was found among the ruins of ancient Dibon. This stela, measuring four by two feet, and containing thirty-four lines in clear-cut

Phœnician letters, when first discovered was in a very perfect state. It was subsequently badly mutilated by the greedy and bigoted Mohammedans, not, however, before good squeezes of it had been taken under the directions of Clermont-Ganneau. The inscription describes the siege of the capital of King Mesha and his final great victory over the combined forces of Israel, Judah, and Edom. The age of this ancient Moabite monument can be fixed with great precision, for the Mesha whose victories are here recorded must have lived about the time of Ahab, king of Israel, since we read in the third chapter of Second Kings that Mesha, the king of Moab, rebelled against Israel immediately after Ahab's death. Supposing, then, that the monument was executed during the lifetime of the monarch whose triumphs are herein recorded, it must belong to the first part of the ninth century before Christ.

But to return to the origin of Phœnician letters. In the absence of authentic records it cannot be established whether these great people were indebted to Egypt, Babylonia, or some other country for the form of their alphabet. Indeed, there are those like Professor Edward Meyer, of Halle (see his *Geschichte des Alterthums*), who derives the Phœnician alphabet from the Hittite syllabary. His theory, however, deserves nothing more than a mention, and should be dismissed at once, inasmuch as our knowledge of the Hittite language is exceedingly precarious. Arthur Evans, of the British Museum, in his recent work on Cretan inscriptions, argues that the Phœnician style of writing had its origin in the little island of Crete. It is clear, however, that the majority of authorities, both ancient and modern, believe that the Phœnician alphabet was at least suggested by the Egyptian characters. The trade between Phœnicia and Egypt, both by land and by sea, was very great from the remotest times. It is but natural to conclude that the keen, businesslike merchants of Tyre and Sidon must have had some method of bookkeeping, and that they must have seen the necessity of a simpler system for keeping their accounts than that afforded by either the difficult cuneiform script of their northern neighbors or the more elaborate ideographs and pictorial hieroglyphs of Egypt. Which of the two systems would they select? Deecke, with some show of learning, finds the prototype of the Phœnician alphabet among those dwelling along the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. Others, like Halévy of France and Levy of Germany, claim that at least twelve or thirteen of the Phœnician characters were directly taken from the hieroglyphs of Egypt. Champollion was the first to suggest the view now held by most students of epigraphy, that the origin of alphabetic writing must be sought in the hieratic system of Egypt. A comparison of this latter with the most ancient Semitic alphabets, as found on the various monuments, shows the possibility of such a theory. Indeed, some of the Semitic letters bear such close resemblance to the corresponding Egyptian characters as to make it almost certain that the one musthave been derived from the other.

But, whatever the original source of the Phœnician alphabet might have been, there can be no doubt that the Greeks borrowed their letters from

the maritime traders of Syria, and that the Romans, as well as all the modern nations of Europe, can trace their alphabets through Greece back to Phœnicia. This is a fact so patent, so well attested to both by tradition and history, as well as by the forms and names of the letters, as scarcely to require anything more than a mere mention. It would at the same time be interesting to cite some of the most ancient authorities. Herodotus, the father of history, says in Book v, 38: "The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus . . . introduced into Greece upon their arrival a great variety of arts—among the rest that of writing, whereof the Greeks till then had, as I think, been ignorant. And originally they shaped their letters exactly like all the other Phœnicians; but afterward, in course of time, they changed by degress their language and together with it the form, likewise, of their characters." He further tells us that the Greeks of his time were in the habit of calling "the letters Phœnician, as justice required, after the name of those who were the first to introduce them into Greece." Roman authorities differ. Some, like Lucan (see *Pharsalia*, iii, 220, *f.*), agree with Herodotus; others, like Pliny, believed that the alphabet had its origin among the Assyrians, though even in his days other writers claimed that either Egypt or Syria should have the honor of having invented the alphabet. Tacitus (see *Annals*, xi, 14) says: "The Egyptians also give out that they were the inventors of letters; that the Phœnicians learned them from them, and, as they were the masters of the sea, introduced them into Greece, thus acquiring celebrity as inventors of what they had received from others. Some hold that Cecrops, the Athenian, or Linus, of Thebes, and Palamedes, the Argive, who lived during the Trojan times, invented the form of sixteen letters, and that by others afterward, especially by Simonides, the rest were added." The fact that these ancient historians differ so widely shows clearly that the alphabet had been invented many ages before.

One has only to glance over a comparative table containing the most archaic Semitic and Greek alphabets to be convinced that the one is evolved from the other. Not only are the characters used on the most ancient Greek inscriptions very similar to those on the earliest Semitic monuments, but, as in the latter, so also in the Greek inscriptions, they are written from right to left, while others are in *boustrophedon* style—that is, in alternate lines, one from right to left and the next from left to right. Another fact worthy of mention is that the names of the letters in Hebrew and Greek are often almost identical. The Aleph, Beth, Gimel, etc., of the former are evidently the same as the Alpha, Beta, Gamma (formerly Gamla) of the latter. That the Greeks copied their letters from the Phœnicians, and not *vice versâ*, becomes clear in another way. Many letters in Greek, though formerly almost identical in form with those of the Phœnicians, have no special meaning, but the characters were used among the Greeks in a purely arbitrary manner; while in Hebrew, on the other hand, there seems to be a correspondence between the form of the letter and the object after which it was named. Take, for instance, the letters, daleth, a door; zain, a lance; and shin, a tooth.

This last fact, also, seems to favor the conclusion that Phœnician writing was at first more pictorial than at a later age. We say this notwithstanding some of the letters, even in the most archaic forms in which we possess them, bear no resemblance whatever to the object whose name they bear. This, notwithstanding the various objections raised, is more plausible than the theory recently proposed, namely, that the Phœnician letters were never pictorial, but that the similarity between a given letter and some object is either purely accidental or imaginary. The fact that a letter bears the name of some animal or any object whatever must be explained much in the same way as in our primers for children, where letters are written alongside of a certain picture simply to facilitate the memorizing of the same; for example, "B is a boy, C is a cat, or Z is a zebra."

So much as to the origin of alphabetic writing in general. It is indeed of great interest to the Old Testament student to know that the earliest Phœnician characters correspond in almost every particular with the earliest specimen of writing found in Judea. As already stated, there is every reason for believing that the art was known to the Phœnicians at least 1500 B. C., or a little earlier than the exodus from Egypt. The questions thus naturally arise: How extensively was this script used among the Semitic people? Were these the first characters employed by the Hebrews? Moses, no doubt, was acquainted with the Egyptian systems current in his day, and possibly with the cuneiform script so widely used in the fifteenth century before Christ. The discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets favors the conclusion that the Babylonian script was at one time the universal means of communication between the civilized nations of the ancient world. The cuneiform script, however, might have been employed only in diplomatic correspondence between the various courts, while the several nations had their own script, as they had their own language, for domestic purposes. Be that as it may, we have not yet discovered any Hebrew inscriptions or documents of extreme antiquity. The oldest Hebrew writing of any length is what has been called the Siloam inscription, accidentally discovered in 1880 by a lad on one of the rocky walls of the pool of Siloam, in Jerusalem. The inscription, containing only some six lines, but in elegant Hebrew, refers to the excavation of the tunnel leading to the reservoir. It bears no date. The forms of the letters are very similar to those on the bronze cup found in Cyprus and on the Moabite Stone. But, as things moved slowly in the East, we cannot conclude that this inscription is of the same age as the two above mentioned. Some scholars infer from 2 Chron. xxxii, 30, and 2 Kings xx, 20, that the tunnel of Siloam was made during the reign of Hezekiah. If that be so—and it is very probable—the inscription dates to the end of the eighth century before our era. The fact, however, that inscriptions in similar characters have been found in Cyprus, Moab, and Jerusalem which must have been executed between the tenth and eighth centuries before Christ, and which show fine workmanship, gives us the hope of greater discoveries in these far-away lands, made so famous by the heroes and prophets of Israel.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

SILENT FORCES AT WORK IN INDIA.

It is with no ordinary interest that one finds cropping out in a heathen community either expressions of sentiment or statements of fact favorable or unfavorable to Christian, and especially missionary, work in their midst. These expressions also carry additional weight when they emanate from what we would suppose to be unwilling sources. Some of the native periodicals of India furnish from time to time this sort of testimony, not always wittingly nor willingly. It is found sometimes in appeals to Hindus to rouse themselves to a greater display of energy in antagonizing the Christian forces operating among them or in imitating their methods. Sometimes there seems to be a concession of the benefits resulting from the presence and teaching of the Christian missionary.

A few quotations will be sufficient to illustrate this subject. A Hindu newspaper, *The Indian Social Reformer*, has the following: "One thing which the Christian missionaries have done to us we have reason to be thankful for, and that is the social elevation of those whom it is defilement for the caste Hindus to touch. If it is possible for any religion, as a religion, to make the whole world kin, it seems to us that this universal kinship can be realized by Christianity." Another newspaper, *The Hindu*, candidly but not cheerfully accords credit to Christianity as the patronizing force among the low-caste people. It says: "Between the Hindu community proper and the Pariahs there is little love. Indeed, of the lower castes of the Hindu society and of the outcast population the Christian missionary seems to be the only and the most willing and competent protector and regenerator. That this should be so reflects no credit on Hindu society; yet it is a fact, and no reasonable Hindu can ignore the great work that these ministers of a foreign religion did in elevating a large class of people who are supposed to be attached to our social system, but whom the leading classes of our society have done their best to degrade and sink."

The Hindu, at another time discussing the influence of the education of girls and the absence of caste restrictions among a native Christian community, declares that this "will eventually give them an advantage which no amount of intellectual precocity can compensate the Brahmans for." This remark was provoked by the fact that it appeared, from the matriculation examinations of that year, that of nineteen female candidates who were successful seven were native Christians, and of the Hindus there were none; and that in the higher examination for women sixty-one were native Christian women, out of two hundred and thirty-four candidates, and only four were Hindus. The various industrial schools of the Bombay Presidency enrolled seven hundred and thirty-nine pupils, of whom seventy-five were caste students, seventeen were

low caste or outcasts, and only five were Brahmans. The editor said, in reviewing these facts, "The native Christians are a very poor community, and it does great credit to them that they so largely take the industrial education."

This condition of things is not always complacently viewed by the native Hindus. One well-known Calcutta vernacular daily paper asks, "Can ruin be far off under circumstances such as these?" In truth, the silent operation of Western educational forces is making of India a new nation, and the measures are such as will necessarily turn society bottom side up. In one year for which we have the figures the art colleges in the Madras Presidency had two hundred and fifty-three native Christian undergraduates against thirty-eight Mohammedans, though the Moslem community largely outnumbers the native Christians; and of school-mistresses in training in normal schools two hundred and sixteen were native Christians out of a total of two hundred and eighty-nine, while in the higher examination for women the native Christian women counted sixty-eight against an aggregate from all other sections of the native community of only five; and of two hundred and sixteen girls in the lower secondary department nearly one half were native Christians. Among the native Christian community early marriages are less common, the Christian community naturally becomes more and more physically and mentally superior, the number of intelligent wives and mothers is steadily and rapidly on the increase, and of all this improvement the native Christian society has the lion's share. All these forces are in operation out of sight, but they are just as certainly revolutionary, being ruinous to Brahmanism, and leaving the Moslem community which antagonizes the education of women far in the rear.

REFORM IN THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

It seems to be conceded by all persons who understand the situation in the centers of influence throughout the Chinese empire that a crisis of momentous importance is on the nation. Had the Chinese been victorious in the late conflict with Japan the probable result would have been an intolerable increase of their self-conceit and pride, with increased antagonism to the missionary movement and to everything else foreign; but the testimony from the most remote points, as well as from the ports, indicates that the Chinese feel a sense of humiliation, even in the interior districts, where the people scarcely yet know of the defeat. This has driven the government to ask for schemes of reform—all of which is interesting enough in itself, while, owing to a combination of circumstances, this crisis becomes a missionary crisis as well. It so turns out, in view of the competition of the Western powers for advanced influence in China, that the government does not take advice as to its reform measures from any political quarters without a good many grains of salt. Whatever influence they may have had in the past, the foreign ambassadors and merchants are scarcely looked upon now as disinterested parties. It is a great

credit to the honesty and candor of the missionaries that, as a class, they have retained the confidence of the high officials at Peking and the viceroy. The missionaries, on the other hand, recognize that this is a critical opportunity, and that if they would increase their influence even for the success of their evangelistic measures, they must show a thorough sympathy with, if not take the lead in, a great social and industrial reform. Some object to this as being too indirect missionary work to be attempted by those who are supported ostensibly for more immediate evangelical labor. Nevertheless, all appreciate the desirability, if not the crucial obligation on the missionary body as a whole, of remolding society in some way at this unusual transition period.

Much larger attention, perhaps, will have to be given to the influences which are to emanate from the establishment in the principal cities of schools, which the government has decreed shall be established for the giving of instruction in the English language and Western sciences. The measure of the results of this concession on the part of the government is not easily taken. The very proclamation itself affirms grounds for the government action which, however quiet may be its operation, involves not merely the reformation but the revolution of existing conditions of society. The imperial order reads, "China must educate the masses and encourage inventive genius and foreign learning among her people, together with that love for country and home and that devout patriotism so conspicuously ingrained in the hearts of those who have studied such languages and sciences." It will scarcely appear at first sight how penetrating these brief utterances are. The acknowledgment that a proud literary nation must learn of any other people would mark of itself an intellectual era. But perhaps farther reaching is the acknowledgment that paternal government has become insufficient, and that the people must develop a patriotism they are to learn of Western nations.

A special effort is being made to help meet this crisis on the part of missionaries through such measures as will break down the deeply rooted prejudices of the lettered class, "the stupendous minority who hold the welfare of the nation in their hands." The Christian Literature Society is making considerable progress in this direction under the leadership of two men, Rev. Young J. Allen and Rev. Timothy Richards, who have been set apart by their respective missionary societies for special literary work. It is not purely missionary literature which absorbs their efforts, but the issuing of scientific and educational works, such as arithmetics, books on international law, the history of the war between China and Japan, and the history of the nineteenth century, all of them written by missionaries. The peculiar adaptation of this movement to the change in the attitude of the Chinese mind at this hour is indicated by a great variety of considerations, such as the fact that the native Chinese have reprinted these books themselves and have sold them at a good profit where before they could scarcely have given them away. The advice and help of missionaries have been eagerly sought at some of the great examination centers by the students, partly owing to the fact that some

of the examiners are giving questions whose answers can only be found in the publications of the Christian Literature Society or by consulting the missionaries. It is said that the viceroy, who winked at the riots of 1891, has sent for the secretary of the Christian Literature Society, to secure from him suggestions about reforms that might be instituted; and, even in the province of Hunan—where the population is the most hostile in the empire, and whence has issued literature most antagonistic to Christianity—we are informed that earnest efforts have been made to secure the help of the foreign missionary, even to the extent of begging the chief Chinese editor of the Christian Literature Society to accept the leading professorship in their principal college. The Society proposes to extend its operations to all the government competitive examinations, and to present every student with a small packet containing some carefully prepared Christian literature and Scripture portions. If they had the funds it is estimated that two millions of students of all ages and from all corners of the empire might thus be reached.

It goes without the saying that a transition period such as China seems to have entered upon is not only fraught with opportunity but with peril. There has been perhaps no hour since the beginning of missionary operations under Morrison—unless it were at the Taiping rebellion, when the West lost its opportunity—in which it has seemed more needful than now for the Church to give devout and prayerful consideration to the agencies it shall use, and the vigor with which it shall use them, for the establishment and extension of God's kingdom in the great Celestial Empire.

THE DEACONESS IN MISSIONARY WORK.

THE "Inner Mission," as the Germans use the phrase, is far broader and more philosophically inclusive than our phrase "Home Missions." It includes the department of work assigned to deaconesses, which is now a well-defined part of our denominational home missionary activity. Rev. G. U. Wenner, D.D., traces the history of this movement in Germany, England, and America, in the *Lutheran Quarterly* for October, 1896, and tells of the establishment of a deaconess house in Pittsburg by Fliedner himself, who in 1849 brought five sisters from Germany for the purpose. The project did not, however, succeed, the demand for deaconess work then being not sufficiently great. Dr. Muhlenberg also established the sisterhood of the Holy Communion in New York, on the plans of the Kaiserswerth House; but this effort was likewise unsuccessful. In 1884 ten deaconesses from Germany were brought to the German hospital in Philadelphia, and proved so efficient that a patron built a house costing a half million dollars and endowed it with another half million. After tracing the growth and development of the several deaconess institutions of the country Dr. Wenner says: "But the palm for most rapid and substantial success belongs to the Methodist Episcopal Church, which in its last report shows for America alone thirty-six houses and three hundred and eighty-nine deaconesses."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

A. Sabatier. He must not be confused with P. Sabatier, the author of the *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*. In a recent work, entitled *Essay d'une théorie critique de la connaisance religieuse*, he has developed a theory of religious or, perhaps better, of theological knowledge which is, to say the least, worthy of attention. He holds that religion must have a well-defined theory of knowledge, and this he seeks to produce. He rejects the three principal explanations of our religious ideas, namely, that of an original revelation, and those of the idealistic and the sensualistic philosophy. In speaking of Kant's theory of knowledge, he dwells at length on the antinomy between scientific determinism, which does away with the possibility of ethical conduct, and the fact of ethical conduct, which breaks through scientific determinism. The conflict between these two can be resolved only by the religion of a self-comprehending mind, in an act of inner faith which is nothing else than the instinctive attempt at self-preservation, by which the spiritual life of man testifies to its own reality. This, however, is but the practical solution of the conflict. Theoretically, it is solvable in two ways: first, psychologically, by means of the identity of the subject both of this determinism and this ethical freedom, or of the theoretical and practical reason; and, second, speculatively, as the faith in the rulership of spirit in us and in the world. There are three marks which distinguish the natural sciences from those of the spirit. The first is the subjectivity of the latter and the objectivity of the former. By this objectivity, however, is not meant the knowledge of things in themselves, but the necessary connection of the phenomena among themselves and the stern exclusion of the feelings and subjective will. The second distinction between natural science and religion, as related to knowledge, is that between mechanism and teleology. The mechanical explanation of phenomena and scientific determinism, however, excludes teleology only when the former transforms itself into metaphysical materialism. In fact, cause and goal are but two aspects of the same act. In the former the mind is directed backward; in the latter, forward. The third distinguishing mark of religious knowledge is its symbolical character. That is, all expressions of religious knowledge are inadequate. We cannot give to the transcendent object of our faith any expression, except such as is drawn from the phenomenal world. This is true even of the Scriptures; and preeminently is it true of all creeds, which after all are but attempts to state in the language of man the nature of facts that cannot be reduced to the categories of time and space. We call especial attention to this third distinguishing mark. The frequent recollection of it would spare theology much adverse criticism and many serious disputes.

E. Ehrhardt. An attempt to explain the influences which were formative in the ethics of Jesus has brought Ehrhardt prominently before the thinking world. The development of the apocalyptic element in Judaism brought with it, he thinks, two factors which contradicted each other. Jewish ethics in the time of Christ hesitated between heaven and earth. The ethics of Jesus shows a corresponding duality. On the one side was the earnest demand for separation from the world; on the other, the high estimate of the social life. The existence of these two opposite ideas in Jesus is explicable on the ground of his relation to God, which was an immediate contact with him, not conditioned by anything earthly. Consequently, Jesus experienced within a real otherworldliness. The consequences of this experience were directly contrary to the maintenance of the Messianic idea within him. Nevertheless, Jesus spoke the language of the Messiahship. This is because two streams met in him—one of which had its source in the feeling of his present enjoyment of God, and the other, the Messianic, which tended to lead men to find God. As a mere reformer he could have done without the latter. But, as a Saviour, he must preach in such a way as to lead men to abandon the thought of this world. From this standpoint we can comprehend the profound interest of Jesus in eschatological problems. The benefit of communion with God, therefore, took the form of future salvation in the Messianic kingdom. Clearness cannot exactly be named as one of the characteristics of Ehrhardt's style of thought. Still, the above comes tolerably near to expressing, in brief, what he thinks on the subject in hand. It is evident that he regards the Messianic, eschatological element in the preaching of Jesus as incidental; and that he believes the essential elements to be his emphasis upon the social life, which, as he says, could hold such a prominent place in the thought of Jesus simply because for him the enjoyment of God was not future but present. The fact is that Jesus did lay much stress on the duties we owe to one another, and in all his conduct set a corresponding example. But it was not that he therefore valued them for their own sakes. Rather were they the fruit of true communion with God. So his disciples understood him when they represented him as saying that the first and great commandment was love to God, and the secondary, love to man; and, when coupled with this, they made love to man a test of their love to God. But, aside from these considerations, there is nothing in the faithful performance of our social duties to militate against the hope of redemption from the evils of the present world in a world to come.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La Révocation de l'édit de Nantes à Paris d'après des documents inédits (Paris and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, according to Unedited Documents). By O. Douen. Three volumes. Paris, Fischbacher, 1894. Readers of the French who are interested in French Protestant history will here find a work of inestimable value. It is

all the more interesting because it treats of the Protestantism of Paris, which has been strangely neglected. The work is true history, but at the same time is so woven from the original sources that it is valuable to one who wishes to work out the history for himself. The author has drawn on the documents in the national archives—papers from the Bastile, cabinet correspondence, police reports, and the like. In his Introduction the pleasant personal relations of many Romanist and Protestant families and individuals are noted, although the idea of religious toleration was practically unknown. Still, it is evident that persecutions were mainly the result of the influence of the Jesuits upon clergy and people. Once the spirit of persecution was firmly implanted the clergy incessantly urged Louis XIV from one hostile act to another, until the final act was performed and the edict was revoked. The second volume of Douen gives a minute account of the fate of each of the elders of the Paris congregation. The story of the manner in which bookdealers, bookbinders, and books themselves were handled is told. It is pitiful to think that in a Christian land not even the dead objects could be spared, although we have a standing instance of it in the *Index Expurgatorius*. In December, 1685, the dragonnade was introduced into Paris, although it was not conducted by soldiers, but by police. It was so successful that in nineteen days it resulted in the apostasy of two thousand nine hundred and six Protestants. Many denied their faith for a financial consideration, generally bestowed in some indirect form. The many that were imprisoned, however, testify to the faithfulness of the majority, who were subjected to every manner of mental and physical torture at the hands of cruel nuns and priests. The sufferers included men, women, and children of tenderest age. The struggle between the authorities and the Protestants was terrible both for the king and his subjects, whether Protestants or Romanists. One of the most interesting portions of the work describes the flight of the Huguenots into foreign lands. There is a certain gratification in the recollection of the fact that in various ways some of the Huguenots succeeded in eluding, even in Paris, the vigilance of the police.

Sündfluth und Völkerwanderungen (The Deluge and the Migration of Nations). By Franz von Schwarz. Stuttgart, Enke, 1894. One of the supposed most sure results of recent geology has been that the biblical deluge left no material traces. Von Schwarz believes that certain discoveries of his in Turkestan confirm the biblical account of the flood, and enable him to fix its place, date, and general character quite accurately. The first part of the book treats of the genealogy of the human race, its unity, divisions, and the former and present inhabitants of the earth. The second part treats of the primitive locality of man, which he thinks was the southern part of the Sahara. The people themselves were black, and lived in trees. Their reason for leaving their original home was the drying up of the Saharan Sea. The third part treats of the occasion, course, and consequences of the flood. Schwarz first establishes

the fact that with the exception of the primitive inhabitants of Greece all peoples that have preserved legends of a deluge were those who wandered out from central Asia, which was the second great migration of nations. From this he concludes that the scene of the deluge must have been Mongolia and the depression in the regions of the Aral and Caspian Seas. According to Chinese information, with which the traditions of Babylon and Israel more or less fully agree, the flood took place in the year 2297 B. C. All this agrees with the author's discoveries in Turkestan, where he found in some of the mountains remarkable erosions in the rocks, and in others a clearly defined watermark. He concludes, therefore, that there was at one time a great Mediterranean Sea occupying the present site of Mongolia, the desert of Gobi, and other adjacent territory, and that the surface of this sea lay six thousand feet above the surface of the ocean. The erosions above mentioned he accounts for by the sudden emptying out of this supposed sea. An earthquake opened a passage through the mountains at the northwest corner of this sea, and the mighty stream of water poured with tearing force and speed westward over the Aral-Caspian bottoms and broke through into the Black Sea. This forced open the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, and the Mediterranean Sea was so swollen as to cause the tradition of a flood among the people of Greece, which refilled the Sahara and broke through the narrow neck of land that, until then, joined Europe and Africa, thus forming the Strait of Gibraltar. The effect upon Europe was a new glacial period, and for central Asia a drying out and an increasing barrenness of the soil, which in turn caused the second migration of nations mentioned above. The theory and its development are both ingeniously wrought out and show that there are geological phenomena which may sometime confirm the legends, and thus remove all doubt of the Scripture narrative.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Ministerial Supply in the Prussian State Church. An article in a recent number of *Die christliche Welt* furnishes some interesting figures and reflections which will prove suggestive. Since the year 1888 there has been a decided falling off in the number of students of theology in the evangelical faculties of German universities. In the summer of 1890 the whole number of students of evangelical (Protestant) theology was 4,527, and this marked a small decrease. In the winter of 1895–96 the evangelical students were 2,917, of whom but 1,160 were looking toward the ministry of the Prussian State Church. In the winter of 1887–88, when the number was highest, there were 2,061, showing a falling off in the prospective ministerial supply of about two fifths. Each student must take at least six semesters, so that at most the rate in 1895–96 was but 193 new students per semester. But this is too high an estimate, since many study more than the required six semesters. For this and other reasons the writer argues that if 300 per year are reckoned as choosing

the study of theology, in connection with the State Church of Prussia, it would be an amply large estimate. But of these by no means all take the examinations. A small fraction fall out for one or another cause; others change from the study of theology to other departments, particularly to pedagogy, while still others prefer to enter the service of other Churches than the Prussian State Church. It follows that in a short time there will be but about 280 candidates yearly. But the State Church of Prussia needs at least 312 additions to its ministerial ranks to meet the inevitable requirements. And since the larger parishes in the cities are divided into two or more, as it is becoming customary to do, the demand will be still larger. There was, for a time, a surplus of ministerial candidates; but this will soon be exhausted, and then, it is evident, at the present rate the ministerial supply will be too small to meet the demand. In view of the overcrowded state of all other learned callings this is a surprising prospect. Another fact of importance is that the principal falling off in the number of theological students is found in connection with the Prussian State Church. From 1888 to 1896 there was a falling off of two fifths. In the same period, taking only the German State Churches outside of Prussia, the falling off in students of theology was less than three tenths. From 1890 to 1896 the students in connection with the old Prussian faculty of Breslau decreased 50 per cent; of Berlin, 46; of Königsburg, 42; of Halle, 41; while in Tübingen the loss was but 37 per cent; in Giessen, 36; in Heidelberg, 30; and in Strasburg, 26 per cent. Bonn, in spite of the agitation against its faculty now raging, has lost but 30 per cent. Rostock, which is but little affected by the changes in the rest of Germany, lost but 18 per cent. The two most orthodox faculties of Germany, Erlangen and Greifswald, gained in the number of students respectively 7 and 16 per cent. In Greifswald the number of theological students was 274 in the summer of 1890, and in the summer of 1896 there were 320. The writer of the article in *Die christliche Welt* then undertakes to find the explanation for the situation. He thinks that, at the end of the eighties, the overfilled condition of the ministerial supply, making almost certain a period of waiting extending four or five years before a definite position could be expected, may have frightened some out of the thought of preparing for the ministry. Then the small remuneration of the pastor, amounting, besides a parsonage, to only 1,800 marks at the beginning and to but 3,600 after forty-five years of service (that is, $450 to $900), may have had its effect in diminishing the number of candidates. Still, the writer thinks that if it had been the first-mentioned reason which caused the decrease it would have operated only until the surplusage was exhausted; and, as for the second, he thinks that, bad as the situation is, it improves somewhat from year to year. His conclusion is that the only way by which to account for the unwillingness of young men to enter the ministry is to attribute it to the continued agitation which has been waged against the theological faculties, and especially those of old Prussia, in recent years. Parents who are made to believe that their sons will have their faith disturbed if they send them to the universities to study theology

strive to turn them away from the ministry. So the writer thinks that not only does the agitation violate the fundamental principle of Protestantism—that of the right of private judgment—but that it now threatens to disturb or destroy the Church itself. But he asserts that the agitation is as unjust as it is dangerous. While it fails to hinder attendance upon the lectures of the objectionable professors it also hinders young men from preparing for the ministry at all. Taking a table made out by the ultraconservatives themselves, which he claims places some in the ranks of the historical-critical school who indignantly deny that they should be so classed, he finds that, counting the two higher classes of instructors in the Prussian universities, the conservatives have a considerable majority, the proportions being 23 to 35. Leaving out of the latter the faculty of Greifswald, consisting of 7, all of whom are conservative, the proportions would be 23 to 28. In Berlin, where it is supposed so many are radical, the proportions are 6 to 10. The writer says that the conservatives claim only that they should have a proportionate representation in the faculties, along with the critical. This, he asserts, the figures show that they have, and hence argues that they should now cease the agitation and no longer hinder young men from entering the ministry; and all the more so since the effect is not to prevent attendance upon the lectures of the objectionable professors. We have given the argument for what it is worth. But we seriously doubt whether it is not an instance of special pleading, after all. In the first place, Breslau, with but two critical and six conservative professors, lost 50 per cent. On the other hand, Bonn, against which the agitation is now particularly severe, lost but 30 per cent. The gain at Erlangen and at Greifswald, where conservatism rules, is not enough to attract special attention. Any growing institution is liable to an increase in any department. Cries of heresy generally advertise faculties against which they are made. To an American it appears as though poor pay and long waiting for position have more to do with the decrease in theological students than the agitation against the critics, though in a State Church such an agitation is peculiarly shameful.

Modern Machiavellianism.—In his recent Romanes lecture at Oxford Mr. John Morley defined Machiavelli's fundamental principle to be that the application of moral standards to the business of government "is as little to the point as it would be in the navigation of a ship." Quoting this, the London *Methodist Times* declares that the government is now carrying out the principles of Machiavelli. Already, it affirms, they have permitted the massacre of one hundred thousand Armenian Christians, and now consent to the destruction of Greece. Mr. Rhodes, also, "by whatever means, has added a big slice to the British empire." Yet, says the *Times*, the teachings of Isaiah are diametrically opposite to those of Machiavelli. The difference between the two "represents all the difference between heaven and hell." And "the moral instinct of the human race is right when it loathes Machiavelli and reverences Isaiah."

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE rare spectacle in governmental life of an unbroken reign of sixty years is justly receiving large notice in current American literature, as well as in English print. Prominent among the articles of our own periodicals is that of Florence Hayward in the June *Century*, entitled "Queen Victoria's 'Coronation Roll.'" It is embellished with portraits of Her Majesty at four, in 1838, in 1840, and in 1895, and has facsimiles of a part of the roll and of the oath subscribed to by the queen. The roll itself "is like the rolls of all her predecessors since the time of Richard II—a huge, bulky roll of parchment. It is what the lawyers would call a deed poll as distinguished from an indenture. It has its preambles and recitals and its obligation, all of which are quaintly set out in stilted phrases on a series of pieces of sheepskin, each fifteen inches wide, fastened together by loose stitches, until the whole attain the length of nearly one hundred lineal feet. . . . Speaking generally, the result, as a whole, is over a hundred square feet of solid reading in one breath and in a language that is a mixture of legal, mediæval, and court phrases; but each line gives one a glimpse not to be had otherwise of the intricacy, dignity, and significance of the coronation ceremony." Under the graphic leadership of the writer one becomes again a spectator of that far-away pageant whose participants for the most part have passed from view. And the description starts a dreamy melancholy. "We close the record and sit fingering the roll, already yellowed by the passage of sixty years, the measure of the reign the formal beginning of which it chronicled. From it is reflected as in a vision the masses of life astir upon the streets of London from the three o'clock dawn of that June day; the lines of soldiers making a living wall down all the way that the royal cortége is to pass; the arches, the flags, the decorations of the house fronts; the windows and housetops packed with impatiently patient spectators; the equipages of state, containing perhaps those of the blood royal, perhaps representatives of foreign powers—Esterhazy, 'all diamonds, diamonds to his very boot heels;' Soult, grim, weather-beaten, military in every gesture or lack of gesture, and greeted with cheers as ringing as those accorded to Wellington as each passes along on his way to perform his allotted part in the ceremonial. All this the imagination sees with a brilliancy that for once is not greater than the reality. But more vivid than any other part of the splendid picture stands out, as it should, the central figure—the figure of one woman amidst all the throng of men about her. Tiny of stature, pathetically young, pathetically isolated although so surrounded, this child-woman, with her silvery voice, her grave yet sweet demeanor, her evident realization of all that she is promising 'to do and to perform,' her graciousness—this figure stands clear in outline, unmistakable in pose—the queen, Victoria." Not less impressive is W. T. Stead's article,

crowded as it is with valuable statistics, entitled "The Queen's Empire —A Retrospect of Sixty Years," in the *Review of Reviews* for June. The "one supreme characteristic of the Victorian reign," says the writer, "has been the progress which it has made toward admitting all the people, rich and poor, male and female, noble and plebeian, Anglican and Nonconformist, Catholic and Jew, to a full and equal share in all that is going at home or abroad." The territorial expansion of the Empire, the advance in inventions, the results of the free trade movement, the social reforms, the changes in religion, the increased privileges of woman, and the development of journalism are among the features of the Victorian rule which Mr. Stead discusses. It is fortunate, he concludes, to "have been permitted to live in such a reign, where such great events were occurring among men. . . . Never at any previous period, not even when England faced coalesced Europe and maintained alone and indomitable the cause of liberty and nationality against Napoleon, have we occupied a prouder position in the world than we do to-day."

Of the conditions surrounding the birth of "the fourth American college" Professor John De Witt, D.D., writes, in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April, under the title of "The Planting of Princeton College." President D. W. Fisher, D.D., in considering "Socialism in Italy," declares that "the socialist has the ear of the laboring people, and so long at least as he preaches mainly his 'minimum' programme, he is likely to retain it." The discussion of "The Problem of Public Worship," by Professor T. G. Darling, D.D., is timely and vigorous. The reader will gain a new conception of the travesty upon the name of worship "to which ultra-Protestantism resorts in its bidding for the crowd," as he reads from the closing paragraph of this article: "A resurrected apostle entering our churches on what is in our new Church calendar 'Harvest Sunday' might conceive himself as having stumbled on some agricultural side show; while the clamor from a hundred bird cages confuses and outrages the orator of the day, gesticulating over the pulpit flower garden. The mellow apple, the ostentatious pumpkin, and the crooked squash, are called from their accustomed barn bins and gravely summoned to praise the Lord in his sanctuary, where an imaginative and commercially minded people are supposed to be unable to return sincere thanks for the kindly fruits of the earth unless they see in quality and quantity just how much they have to be thankful for. As yet, I believe, the last improvements in agricultural implements have not been paraded in the pulpit; nor has the ill-savored fertilizer, to which in fairness a part of the glory is due, been admitted to its proper share of sanctuary admiration; nor has any choir ventured to parody the psalm which calls upon all things which have breath to praise the Lord. A sense, perhaps, of the spiritual vulgarity of the performance has so far hindered the agricultural anthem from which might echo the refrain, 'Praise Him, all ye various vegetables by your several unæsthetic names.'" The following articles are:

"Apostolic and Modern Missions," by Professor Chalmers Martin; "The Biblical Usage of 'Soul' and 'Spirit,'" by the Rev. W. H. Hodge; "Morals Before Moses," by Professor Howard Osgood, D.D.; and "Efficient Preaching," by R. F. Sample, D.D. From the many practical teachings of the last article may be quoted only the following: "The great want of to-day is a holier ministry. We do not need more stalwart polemics, more mighty apologists, or preachers who compass a wider range of natural knowledge—important as these are; not Chrysostoms, Mellvilles, or Robertsons, but men of God like the preachers of Anworth, Kidderminster, and Ayr by the sea, who bring the atmosphere of heaven with them to the pulpit and speak from the borders of another world."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April has: 1. "A Great Historian;" 2. "Novels of the Italian Renaissance;" 3. "The Exodus of Pictures from England;" 4. "Old Eton and Modern Public Schools;" 5. "The Crisis in American Affairs;" 6. "Jowett;" 7. "The Sculptured Tomb of Hellas;" 8. "Un Royaume Anglo-Corse;" 9. "Painters Behind the Scenes;" 10. "National Defense." The historian whom the first article notices is Gibbon. A new understanding of the man and his work is now possible through the letters of Maria Josepha Holroyd—daughter of Lord Sheffield, the friend and editor of Gibbon—and Gibbon's Autobiographies and "his hitherto unpublished correspondence." The fourth article concludes with the statement that "the condition of [English] schools now is very far in advance of the merry days when Keate and Hawtrey wielded the rod, and when every schoolboy had to pass through an ordeal like that of Long Chamber at Eton and 'Commoners' at Winchester." The banking system of the United States, says the English critic of American affairs in the fifth article, is "a weak system;" our "Treasury system is bad;" the "system of issue of notes" by our banks is "the third weakness in American finance;" and our politicians have, "during the last twenty years, been committing the almost indescribable folly of regularly, systematically, deliberately, and, indeed, almost conscientiously, tampering with their standard of value." Jowett's life, says the next article, "has imprinted a deep and permanent mark on the thought and character of this century." The eighth article says some instructive things on Corsica. In the next article such prominent painters are noticed as Frederick Walker, Ford Madox Brown, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Jean François Millet, Henry Stacy Marks, and W. P. Frith. The last article urges better national defense in England. "To a greater or less degree," says the writer, "our interests clash with those of almost every great power except the United States."

THE *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* opens with an article by J. Wilbur Chapman, D.D., on "After Regeneration, What?" Its concluding sentence is the keynote of the whole: "If, as a Christian, you

preach the Holy Spirit to yourself as you preach Christ to the unsaved, you will have the truth which has transformed many a life and may change yours." Professor S. D. Faust, D.D., writes on "Our Preacher," discussing the characteristics of the successful Christian minister; and Professor W. J. Zuck considers "The Uses of Poetry for the Preacher." In his favorable verdict he says, "Let the preacher number among his best friends Milton and Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning, Whittier and Longfellow, and a host of others who have caroled their message to the world only to make it brighter and better and happier. The wonder is not that we love our Bible so much, but that we love our poets so little." The Rev. W. I. Beatty, Ph.D., writes on "Higher Education;" the Rev. H. B. Dohner on "Paganism in Bible Lands;" and M. E. Wilson, D.D., on "Buddha." In "Spiritual Dynamics" the Rev. A. E. Davis declares that "men with the life of Christ and the Spirit of God are the great forces transforming 'the desert and the solitary place' into the blooming garden of the Lord." The concluding article, by the Rev. E. S. Lorenz, discusses "The Influence of Calvinism on Life and Method."

Christian Literature for June has: "The Development of the Doctrine of Infant Salvation—III (Continued)," by Professor B. B. Warfield, D.D.; "Free Church Unity—The New Movement—II," by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes; "Henry Drummond—I," by W. Robertson Nicoll; "John William Burgon," by H. W. Yule, D.C.L., and G. H. Gwilliam; "The Pope and the Archbishops—I," by Robert Rainy; and "Turkish Courage."——The *Homiletic Review* for June has among its important articles: "How Best to Present the Life of Christ from the Pulpit," by Dean Farrar; "Goldwin Smith on Agnosticism," by Professor J. B. Thomas, D.D; and "Wanted, a Newspaper," by D. J. Burrell, D.D.——Noticeable among the attractive articles in the *North American* for May are two suggestive of summer outing, "Recent Achievements in Mountaineering," by Sir W. M. Conway, and "Exercise and Longevity," by Professor D. A. Sargent. The June number of the same periodical begins with "How the House Does Business," by Speaker Reed. It also has "Popular Errors in Living," by Dr. C. W. Purdy; "Literary Treasure-Trove on the Nile," by Rodolfo Lanciani; "Progress of the United States. II—The Middle States," by M. G. Mulhall, F.S.S.; "The Trust and the Working-Man," by the Honorable Lloyd Bryce; "The Record Reign," by the Marquis of Lorne; and "The Queen's Parliaments—I," by H. W. Lucy.——The *Methodist Magazine and Review* for June opens with an article by Dean Farrar on "John Wesley." This Canadian publication is full of attractive home reading.——The *Yale Review* for May has: "Limits of Constitutional Law," by Thomas Thatcher; "Street Railways and Their Relation to the Public," by C. E. Curtis; "The Rationale of Congressional Extravagance," by Rollo Ogden; "Public Baths, or the Gospel of Cleanness," by W. H. Tolman; and "The Massachusetts Farmer and Taxation," by C. S. Walker.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Evolution and Religion; or, Faith as a Part of a Complete Cosmic System. By JOHN BASCOM. Crown 8vo, pp. 205. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1 25.

Thoughtfulness, insight, a modern view-point, familiarity with the latest results of research, a frank and fearless purpose to adjust the forms of faith's expression in harmony with all newly known facts or freshly reasoned conclusions, a passion for integration and coordination, and an intellectual flexibility capable for reinterpretations, reconstructions, and reconciliations—these are elements and qualities which may almost be predicated beforehand of any volume written by Dr. John Bascom. He is one of those who keep at the front of the mental movement of the age, abreast of science and philosophy, giving answer to their latest word, with the intention of showing that the old faith survives and thrives in the newest light, that all genuine progress of knowledge and thought has the effect to confirm and not discredit Christianity's affirmations, to broaden and not undermine its ancient foundations. Whatever critical judgment we may hold as to the success of his efforts at tenable and adequate restatement and response, we must respect the sense of responsibility to the age and to the Church, which impels the effort as well as the ability therein displayed. Such efforts are always watched with apprehension and distrust by the ill-informed who through ignorance fail to perceive any need for such endeavors, and also by minds of strongly conservative temper who are pretty sure to think that the irenical adjuster is going too far, compromising away some inestimable treasures, surrendering the substance by his modification of the forms, and betraying the faith into the hands of its foes. In the opinion of some any conference of theology with modern science and philosophy for the purpose of establishing an amicable and decent *modus vivendi* is a treasonable parley with infidelity. Although they sometimes retard progress, such minds in the Church may have their balancing use. A legislative body which was all Left, without any Center or Right, would be ill-balanced, rash, and precipitate. But on the other hand the Church is responsible for making its message intelligible to living men. Better not speak at all than confine itself to an antiquated, outworn, and irrelevant vocabulary, which is the same as preaching in an unknown tongue —a thing forbidden by the Scriptures. The representatives and spokesmen of Christianity must not lay themselves open to be silenced and ruled off the floor by an opponent rising to a question of order and saying, "The honorable gentleman is not speaking to the motion as it is now before the house; he forgets or is unaware that the form of the motion has been changed since yesterday." If a devout scholar of scientific training and temper undertakes to show that on the lowest tenable hypoth-

esis, and looking from the standpoint of physical science, the Christian thinker finds the resurrection of Jesus Christ to be reasonably credible, let him have space and thanks for his contribution to Christian apologetics. If a learned and loyal Christian teacher inclines to think that evolution may be a method of the divine operation, and claims the privilege of showing that such a view only confirms and deepens spiritual beliefs; or if he wishes to quiet the fears or correct the misapprehensions of those who imagine modern scientific teaching to be unfavorable to religious faith, and so tries to prove that, even supposing evolution to be true, Christianity still holds its own in the intellectual court of highest resort, let us give him our grateful good wishes, listen attentively to his argument, and rejoice if it succeeds. The book before us is one of many such efforts. It seeks to show that "evolution is not a conception in extinction of reason, nor yet a movement in overthrow of faith;" that "our spiritual life is involved in it and built up by it as its most comprehensive and consummate product;" that "we in no way grasp our religious beliefs so firmly as when we see that they are woven into the entire web of events." Dr. Bascom first examines evolution as a conception; then considers it as giving unity to the field of knowledge and action; and afterward discusses its present spiritual phases and the proofs it offers to spiritual beliefs. The fundamental characteristic of evolution is that in its view the world is not so much a product of mechanical construction as of vital growth. Science busies itself with ascertaining and reporting the simple facts of a development which proceeds by a close-knit series of slight changes. It is the office of philosophy to consider the rational implications of reported facts, the ultimate nature of cosmic phenomena, and the origin of the energies operant and expressed in the movement of events. It is the function of the Christian apologist to adjust theology with ascertained facts; and that this is a necessitated function is implied in the sentence, "Religion cannot handle its own statements without raising concerning them all the questions of science and philosophy." We cannot discuss at length the contents of Dr. Bascom's latest book. Like several other volumes from the same hand, it belongs to what is named "The New Theology," which is no newer than Wesley's and Watson's were in their day. Whether we agree or disagree it must be attended to and reckoned with. A few quotations will give glimpses of the author's quality and style: "The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ and that of the Trinity have stood for the hold of men on the highest mystery. They have subserved a weighty symbolic purpose. Their very incomprehensibility has kept them fluent and serviceable. They have marked an inevitable and instructive transition in thought. These doctrines are much to be preferred to real, to blank, agnosticism. We say real, blank agnosticism for any considerable period. It soon gathers its own meaning, takes on its own expression of the 'unknown,' and a mystery of ultimate being is put back of the words. Its disciples, like Spencer and Harrison, fall by the ears as to the nature of this spirit that begins to stir in the darkness beyond. The believing mind feels, in the

very boldness of its faith, that it is dealing with the undefinable, and that its safety lies in that fact. 'The assertion that Christ cannot be very God of very God, in a sense infinitely beyond what may be truthfully said of all other human beings, is sheer intellectual presumption, is indeed dogmatism of the worse kind.' . . . One of the great reasons why this supersensuous and unverifiable doctrine of the Trinity has had such a hold on the minds of men is that it remains the best symbol of mystery, most fully floods the spirit with the sense or mystery without altogether sweeping it from its footing. From time to time men put upon it some new terms of intelligibility, restore its symbolical power by associating the persons of the Trinity with some triple relation in the world about us—as (for example) the substantial phase, the personal phase, the truth phase of being. The very best and purest minds, men like Pascal, have had their thoughts deepened and their spiritual experiences enlarged by dogmas of this order." The closing chapter affirms, and aims measurably to prove, that evolution correctly understood brings confirmation to our spiritual convictions and strengthens the validity of our highest conceptions; that evolution stands for the universality and continuity of intelligible relations and of creative processes; and that sober application may make evolution a key to spiritual knowledge. Evolution uncovers "a movement onward which is a revelation of order—the disclosure of a tranquil and brooding purpose;" shows that "the universe is knit together by an eternal and undergirding thought;" and this conception, "the most adequate and sublime possible, begins at once to get to itself the force of truth by its combining power, and lifts the mind to the point of utmost vision." By it "our theistic faith becomes comprehensive and sure . . . The character of God, as it is revealed to us from within and from without, is transformed into the most pregnant and prophetic term of the world. Prediction, hope, life, flow inevitably and freely out of it. The deeper we penetrate into the spirit of the world the more completely are we enveloped by it. This ruling idea, the character of God, is forever gaining disclosure in the universal movement. Scattered events, here and there, the mishaps which lie nearest to us, are capable of easy misapprehension, are already misapprehended by the hold they have on our feelings; but when we fall back on the ever-growing conception of God, and reason from it, light breaks in, not as from a lamp in one's hand, but as a diffused and increasing presence in the upper air, as lines of radiation from a center not yet fully disclosed which lie quite athwart the clouds . . . The external support we can bring to any single dogma to which we may hang our faith, like the inspiration of the Scriptures, is slight indeed compared with this direct resting back on God in the entire creative process, in an evolution we are daily sharing. From this ruling conception all light flows, and the moment any belief begins to cast a baneful shadow nothing hinders our setting it aside." "Our intellectual experiences involve three elements—an instinctive, a rational, and an ethical one:" these point in the same general direction and converge toward

similar conclusions, the sum total of which constitute, if not in form, then in solution, the substantial verities of our faith. For clearness and force the statements of this book do not always satisfy us. Some of its interpretations seem to us far from convincing, however permissible as tentative suggestions. The style, though good, is in no way remarkable. We have noticed no paragraph more felicitously significant than the following: "The mind does wisely when it follows in the rear of ruling ideas. Our roads are well laid out when they accept the lead of the brooks. They thread the ravines and reach the fruitful plains, associated all the way with the quiet murmur, bright reflection, and unstaying flow of a cosmic force." That brief bit throws its suggestion far and wide in various directions through many things. It is a fertile hint.

The New Apologetic. By MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

Apologetics is the name given to the science which studies and teaches how best to arrange and handle the evidences of Christianity so as to meet and defeat the various kinds of attacks made against it, and which aims to make it clear that the truth of Christianity cannot be disproved, but must be accepted. The form which the argument of defensive apologetics must take at any time and place is determined by the form of the particular attack then and there made. Schaff truly says that "every age must produce its own apologies, adapted to prevailing tendencies and wants." In defense the tactics of the enemy dictate our tactics. Our argument must fit and answer his argument; and as he is forever varying the shape and method of his attack a new arrangement of evidence and argument, forming a new apologetic, is needed as often as the enemy alters the arrangement of his forces. Vigilance must be alert enough to perceive his movements, in order to direct effective counter-movements. Lee ordered J. B. Gordon to move his command to Spottsylvania because he knew Grant and his army would be there on the morrow. It is bad management to keep on bombarding the intrenchments in front, where the enemy was yesterday, not knowing that he has withdrawn his forces therefrom and is now threatening our flank. An agile foe makes necessary a frequent change of front. In this valuable little volume Dr. Terry aims to give warning against the use of methods which are erroneous and inefficient because antiquated or otherwise unsuitable, and suggests some outlines of argument which may best serve the interests of Christian truth against present-day attacks, and also he indicates, in his chapter on "The Positive Apology," the proper arrangement of the evidences for Christianity in its aggressive movement upon the intellectual, moral, and spiritual nature of mankind, to the end that the world may be subdued to Jesus Christ. The attacks upon Christian truth are grouped and treated under three heads, the rationalistic-philosophical, the literary-critical, and those drawn from a comparison with rival religions. In the "Historical Retrospect" it is shown that rationalism, higher criticism, and the claims of other religions have been at work,

both in the Church and out of it, from the days of the apostles; and against all these attacks, continued through eighteen centuries, the Bible and the Christian faith have survived unharmed, despite the virulent and tireless ingenuity of enemies and the fears of timid disciples. A fine consistency knits together all parts of this compact and comprehensive book. The author lives up to his own doctrine that "the Christian apologist can afford to be liberal." He quotes the following from Professor A. B. Bruce as illustrating the spirit and attitude of the true apologist: "It is very important to grasp the truth that modern agnosticism and the doctrine of evolution, though often associated in fact, are by no means inseparable. An impression to the contrary might readily mislead the advocate of Christian theism into a precarious policy of uncompromising antagonism to prevalent scientific views concerning the origin of the world, as if to refute these were a matter of life and death. I, for my part, have no sympathy with such a view of the apologist's present duty. I feel no jealousy of the doctrine of evolution, and see no occasion for cherishing such a feeling. I do not profess competency to pronounce on the scientific pretensions of the doctrine; but I am very sensible of the grandeur of the view which it presents of the universe, and I am not indisposed to accept it as truth and to acknowledge the obligation thence arising to adjust our whole mode of thinking on religious questions to the new situation." In the same spirit Dr. Terry writes: "God forbid that we should speak with contempt of men like Spinoza and Hegel and Huxley and Herbert Spencer, and deny the sincerity of their inquiries after truth. The fact that they have not been persuaded of the truth of doctrines which we hold dear should admonish us of what Butler's *Analogy* emphasized, namely, that the evidences of Christianity belong to the class called *probable*, not *demonstrative*." And in like vein: "No good comes from denouncing and exasperating men whom we think to be in error. It is better, if possible, to make friends of them. I would say to the idealist, the materialist, and the pantheist: 'You have taken hold of great truths. Your systems contain elements which have arrested the attention of philosophic minds in all ages. But, I beseech you, observe that the Christian concept of God and the world accounts for more of the facts in question than any other. The biblical idea of God and the world has been on probation for several millenniums, and claims to be more simple, more comprehensive, and more rational than any other philosophy of the universe.'" The lecture on "The Literary-Critical Apology," observing that "biblical criticism is as old as the biblical canon," inquires what is to be done by the Christian apologist with the demands of scientific criticism, with the questions of texts and dates and authors. Shall we ignore them? or shall we wage open warfare against the results of criticism? The author sees a more excellent way, which is to treat the whole matter as a subject for careful inquiry and calm, intelligent judgment, searching out what the facts are and what is the truth about them. A succinct presentation is given of the methods of higher criticism as applied to Ecclesiastes and

Proverbs and Psalms and Isaiah, with the conclusions therefrom. Concerning the Book of Ecclesiastes Dr. Terry says: "Ancient tradition assigns its authorship to Solomon. At the beginning of the book we read, 'The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem.' In the twelfth and thirteenth verses of the same chapter the writer says, 'I the Preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem. And I gave my heart to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven.' This language certainly has all the appearance of a direct claim by the author to be Solomon, the son of David. And yet, with almost complete unanimity, the great critics of our day regard the book as one of the latest compositions of the Old Testament. Harman's *Introduction*, which the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church prescribe as a regular study for all candidates for the ministry, says: 'There can be little doubt that it is the latest book of the canon, and could not have been written earlier than the time of Malachi; but in all probability it was written still later.' Adam Clarke, the time-honored authority in Wesleyan exegesis, says that the attempts to overthrow the evidences of a post-exile date are 'often trifling and generally ineffectual.'" Remarking that in this one example we have a fair illustration of the nature of higher criticism, Dr. Terry says: "I have sometimes wondered that those who make the loudest outcry against such criticism when directed upon the Pentateuch and Isaiah seem never to have heard of this remarkable onslaught on Ecclesiastes. In the face of the assertions of the book itself we are told by cautious and conservative scholars (like Adam Clarke and Dr. Harman) that the work cannot be reasonably believed to be the composition of Solomon." Anent the question whether there are errors in the Bible Dr. Terry offers this parable: "A certain man had three sons who fell to disputing one day over the question whether a well-known and fertile field of their father's contained any stones. The first said, 'No, there cannot be stones in a field that has been glorified as that field has been.' But the second son said, 'There are stones there, for I have noticed them time and again.' The first son refused for a while to look at a specimen, and when he did look he pronounced it, not a stone, but a hard lump. At length the third son said, 'Brothers, let us all go out into the field and examine for ourselves.' Whereupon they went and found various small stones scattered here and there around the field. But then they disagreed again as to what should be done with the stones. The first son busied himself a long time in going about the field and trying to cover up all those troublesome stones with dirt. But the next plowshare that passed through the soil turned them up again to view. The other two succeeded in removing a number of the stones out of the field. But after a while one of them asked, 'Why should we be so much concerned about these scattered stones? They do no real harm to the field. The fruits and grains grow just as well in spite of them. Is it not the nature of this soil to have such stones in it? Why should we ever have set up the notion that this field must needs be without stones?'" Emphasizing the necessity of recognizing the great difference between

questions of literature and those of fundamental doctrine, the author writes: "Whether Paul or Apollos or Barnabas or Luke wrote the Epistle of Hebrews is a question of literary history, and its determination one way or another will not affect the value of the epistle nor the essentials of the Christian faith." Again: "The essentials of the Gospel are not dependent upon the successful defense of the traditional authorship of a written document. I would not allow even the question of the authorship of the fourth gospel to hold an essential place in general apologetics. The fundamental truths of Christianity can be shown from the three synoptic gospels and the four unquestioned epistles of Paul, our enemies themselves being judges." There is no wiser chapter in the book than that containing "The Apology of Comparative Religion." These five lectures on true and false methods of meeting modern attacks upon the Christian religion cover a wide range in a comparatively brief survey, compress much information for ordinary readers, illuminate the subjects treated, correct various prevalent misconceptions, and show the solidity of the foundations of the Christian faith.

Modern Methods in Church Work. The Gospel Renaissance. By Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIED MEAD, with an Introduction by Rev. CHARLES L. THOMPSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

No minister who cares to win men or who wishes to know what the Church of to-day is doing can afford to be without this book. It is a practical discussion of needs and a magazine of methods for meeting them. It will impress all who read it with the ingenuity and fertile inventiveness of religious enterprise and the general alertness of the modern Church. It is a handbook of applied Christianity in the various forms of present-day activity. What our readers may find in it is indicated in the chapter titles: "Cardinal Principles;" "The Free, the Open, and the Institutional Church;" "Church Members—Where Are They? What Are They?" "Reaching People Outside the Church;" "Personal Work;" "Reaching Strangers at the Services;" "Ushers' Association;" "The Choir;" "The Men's Sunday Evening Club;" "The Sunday Evening Service;" "The After Meeting;" "The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon;" "Young People's Societies;" "The Prayer Meeting;" "The Cottage Prayer Meeting;" "Open-Air Preaching;" "Chapels and Missions;" "Country Evangelization;" "Men's Clubs;" "Reaching and Holding Young Men;" "Athletics;" "Church Libraries, Reading Rooms, Literary Societies, and Entertainment Courses;" "Teaching by Means of Classes;" "Women's Work;" "Work with Girls and Young Women;" "The Social Problem of the Church;" "The Children of the Church;" "The Sunday School;" "Lectures to Boys Only;" "The Boys' Club;" "The Boys' Brigade;" "Industrial Classes;" "Day Nurseries and Kindergartens;" "Temperance Work;" "Healing;" "Relief Work;" "Beneficiary and Loan Associations, and the Penny Provident Fund;" "The Plural Pastorate;" "The Free Pew and Voluntary Offering System;" "Church Programs, Year Books, Bulletins, Vestibule Cards, Papers, Letters, and Advertising;" "Church Architec-

ture;" "Mobilizing the Work;" "Results of the New Methods;" "The Inspiration of the New Movement, and the Realization of the Kingdom." Not only ministers, but workers in Sabbath schools, in young people's associations, in evangelistic movements, in charitable efforts, or in almost any other form of Christian activity may learn something from this survey and description of methods.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Book and Heart. Essays on Literature and Life. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 12mo, pp. 287. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

Twelve essays under "Literature," and twenty-three under "Life," not one of them tedious or tame; a shrewd, genial, mellow wisdom pervading them all. To say this is not to agree with every opinion. A large variety of topic and treatment diversifies the volume. In the essay on "Discontinuance of the Guideboard" the author writes: "There is undoubtedly a tendency to rely more and more upon what has been well called 'the presumption of brains' in the reader. Note, for instance, the steady disappearance of the italic letter from the printed page. Once used as freely as in an epistle from one of Thackeray's fine ladies, it is now employed by careful writers almost wholly to indicate foreign words or book titles; a change in which Emerson and Hawthorne were conspicuous leaders. There is a feeling that only a very crude literary art will now depend on typography for shades of meaning which should be rendered by the very structure of the sentence. The same fate of banishment is overtaking the exclamation point, so long used by the poets—conspicuously by Whittier—as a note of admiration also. Here, too, as in the other case, the emphasis is now left to render itself; and even the last verse of the poem, which often—to cite Whittier again—contained the detached moral of the lay, is now commonly clipped off, leaving the reader to draw the moral for himself. The poet now makes his point as best he can, and leaves it without a guideboard; in this foreshadowing precisely that change which has also come over the prose novel." Realism in literature and art is considered to be not a permanency, but a swing of the pendulum to one extreme; and yet such oscillations are in their time irresistible. To oppose them is as useless as it was for Lowell to go on lighting his pipe for years with flint and steel, which he actually did rather than accept promptly the innovation of friction matches. When Higginson "pointed out to Browning some unfortunate alterations in his later editions, and charged him with having made them to accommodate stupid people, he admitted the charge and promised to alter them back again, although he never did." The following is quoted from Florence King, formerly Director of the United States Geological Survey: "With all its novel powers and practical sense, I am obliged to admit that the purely scientific brain is miserably mechanical; it seems to have become a splendid sort of self-directed machine, an incredible automaton, grinding on with its analyses or constructions. But for pure sentiment, for all that

spontaneous, joyous Greek waywardness of fancy, for the temperature of passion and the subtle thrill of ideality, you might as well look to a cast-iron derrick." Thoreau said there was never yet a definition of poetry so good but the poet would promptly proceed to disregard it by setting aside all its requisitions. Mozart wrote: "My ideas come as they will, I don't know how, in a stream. If I can hold on to them they begin to join on to one another, as if they were bits that a pastry cook should join on in his pantry. And now my soul gets heated, and if nothing disturbs me the piece grows larger and brighter, until, however long it is, it is all finished at once, so that I can see it at a glance." In "A Bit of War Photography" the author prints five pages in eulogy of Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*, likening its power to that of Tolstoi in bringing out vividly the daily life of war. "It is this Tolstoi quality—the real tumult and tatters of the thing itself—which amazes the readers of Crane's novel." He is called even more wonderful than Tolstoi because the latter has been through war in person, while Crane is but a youth born since our civil war. But success contains peril. "Goethe says that as soon as a man has done one good thing the world conspires against him to keep him from doing another. Mr. Crane has done one good thing, not to say two; but the conspiracy of admiration may yet be too much for him." The author of *The Red Badge of Courage*, being engaged as a war correspondent reporting the conflict between Greece and Turkey, an American journal administers the following criticism as an antidotal pellet against the dizzying effects of the wine of adulation: "Occasionally as the smoke of battle lifts on the plains of Greece the world catches a glimpse of the impressive figure of Mr. Stephen Crane. When last seen he was calmly rolling a cigarette between his fingers and a splendid symbolistic phrase on his tongue. He was standing amid an 'avalanche of thunder.' The downward rush of this vast mass of noise did not overwhelm him, but he was observed to pick up a few chunks of it and put them in his pockets for future use." Of Lowell's father it is written: "The Rev. Dr. Lowell was a man of sufficiently mild clericalism to preach sermons only fifteen minutes long, and this in a Congregational pulpit. He had, moreover, a sense of humor, for no one without it would have finally silenced a woman made garrulous by bereavement and steadfastly refusing all consolation—'But, after all, my dear madam, what do you expect to do about it?'" Colonel Higginson thinks the noblest series of accumulated climaxes to be found in the orations of Wendell Phillips is in his celebrated comparison between war and slavery, which ends with, "Tell me, where is the battlefield that is not white—white as an angel's wing—compared with the blackness of that darkness which has brooded over the Carolinas for centuries?" He says, "Matthew Arnold thought that Worcester, Mass., must be a small and trivial town because he had but few to hear him and was left at a hotel, but regarded Haverhill as a great and promising city because he was entertained at a private house and had a good audience." Arnold denied to Emerson the name of poet and philosopher, but proclaimed him "the friend and comforter of those

who would live in the spirit." The following on manners goes to the heart of the matter: "Good manners are not a matter of veneering but ingrain. Self-respect, self-control, kind feeling, refined habits—these are the basis. The trivialities of spoons and napkins are easily enough acquired. I have sat at table with a Pueblo Indian chief, introduced for the first time to silver forks, who handled these and all other implements with an awkwardness so dignified and delicate that it actually gave a charm. Never have I seen finer manners than those of an old 'body-servant' whom I knew in my youth on a Virginia plantation, who could neither read nor write, and had never gone farther from home than the White Sulphur Springs. . . . First get the real qualities, which lie at the basis, whether of social manners or of literary style, and all the rest shall be added unto you." Higginson thinks Lowell's "Commemoration Ode" the high-water mark of American poetry. Americans are described as a laborious and nervous race, in an exhausting climate, hurried on by what a poet calls "the whip of the sky." E. L. Godkin in his *Political and Economic Essays* speaks of the labor problem as insoluble, because it is really the problem of "making the manual laborers of the world content with their lot," which is difficult because such laborers imagine their life to be exceptionally laborious, whereas no pursuit is without a large amount of drudgery. Many a man of wealth in this country works willingly on a scale which would appall any day laborer, and this simply from love of the exertion, and is only glad when a portion of it may come in the form of actual manual labor. The author sees members of Congress and eminent lawyers retiring from public and professional life because of the enormous drudgery; an eminent physician, aged eighty, spending three successive nights at the bedside of one patient; the banker leading a life of tremendous and wearing drudgery. He concludes that among all pursuits the choice is only as to the form of drudgery one will prefer, and the form which seems to this man of literature least repellent and most attractive is that of the boat-builders on a certain sunny wharf, "who work all day in their airy shops with an endless stream of friends coming in to chat or children to play, where the work always ends in something graceful and beautiful and useful, and even the shavings are sweet-scented and the dust is clean." Referring to the drudgery of the law, President James Walker, of Harvard, said, "Put it down as a rule that no really eminent lawyer ever gets time to read a book." Discussing "The Complaint of the Poor," Higginson says that wealth does not get full credit for the good it does; that more money is devoted now and here by rich men for the benefit of the community than ever in any other time or place, and that the benevolent spirit and intention are spreading rapidly among respectable rich people. He remarks that the only American millionaire habitually reverenced in the more radical newspapers is Peter Cooper, and this not so much for the money he spent or gave as for the way in which he did it. Speaking of the deference and predominance accorded to honorable age, the author writes: "There is always a period when the young look with a certain

admiration and envy on the old, and sometimes for five minutes at a time would even change places with them. The old discreetly hold their tongues and accept the sort of supremacy forced upon them. So long as they say nothing the impression stands." Sir Robert Walpole, who lived to near eighty, remarked of his coeval, Lord Tyrawley, "Tyrawley and I have been dead for two years, but we don't tell anybody."

Behind the Arras. A Book of the Unseen. By BLISS CARMAN. 16mo, pp. 102. Boston and New York: Lamson, Wolffe & Co. Price, ornamental, $1.50.

Two poems much alike in theme are the first and the twelfth, "Behind the Arras" and "Beyond the Gamut." Under the figure of the first events and people of this life seem to this poet's fancy like scenes and figures woven on suspended tapestry, all plain enough to see and touch. On this marvelous tapestry of the visible he beholds many strange things, "degraded shapes and splendid seraph forms,"

> And beings with hair,
> And moving eyes in the face,
> And white bone teeth and hideous grins, who race
> From place to place.
>
> They build great temples to their John-a-nod,
> And fume and plod
> To deck themselves with gold
> And paint themselves like chattels to be sold;
> Then turn to mold.

But the tapestry which holds the figures, many and various, is swayed by windlike forces from the farther side, stirs often as if some one went to and fro behind it brushing against or pushing it with hands. Seeing which the poet falls a-wondering what is "Behind the Arras," suspects footfalls and voices almost audible, and hunts to find some peephole in the curtain. In "Beyond the Gamut" the same general theme is treated under a different figure. The violinist, feeling his dear instrument thrill as it nestles between chin and shoulder, asks what reason any find to doubt that past the seven notes, both up and down, are notes and music further and additional, could we but hear. There might be hearing so acute that the motions of the spider's loom would roar like a tornado. That little pearl and coral conch shell which we call the ear is not the measure of the sea of sound. Through realms of manifold music "Beyond the Gamut" Carman's fancy listens and through fourteen pages reports more or less of what it thinks it hears; report which is secure in one advantage—no man living can well contradict it. It is expected that in life's later, larger, loftier rooms man will develop new senses of soul, if not of body, senses now unknown, if not undreamed of. Had we the powers of court or legislature we would decree a change of name; it should hereafter be Bliss Carmen, because, in large degree and in undertone when not in dominant note, his poetry is a song of bliss. He knows reasons why each new morn that stands a-tiptoe on the mountain top is a jocund day. It is happily safe to float on the roll of his rhythm, for there are no treacherous currents, no dangerous eddies sucking faith under; no deadly sea-puss sticking its claws into the swimmer;

no monster of the slime reaching up its clammy tentacles to seizeand drag the soul down to drown in the dark and be devoured in the ooze. The joy of life is full and strong in Carman; above the world's gray tears he marks the sun's gold glee; but his test for all things, low or high, is what they import to the soul. He holds that the "joys of earth are journey-aids to heaven;" and as for ills, sufferings, and privations, dangers and hardships—without them there would be among men no touch of pathos or of daring, none of the unquenchable valor of the overcomer, none of the patience which endures, nor the unflinching loyalties of love. He calls evil a false note; is of opinion it will not persist but die away, and at last, far on, be whelmed in God's triumphant harmony, so that hearkening down his deep, wide universe he will hear not one discordant note. The poet seldom argues; he affirms or hints. Neither science nor logic dictates his forms. He is no professed philosopher, bound to explain things. He no more binds himself to complete statement than a piano player promises to strike all the keys at once. When he says that Shakespeare's people are "sweet, and elemental, and serene" he means that some of them are. When he writes, "Good is impetus to Godward; evil, but our ignorance of laws," he omits to make his semicircle whole by a supplementary statement that evil as it exists in the human world includes a vast amount of deliberate or passionate defiance and stubborn disobedience of laws which are as painfully well known as they are clearly revealed and solemnly sanctioned. In the claims and conquests of The Good, Carman has an assured confidence; earth's brief twilight dirges shall melt in long Te Deums. Through his verse breathes such faith and hope and trust as might enable an aging or a failing man to say to friends or to the stripped and friendless years,

> Slowly, therefore, and softly,
> With more memories than tongue can tell,
> Lower me down the slope of life and leave me,
> Knowing the hereafter will be well.

In "The Cruise of the Galleon," he pictures an old battered and laboring galleon, lettered on its stern, TELLUS, the earth, "laded deep and rolling hard," but bound to weather the storms, clear the reefs, and at last, beyond the zones of sorrow, go "bowling down an open bee line for the latitudes of joy." Carman's poetry is not hard to interpret; mostly its meaning can be caught on the fly. The two poems first mentioned in this notice are somewhat more subtle than the rest. Among those whose message is most obvious are "The Lodger," "The Juggler," and "The Night Express." The Lodger signs his name, "Spiritus;" a mysterious tenant, biding a while in a house of tinted clay; biding and hiding, a silent secret guest who minds his own affairs in a very private fashion, goes softly in and out; mostly keeps himself upstairs. No Paul Pry at his keyhole ever sees him; but

> The light under his door
> Is glory enough:
> It outshines any star
> That I know of;

and "his presence is worse to miss than the sun's best shine." In most of these verses we meet God and the soul or overhear them pretty much everywhere and all the time; a God not feared but greatly revered and trusted, a soul buoyant, eager, believing, affirming. The conception in "The Juggler" is finely written out in fourteen verses, easy, beautiful, charming. The Juggler is God; the worlds are his golden balls; he throws them up and up; there is never one that falls; he teaches them all their curves, and there never is one that swerves. His hand never hurries nor halts; he forgets not their time of return; he sees just where they are; he knows them all like a book; they will come home to his grasp at last; and

> Likely enough, when the show is done
> And the balls are all back in his hand,
> He'll tell us why he is smiling so,
> And we shall understand.

"The Night Express" is our on-rushing life, in which "we are traveling safe and warm with our little baggage of cares" because a Driver of iron nerve handles the throttle-bar and gathers the track in his smile:

> For he of the sleepless hand
> Will drive till the night is done—
> Will watch till morning springs from the sea,
> And the rails stand gold in the sun;
> Then he will slow to a stop
> The tread of the driving-rod,
> When the night express rolls into the dawn;
> For the Driver's name is God.

Just as we close Bliss Carman's little book we catch the picture of a river wandering fast and far, "through a gate in the mountains left ajar," and the Delaware Water Gap flashes into mental view. To save some one else the need of saying it, we remark that this book notice is an appreciation rather than a literary criticism; and we beg leave to add apologetically that to enjoy may be as judicial as to find fault.

The House of Dreams. 16mo, pp. 207. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book, published anonymously, but popularly attributed to Rev. W. J. Dawson, of London, once a Wesleyan and now a Congregationalist, author of two books published by our Book Concern, *Quest and Vision* and *The Church of To-morrow*, is sufficiently peculiar. It is a vague, mystical, dreamy vision of things after death and the world behind the veil. Its poetic, sentimental, semiphilosophic quality reminds us slightly of Alden's *Study of Death*. One thing held in solution, of which as we read we have most frequent and distinct glimpses, is an eternal hope of possible ultimate restoration for all souls. Unless we mistake, this hope lies at the bottom of the author's heart. *The House of Dreams* begins in its prologue with a sentence uttered bitterly by Cyril Reade, a young man for whom life had gone ill. "A bank had failed, and he whose habits had been those of the easy student had been forced to sell his books and find a drudging means of livelihood in an office. His mother had died the year before and his wife a year earlier. He was

thus left alone, and he had little genius for friendship. His mind was equally divided between vague enthusiasms, leading to the goal of a radical reconstruction of society, and a melancholy conviction that no sane reconstruction was possible. Thus it happened that young men of undistracted hopefulness of temper found him uncongenial, and those whose creed was thoroughgoing cynicism found him unsatisfactory. The men of merely sordid mind avoided him altogether. He took no interest in their pleasures and made no effort to conceal his disdain. He had no friend in the office, and outside the office door the world was inhospitable to him. So his mind grew bitter in him as he walked th e stony streets. On a winter night in London Cyril Reade walked with the one who tells us of it. "The freezing wind drove like a host of hostile spears along the street. Strong men drew the collars of their overcoats around their ears and fled from it; thinly clothed people stooped before it and shivered with a fear of what the night would be. A man stood beside the railings of the Church of St. Clement Danes offering matches in his swollen hands. His face was gray with cold, his eyelids red, his eyes like a dog's, patient and reproachful. Near him stood a woman with a child huddled to her bosom in a frayed shawl. She spoke from time to time in a weak, mechanical voice, as though she were reciting a lesson. The voice was hoarse and its tone leaden. The mire of the street, flung by a thousand passing wheels, spattered her, but she took no notice. It was the unmemorable accident of a life of misery. High in the air a clock struck four, and over the roar of streets instantly a mellow music broke from a hundred steeples. It was as though the notes were caught up like leaves in a great wind, and went whizzing past in a kind of ghostly murmur. The streets replied with a louder roar of thunder, and the wheels rolled on vindictively over the body of the dead hour. 'Ah,' said Cyril, 'who cares for these—for this man and this woman and the thousands like them? Look at the man's hands, see how the nails are broken, the joints swelled, the fingers bent. That is the hand of a man who has toiled. Your beggar by profession never had a hand like that. That hand has delved the earth, or held the plow that we might be fed; it has cut the tunnels through which the lighted trains rush night and day; it has perhaps controlled the lever on which the happiness of a hundred homes depended; it has found its tasks in the iron bowels of great steamships, amid oil and dust and heat; it is by such a hand as that the great machine we call civilization is kept at work. It has grown weak now, and no one wants it. There is a deep scar across those blue knuckles. Fire did that. There is a bulging at his wrist where it was broken long ago. That will be an accusing hand for somebody when it is lifted up above the throng of angels in the day of judgment.' At this moment the man hobbled forward holding out his matches in front of two well-dressed men who were passing. They repulsed him with rough and heartless words. 'I told you so,' said Cyril. 'No one cares. Yet possibly that poor woman standing there worked to clothe those two fellows in their fur coats. Let us ask her how she came to beg in the

streets.' The woman tells them that she has worked at shirt-making and trouser-making, and last for a furrier, picking over skins, until strength failed. 'That's what did for me. The nasty stuff got on my chest, and I've never been well since.' She stopped to cough. Her flat chest heaved and shook like a paper screen in the wind. 'Told you so,' said Cyril, with increased bitterness, 'the stitches wrought by that woman's thin fingers are very likely on my back and yours at this hour. She paid her lungs as the price of those fellows' fur coats. Look at her face. That blanched whiteness means famine. I can see death grinning through the sunken cheeks. She'll be under the rotten soil of a city cemetery directly, and those two bulls of Bashan in fur coats will go on stalking through the earth and neither know nor care. My God, to think of it all!' He shuddered, put his hands before his eyes, and whispered, 'I can hear Death sharpening his scythe on the steps of St. Clement Danes.' And then he said bitterly to me, 'Your God is dead, for none can hear his breath; he is certainly asleep, for none can waken him.'" This desperate sentence was the last in the author's mind when he fell asleep and dreamed the things which are in the twelve chapters, which have such titles as "The Sanctuary of the Wind," "The Sixth Sense," "The Judgment of the Woman," "The Arch of Fear," "The Man who was Loved," "The Land of the Lonely," "The Bridge of Hell." In the last chapter it is written that the throne of the Highest is in the form of a cross. The book closes with thirty verses like the following:

> All that aspired, at last shall find its mark;
> See, how each morn the little eager lark
> Throbs up the sky all hungry for the dawn,
> And finds the punctual light beyond the dark.
>
> O Soul, be sure that this must be God's plan
> To warm the germ of God concealed in man,
> Till it outsoar in scorn the ended flesh,
> As seeds the husk in which their life began.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Governments and Parties in Continental Europe. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 376, 454. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $5.

The author in his Preface well describes the motive and the aim of his book: "The State has been represented at sundry times under different figures. In the frontispiece to Hobbes's *Leviathan*, in the edition of 1651, it is given the form of a gigantic prince whose body is composed of minute human beings of every kind. A more common symbol is that of a ship sailing the trackless ocean, with a venerable pilot at the helm, steering by the light of the everlasting stars. To the writer the State sometimes presents itself under the figure of a stagecoach with the horses running away. On the front a number of eager men are urging the most contrary advice on the driver, whose chief object is to keep his seat; while at the back a couple of old gentlemen with spyglasses are

carefully surveying the road already traversed. Now, useful as all these persons undoubtedly are, there ought to be room also for the quiet observers, who watch the movements of the horses and note the strain on the wheels, axles, and bolts; who listen to the hubbub on the front seat and the grave conversation at the rear. To drop the simile and speak directly, there is need to-day of a thorough examination into the actual working of modern governments; and in one direction at least that need is still imperfectly satisfied. I refer to the activity of the parties which furnish the main motive power in public life. A great deal of discussion has taken place of late over the question whether political parties are a good or an evil; but from a scientific point of view this seems very like making the same inquiry about the winds and the tides. In reality parties are a fact, and as such their manifestations ought to be studied. Moreover, it is impossible to say that parties in the abstract are a good or an evil, because the result depends on the circumstances under which they act and the way in which they are managed. In Venice, for example, the absence of parties or factions prevented the State from falling into anarchy and despotism like the other Italian republics. In England the existence of two strong parties enabled the people to control the crown, and made parliamentary government possible. In France the subdivision of parties has prevented the parliamentary system from being a success, and both there and in Germany it has been a constant obstacle to popular government; while in Switzerland the subdivision and low development of parties has enabled the people to maintain one of the most perfect democracies the world has ever seen." Remarking that the phenomena of parties considered as facts have not been sufficiently examined hitherto, he proceeds in these two volumes to describe and explain the relation between the development of parties and the mechanism of modern government. The study includes the institutions and parties of France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland—countries where there is not, as usually in Anglo-Saxon countries, a simple division into two great parties, but rather a division into a larger number of more or less distinctly defined political groups. The treatment of each country begins with a description of its chief institutions or political organizations, which is followed by a sketch of its recent history, showing how the parties actually work, and, finally, by an attempt to find the causes of the condition and operation of party life. In his study of the condition of parties in Germany and the probable course of affairs the author, remarking that the disposition and character of the present emperor is a chief factor in the problem, goes on to say: "It is extraordinary that although William II has now been on the throne over eight years, and has seized every possible opportunity to declare his sentiments on every conceivable subject, his character is still an enigma. It is not clear whether he has really profound theories of government or not, and whether, like his grandfather, he has the strength of will to carry out his plans in spite of serious opposition, or whether, as his course on the education bill and during the friction with England about the Transvaal seems to indicate, he would give way before determined

resistance. He has, however, one quality about which there can be no mistake, and that is his desire to identify himself personally and publicly with his government, to make every act of his administration visibly his own. This is largely due, no doubt, to his craving for theatrical display and to his love for acting the part of king in the drama of the world; but it arises also from his conception of his duty as a sovereign anointed by God. He apparently regards himself as commissioned, not only to govern the State, but to lead and guide his people in all matters. The most curious exhibition of this notion was given in his address on the proper method of teaching history, made before a meeting of instructors in December, 1890. The address embodies his political ideas and illustrates his practical tone of mind. He told his hearers that the present mode of teaching history is all wrong; that instead of beginning with Greece and Rome and coming down to recent times they ought to begin with the present century and then go backward. He also remarked that students ought to be taught that the French Revolution was an unmitigated crime against God and man, and that they ought to be shown the fallacy of socialism. In his opinion the object of education is to teach politics, to create obedient subjects and loyal supporters of the crown. The emperor is an ardent believer in the monarchical theory which has recently come into large vogue in Germany—a theory that decries universal suffrage and proclaims the military monarchy as the best possible form of government—thus furnishing one of many examples of the way the end of the century is rejecting the principles and reversing the conclusions so laboriously developed during the last hundred years. The fact is that ever since the battle of Sadowa a profound change has been coming over the German character. The dreamy, poetical, mystical temperament has given way before the hard, practical, organizing spirit of the Prussians. The unity of the Fatherland, which the dreamers failed to accomplish, was brought about by means of the drill sergeant, and hence the nation is ruled by his methods." In Germany to-day the circles of scholarship and culture give large support to the doctrine of the superiority of a military monarchy, while among the lower classes this doctrine and its results cause irritation and a sullen discontent which is making ominous headway. The growing Socialist vote is the answer of the common people to the emperor's rigid and insistent personal government.

The Mycenæan Age. A Study of the Monuments and Culture of Pre-Homeric Greece. By Dr. CHRESTOS TSOUNTAS, Ephor of Antiquities and Director of Excavations at Mycenæ, and J. IRVING MANATT, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Greek Literature and History in Brown University. With an Introduction by Dr. DÖRPFELD. 8vo, pp. 417. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $6.

For about a dozen years Dr. Tsountas, a Greek archæologist commissioned by his government, has been working with a specialist's keen enthusiasm at Mycenæ, continuing the explorations begun by Schliemann. His fame as an explorer rests upon achievements like these: He has brought to light "the palace of the Pelopid kings; unearthed and studied the humbler abodes of their retainers and menials; traced the fortress

walls through all the stages of construction and extension, and discovered the secret waterway which enabled the citadel to hold out against a siege; in short, he has laid bare the old Achæan capital in its great enduring features, thus revealing to modern eyes the typical Acropolis of the Heroic Age. Moreover, he has explored the lower town, and particularly the clan or village cemeteries, each composed of a group of rock-hewn tombs whose disposition and contents have shed new light on the civic and religious life of the time. While patiently pursuing this great task he has taken occasional archæological excursions with brilliant results. In 1889 he excavated the bee-hive tomb at Vaphio (near Sparta), and there recovered those unrivaled masterpieces of Mycenæan art, the Vaphio cups. A year later he crossed Taygetus, and, under the height crowned by the Homeric Gerenia, explored another *tholos*, which yielded the curious figures of lead known as the Kampos statuettes. Still more recently he has made more than one fruitful reconnoissance on the island of Amorgos." In 1893 this brilliant explorer published in Athens a volume entitled *Mycenæ and the Mycenæan Civilization*, which was not simply a record of his own finds, but also undertook for the first time a systematic handling of the whole subject of prehistoric Greek culture in the light of the monuments. From that volume the book before us grew. Professor Manatt has taken that work of Tsountas, recast, enlarged, and adapted it to a wider public. Moreover the present volume contains in addition the results of explorations made within the last three years, during which "Tsountas himself has gone on with his great task at Mycenæ; Noack and de Ridder have explored the mighty Minyan works in and about Lake Copaïs; Staës and others have brought to light half a dozen prehistoric settlements in Attica and the adjacent islands; Evans has made known the results of his memorable researches in Crete; and, to crown all, Dörpfeld has laid bare the walls and towers, the houses and (possibly) a temple of Homer's Troy." The contents are arranged in fifteen chapters, showing what light has been thrown by archæological discovery on the Mycenæan civilization, upon its palaces, its private houses and domestic life, the dwellings of the dead, dress and personal adornment, weapons and war, phases of art, writing in Mycenæan Greece, religion, chronology, Homer, and Troy. The book contains twenty-two full-page plates and one hundred and sixty-nine illustrations in the text. A good index makes the contents readily accessible. Professor Manatt's volume, as he says, signalizes the end of the second decade of Mycenæology: "Twenty years ago the wires flashed from Mycenæ to King George's palace at Athens Schliemann's jubilant message that he had found the Royal Tombs, with their heroic tenants still masked in gold and their heroic equipage about them." That was the beginning of the discoveries which have already in great measure restored the landmarks of pre-Homeric Greece, and with them the real background of the Homeric poems. Dr. Dörpfeld, in his Introduction, notes how recent excavations attest the accuracy of the descriptions of life in the Heroic Age of Greece found in the Homeric poems, many of which have been supposed to be fanciful.

For example, few believed that the palaces were actually adorned (as Homer describes them) with friezes of blue glass; but the excavations at Tiryns, Mycenæ, Orchomenos, and elsewhere show the fidelity of that description. The tombs which have been unearthed bear witness to the prevalence of the worship of the dead among the Mycenæans. Some are of opinion that with the Greeks and with other races ancestor worship was the root and origin of all religion. Writing in support of this opinion, Fustel de Coulanges said: "Man worshiped the dead before he worshiped Zeus; he feared them and so addressed to them his prayers. (In this way, say some, the religious sentiment originated.) It was, perhaps, while looking on the dead that man first conceived the idea of the supernatural, and began to have a hope beyond what he saw. Death was the first mystery, and it put man on the track of other mysteries. It raised his thoughts from the visible to the invisible, from the transitory to the eternal, from the human to the divine." After this fashion reason De Coulanges and others.

Ulysses S. Grant. Conversations and Unpublished Letters. By M. J. CRAMER, D.D., LL.D., ex-United States Minister to Denmark and to Switzerland. 16mo, pp. 207. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The recent dedication of the Grant tomb at Riverside Park has directed the attention of the nation anew to the conspicuous services of its great leader in the late rebellion, and makes particularly opportune this modest volume of reminiscences. In it we hear again, as it were, the living voice of the hero of Appomattox, and are permitted to know his views upon some of the questions of warfare, reconstruction, social progress, and human destiny which occupied his thought. While the "conversations" which Dr. Cramer has recorded are not usually given *verbatim*, yet they are sufficiently full to be clear and instructive. To quote at random and but briefly from the book, General Grant is here on record as saying that he hated warfare. But, he adds, "When the war broke out I felt it my duty to offer my services to the government that had educated me." In his devotion to his work, "whatever he tried to do, he always did it with all his might. He had no patience with lazy people." His conscientiousness was also marked. "The idea of obligation, responsibility, faithfulness to trust, rectitude, justice, right—all these qualities were highly developed in him. Anyone who had the privilege of listening to his conversations in the privacy of the family circle or among intimate friends must have noticed that these qualities were prominent in his character." He did not desire political office. Says Dr. Cramer: "He told me that it cost him a severe struggle to accept the nomination as candidate for the presidency, offered to him by the Republican party in 1868, and that only upon the strong presentation of the case by the leaders of that party, and taking the situation and circumstances into consideration, he felt it his duty to obey that call and serve his country in the position to which the people afterward elected him." Originally he was not an abolitionist, but as the rebellion progressed he grew convinced that "slavery was doomed and must go," and even came to look upon

the war itself as "a divine punishment for the sin of slavery." In other words, he firmly held the doctrine of an overruling Providence, and in conversation on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln and his own escape, said to Dr. Cramer, "I am a profound believer in a special and a general providence that shapes the destiny of individuals and nations." His estimate of public men was wise—Lincoln, Stanton, Seward, Chase, and Johnson being among those upon whom he pronounces his accurate judgment. After the war and during his visits to other lands, he became an intelligent student of the European and oriental civilizations. "He thought that the Prussian, the Danish, and the American public schools were the best in the world." At Elsinore such a subject as the historicity of the play of "Hamlet" interested him; and at Bernstorff Castle he surprised the king and queen of Denmark by his knowledge of Danish history, politics, and resources. English rule in India so favorably impressed him that he declares "it would be a sad day for the people of India and for the commerce of the world if the English should withdraw." On Chinese conservatism and Japanese progress he intelligently comments, and of Russian and Turkish autocracy speaks words truly prophetic, to the effect that both are "determined to repress all liberal sentiments, even at the expense, if need be, of the Christian inhabitants of Turkey." In Christian missions he announced his firm faith, as a result of his world-wide wanderings, and in answer to the question if he believed in Christianity as a prime factor in modern civilization replied, "Certainly I do; and it is to be hoped that the Eastern nations will come to see it and adopt its fundamental principles." In spirit also General Grant was religious. Once, while President, and in the Metropolitan Church, he asked Mr. Colfax to accompany him to the communion, but the latter declining, "I, too," said the general, "stayed away." When asked by Dr. Cramer if he ever prayed he answered, "Yes, I often prayed silently to God at night and during the day that he might aid me in the performance of my duties, though I said nothing to anyone about it." And, in his last illness, as he looked into the impending future, he observed, "I wish I had the strong faith that my sister Mary has." But not less valuable than these conversations of General Grant are the various letters from his pen now published for the first time. Some were written in the earlier days of the war, amid the smoke of his battles along the Mississippi; some from the Executive Mansion at Washington; and some from beyond the seas. From Mexico, Mo., he writes his father concerning his promotion, under date of July 8, 1861: "I see from the papers that my name has been sent in for brigadier general. This is certainly very complimentary to me, particularly as I have never asked a friend to intercede in my behalf. My only acquaintance with men of influence in the State was while on duty at Springfield, and there I saw so much pulling and hauling for favors that I determined never to ask for anything, and never have, not even a colonelcy." And again to his father, August 8, 1862, he writes from Corinth, Miss., concerning attacks made upon him: "You must not expect me to write in my own

defense, nor to permit it from anyone about me. I know that the feeling of the troops under my command is favorable to me, and so long as I continue to do my duty faithfully it will remain so." Of those traders who were in the camp for personal gain he jocularly says, in a letter to his sister: "To all my other trials I have to contend against is added that of speculators whose patriotism is measured by dollars and cents. Country has no value with them compared with money." On June 15, 1863, he writes his father from Walnut Hills, in prevision of his sweeping victory so near at hand: "I do not look upon the fall of Vicksburg as in the least doubtful. If, however, I could have carried the place on the twenty-second of last month I could by this time have made a campaign that would have made the State of Mississippi almost safe for a solitary horseman to ride over." In February, 1864, apparently in connection with the mention of his name for office, he definitely writes: "I am not a candidate for any office. All I want is to be left alone to fight this war out, fight all rebel opposition, and restore a happy Union in the shortest possible time." And once more—to cite but a single extract from his later letters—he evidently expresses to Dr. Cramer his disrelish of a further political candidacy in a letter written from Burmah, March 20, 1879: "We expect to reach San Francisco about the first half of July. Although homesick to be settled down, I dread getting back. The clamor of the partisan and so-called independent press will be such as to make life there unpleasant for a time." These are but a few of many possible quotations, yet they are enough to show the character of the hero they commemorate—his high sense of manhood, his simplicity of habit, his lack of selfish ambition, and his loyalty to the high interests of the republic he served. Dr. Cramer has written of him—after the lapse of a decade since he joined the army now tenting on the eternal hills—with simplicity, good taste, and accuracy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth. Being Five Lectures Delivered on the Bishop Paddock Foundation, in the General Seminary at New York, 1896. To Which is Prefixed Part of a First Professorial Lecture at Cambridge. By ARTHUR JAMES MASON, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; Canon of St. Saviour's, Canterbury. 12mo, pp. 194. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Such scholarly and evangelical addresses as these would be profitable in any theological seminary of the general Church. The first lecture is entitled "The Historical Method of Studying Our Lord's Life upon Earth," and argues that we may, "with good reason, expect to see a truly human life lived out before us in the scenes which the gospels record." In the second lecture Professor Mason discusses "The Development of Our Lord's Moral Character as Man." Christ began life, he holds, "without our disadvantage of original sin;" he was "constantly tempted;" his life was one of faith, prayer, and obedience; and "all the

phenomena" of his "inward experience during his life on earth, which are recorded for us, combine to suggest that his moral growth . . . was of the same kind as ours at its best, only so immeasurably better." The third lecture treats of "Our Lord's Power upon Earth;" points out the difference between the miracles of the Old Testament and those of Christ; and suggests that "instead of supposing Christ to have walked the earth in constant exercise of his own divine powers" we may think of him as undergoing the double sacrifice of "not only refusing, as has been often said, to use his divine omnipotence for his own advantage, but also refusing to use it even for ours." In the fourth lecture, entitled "Our Lord's Knowledge upon Earth—Appearances of Limitation," the speaker finds some proofs that Christ's knowledge was not "an unvarying, exhaustive, all-comprising acquaintance with all facts, great and small, in all their bearings; but that it was a progressive knowledge, as ours is." The final lecture considers "Our Lord's Knowledge upon Earth—Its Transcendence." Some things he knew better than other and ordinary men. "All that it was profitable to know for his perfection and for our salvation, that we are assured that he knew with an accuracy and completeness in which there was no room for improvement." To the reader of this book there will come new and valuable views of the character and work of the Christ.

The Open Mystery. A Reading of the Mosaic Story. By A. D. T. WHITNEY. 12mo, pp. 410. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

A reverent, thoughtful exposition of the story of the Pentateuch. While intended primarily for intelligent young people, as the dedication "to my grandsons, for and with whom these studies were begun," will show, it is by no means a book to be neglected by older persons. Mrs. Whitney evidently does not believe that the two revelations of nature and the written word, emanations from the same divine Source, can when rightly interpreted present contradictory testimony, and she does not ignore the results unearthed by science because some traditional and practically tentative theological rendering of the Scriptures needs bolstering up. The book is fresh, suggestive, helpful, and the very opposite of "dry."

Inebriety. Its Source, Prevention, and Cure. By CHARLES FOLLEN PALMER. 12mo, pp. 109. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

An important conclusion reached by the author of this treatise from certain assumed premises is as follows: "Alcoholic inebriety is often based upon and dependent on diseased conditions, which demand proper medical or hygienic treatment for their removal. The inebriate is a diseased person, and the disease has either preceded the inebriety or is dependent upon it." Among the agencies employed for the restoration of the intemperate Mr. Palmer considers the resort to inebriate asylums, personal occupation, attention to hygienic rules, self-denial, and the purgation of evil thoughts. We do not find mention, however, of that means of recovery which, in the estimate of many, is the only effectual door of escape—the faith of the Gospel.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1897.

ART. I.—WHICH WAY?

IN an article printed a few years ago in these pages, entitled "Whither?—A Study of Tendency," an endeavor was made to show some of the directions in which American Christianity is moving. In this paper the intention is to indicate some tendencies in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to suggest questions as to which are worthy of development and which of arrest. The writer is aware of the danger that, on account of the office he holds, some may think that the fears expressed have their origin in solicitude for episcopacy, rather than for the general welfare of the Church to which his father, uncle, brother, and himself have given one hundred and thirty-eight years of ministerial service. Such possibly may read more charitably if they know that anxieties finding expression herein antedate by many years accession to episcopal position, and were expressed at that early date.

To those whose ancestry has guaranteed a knowledge of our history, and who remain in our Church by mature preference and conviction, it is no small matter that, before every General Conference, almost every peculiarity of our machinery is attacked in our Church papers. The mechanism by which, through the Spirit's help, such wonderful results have been accomplished is not only inspected, but declared by individuals over their own names to be superfluous, ineffective, or hopelessly worn. This is very much better than indifference, or silence from timidity. It proves that there is nothing in our spirit or polity destructive of the liberty of the individual.

Moreover, we do well to rejoice in the safety afforded by discussion. Men do not discuss that which is of slight interest. They are better content when everyone's views are freely tested in the assay of debate.

Nevertheless, the organs of some other denominations, not over-sympathetic with our polity or doctrine, took occasion thereby to state that our order was on the verge of dissolution from widespread dissatisfaction among ministers and laymen. These congratulated their readers that we were approaching their ideals. Some representatives of non-episcopal Methodist opinion were particularly emphatic in prophecies of change, and in self-felicitation. But the General Conference met and adjourned without substantial change at any point. Our whole machinery was closely inspected. Every proposition looking toward amendment was considered by large committees. But few lived long in committee, and fewer still reached the Conference itself. It added a Board of Insurance. It simplified and adjusted our legal code. It expanded here and contracted there, but it manifestly concluded that as a whole the Church is in good order, is well adapted to its work, and had justified itself in the last quadrennium in every department of Christian activity. It left the principle of the itinerancy untouched, and postponed the question of time limit for further light, though its lack of action took a prophetic form. It did nothing to limit the power of the General Superintendency, but extended it to questioned jurisdictions. Never were the bishops treated with greater courtesy; nor were their views ever more eagerly sought, more carefully weighed, or more largely adopted. It may also be stated—though it is written from memory only—that in every case where the administration of a bishop was questioned by complaint it was decided that no violation of law or privilege could be laid at their door. The presiding eldership was not made elective; laymen were not admitted to the bishops' council; the order for the consecration of bishops was not expunged, but carried out over three bishops elect, under circumstances of marked solemnity and spiritual power; superannuated bishops were not returned for support to the funds of the Annual Conferences, but were commended to the liberal consider-

ation of the Book Committee; presiding elders were not made coordinate with the bishops in appointing power. Observe, this is not intended as a catalogue of things wisely not done or as an expression of opinion. Its scope is simply to show that a great representative body, called from every quarter of the globe, found no reason to change the doctrine or methods of the Church in any essential particular.

This is certainly an ample introduction to the question, "Which way are we going?" Are we to be assimilated to the non-episcopal bodies, more fully to the episcopal, or show an eclectic assimilation to both? Are there visible signs of drift? Have they been long enough in sight to forecast the future? Are there any which may be accepted with gladness, any which must be watched with apprehension?

From a doctrinal point of view no change or controversy is in sight. Other than our own journals notice our freedom from heresy trials and internal doctrinal debate. The happy simplicity of our creed, the ethical character of our general rules as conditions of membership, leave nothing to be desired. We are not cumbered with obsolete or obsolescent statement of doctrine, with difficult philosophical definitions, nor Athanasian anathemas. The changes of the years do not compel silence as to our views of the extent of the atonement. Adam's sin in its relation to the transmission of guilt to the race has never given humanity, with us, an aspect of hopeless diabolism. The children born into our homes are not little fiends, but children of God, being of the kingdom of heaven. No question as to the mode of baptism divides us, as the mode is left to the conscience of the believer. Our theology does not hold men responsible for inheritances and environments. They had no part in choosing. Nor have we so hopelessly committed ourselves against scientific truth, or to any one doctrine of inspiration, as to burden conscience with reservation. Our missionary work does not proceed on a false conception of the relation of heathen nations to the fatherhood of God, or to his Holy Spirit as his gift to all who work righteousness in the fear of God. Higher criticism does not destroy our faith in the Holy Scriptures as containing the word of God, nor in the Gospel as the one solution of the

world's difficulties. Nor is it because the results of modern study are unknown among us. No American Church has more students at the sources of critical learning; none a greater number with eyes upon all that is new, and with judgments weighing new and old. Our ministers never have been, and never will be, pledged to any other vow at ordination than, "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation?" Our eschatology does not require either a second probation or a purgatory, holding as we do that the justice of the divine nature is an all-sufficient security against condemnation or limitation, in the life to come, from the involuntary effects of heredity and environment. Our theology will stand unchanged and secure so long as we have a converted ministry in close contact with the common people. It is the man of books who doubts, not the man of books and of the people. Such as chiefly know only those who have all of this world and all it can say are troubled as to immortality, or as to the divine elements in the Gospel. The highest and lowest in the present social scale are equally slow in the complete service of the cross of Christ. Theology may be modified as to presentations of the mode of creative energy; as to the grounds for believing the Scriptures to be the sole rule of faith, but not as to the fact; as to the philosophical arguments by which the immortality of the race has been sustained. It may be that more spiritual expression will be given as to the nature of the life to come, both as to felicity and sorrow. But there is no tendency among us toward the destruction of the Christianity we know by any result of critical study. Our doctrinal statements and religious methods will continue to be assimilated without credit by other Churches, as they have been. There will be greater competition through greater unity of faith and toil. Methodism will continue to be despised by name and accepted in fact, to be shunned for what it has never been and condemned for what it has never taught. It is from the hierarchical standpoint too subversive in its return to the early order of the Church; too strenuous in its invasion of religious complacency, personal contentment, intellectual pride, fossilized faith, and ecclesiastical pretension to be the home of those for whom the shadow

is as dear as the substance and the machine as precious as the power. But its radiant face is toward the future, because it has the world-defying spirit of reform. It is not free from moral failure, nor from human elements which outmaster the spiritual. But it is not chained to an accusing and immutable past; owes no high place to subserviency to the State; is not more respectable because of its piping plaint as to sin and the decay of devotion through love of the world. Its authority does not rest upon forged decretals, nor is it tainted by accepting their benefits. It is in our power to throw away everything but the early deposit of faith and still march on.

We write these words where we have but to rise to our feet to see the dome of St. Peter's. We have been in Rome long enough to understand her charm and abhor her methods. Never again can we refer to Constantine's vision of a parhelion, which he mistook for a cross, as the beginning of a true Christian victory. Here one is in the mood to wish that Constantine had been beaten by Maxentius, rather than Maxentius by Constantine. The pope does well to have their battle pictured on his walls. Then began the union of Church with State; the modern papacy; all the corruptions of Christianity; the recrudescence of imperialism, through the claims of the Bishop of Rome; the wealth of the Church, which leaves the people poor; all, in short, which has delayed the personal and social victory of true Christianity. The Roman ritual is so elaborate that cardinals must have prompters. All others seem contemptible in comparison. She is organized and decorated according to the fashion of this world. Not long ago, as the pope entered a consistory, the crowd shouted, "*Viva il papa re*"—"Long live the pope-king." One hysterical American woman screamed, "Long live the King of kings." Rome accepts both these titles. To her bigots Rome ought to be the spiritual and political dictator of the world. Let no softening of Roman tones deceive our American people with them; she is under the eye of a stalwart Protestantism. The Roman emperor survives in the keen-eyed but cadaverous Leo. If the writer thought that our Christianity were moving toward this, by anything in its spirit or order, it would be to him henceforth an enemy of mankind.

This episode seems warranted by the considerations which follow. No one can keep his ear close to the voices in our Church without hearing two movements in opposite directions. One is toward the modification, if not destruction, of all which indicates our descent from the Church of England; the other seeks to assimilate our worship and the plan of our episcopal supervision to that from which our fathers came out. For a moment let us recall our history. We receive from that Church our Articles of Religion, our ritual, our ministerial orders and office; and from her Arminian divines our theology. But we are not the heirs of her spirit. Of this the Protestant Episcopal Church is the sole American possessor. Our mother has changed as she has aged, and has grown more narrow, more exclusive, if not more aristocratic. She has more tenderness for the Roman and Greek communions than for the Protestant Churches. All this approach to Rome in spirit and ritual is rewarded by the bull which declares that her bishops are no bishops, and her orders utterly void and worthless. She will remain so much in the control of a generation trained in Tractarian ideas that no change will be immediately visible. The next generation will assuredly be broader. It will perceive that the unity of Christendom is impossible until the claims of the Roman Church are humbled and she be reduced, by combat of her errors, to a less pretentious place. This is a large task, but its successful accomplishment is as inevitable as the growth of science, the substitution of radical faith for superstition, and greater freedom in free countries for the Roman Church itself.

There is, therefore, no reason why we should accelerate a drift, if it existed, toward the Anglican Church, so far as her present teaching and spirit go. Though she is doing better philanthropic work than before, she is not doing her spiritual work on a truer basis. Like Rome, she teaches dependence upon priestly functions and priestly sacrifice, diminishing her past teachings as to the priesthood of all believers. She is in the Judaistic stage of sacerdotalism and legalism. When she abolishes all intercession between the soul and God, other than that of the compassionate grace of God manifested in Jesus Christ, and reduces ceremonial, in symbolism and obligation,

to the orderly, decent, and excellent expression of the Church's life and aspiration; when she sees that her true place is in the lead of Protestant forces against Roman error, it will be time enough for us to come into larger sympathy with the mother, who, always unkind to her strongest child, now declares it to be illegitimate.

But the case is different with regard to the enrichment of our worship, and possibly with regard to the localization of our episcopate. Toward these decided advance has been made of late. Three items in the English service have been formally placed in our order of worship, namely, the recitation of the Apostles' Creed, the responsive readings of the Psalms, and the *Gloria Patri* thereafter. These were in use in some churches without authority, and often not in their historical place. That their use is now directed by the supreme body proved what the writer has believed for years, that our Church moves toward a larger use of Wesley's *Sunday Service*, adopted by our fathers. The absence of provision for ancient expressions of doctrine in the ordinary service of the Church, while we have never been without it for ordinations, sacraments, and special occasions, has been long lamented by many in our ministry and laity. With reason these changes have been dreaded by some. But such do not seem to have sufficiently distinguished between the effect of a liturgy intoned by a priest, and largely reserved for him, and one free to all who, ordained or not, are called on to conduct public worship. Nor have they sufficiently distinguished between a liturgy obligatory on all churches—the only lawful expression of devotion, chilling natural ardor into speechlessness—and one left to the free choice of the churches as may be deemed best for edification. Our fathers did well in their early missionary conditions to abandon the use of our prayer book. It was—both on account of prejudice against things English, after the Revolution, and the impossibility of adequately rendering it in the woods, barns, and log houses where our fathers did their noble work—very wise to suffer it to fall into disuse. But its use has not, we think, been forbidden, except by implication, unless the adoption of some orders of worship are so interpreted. Even then, the kind of prayer and song has been left to the discretion of the pastor.

The time is not near when all our churches would be benefited by increased liturgical elements. But some would be. The Protestant Episcopal Church has been confined chiefly to the pavements of large cities, and to chapels of ease in the country, by the obligatory use of the Prayer Book. Our Church is not in danger through that mistake. But musical culture and literary taste rapidly increase, through the newspapers, magazines, and schools. The services of all non-liturgical Churches are being enriched. May we not delay too long in granting liberty to individual congregations? Observing that certain minds in certain moods, and these often very intelligent, desire to assist devotional feeling by the use of venerable forms, may we not have made the use of those we have unnecessarily difficult? Have we not made the transition of a certain type of mind to other communions too easy?

In connection with the tendency to a greater localization of episcopal supervision we have used the word "possibly." If this is to be foretold, in the light of what was arranged by the bishops themselves and what was attempted in the effort to station the bishops by the authority of the General Conference, the localization at no distant day of bishops is more than probable. For the withdrawal of appointing power from the bishops, or giving others coordinate power in that regard, there seems to be no certain outlook. The last General Conference, with the utmost deference to venerable and vigorous men, did show a strong conviction that there is no necessary connection between seniority in office and personal fitness for administration or residence in particular localities. Elected as the bishops are by an ecumenical council, not by a diocesan convention—the underlying thought being fitness for a general superintendency—the effort has been made, by designating certain cities as episcopal residences, to secure local as well as general supervision. This having been tried for several quadrenniums, complaint is now made that it does not secure fully the ends desired. If one were, however, to judge by the clamor of cities to be made episcopal residences, it is not wholly unwelcome or futile. The plan to station bishops by report from the Committee on Episcopacy had large following in the last General Conference. But this is a very difficult

matter. The bishops who are attached to a particular locality by age, long residence, individual property, close and paternal relation to educational institutions, cannot be changed without a severe wrench. Moreover, the average age of the present board is very high, and the course of nature, as well as the settled policy of superannuation, ought to be taken into account. These considerations seem fatal to violent action in the cases which have reached final choice of residence under past conditions. But there appear no fatal objections in the case of bishops not so related, and particularly to those who may yet be chosen. Notwithstanding this position may not have in some eyes an aspect wholly just, it is probably of greater practical justice to all interests than a more radical procedure. To many it does not seem that general and diocesan superintendency can be widely combined beyond this. The districting of the bishops involves, inevitably, tremendous changes as to the number and authority of presiding elders, and as to the number of bishops. It also involves a total change in the wide knowledge of our entire work by the whole board—one of the most characteristic results of our economy, and immensely available in the appointment of ministers, in the benevolent boards, as well as in the national influence of bishops great in pulpit and platform power. The Church may well hesitate to introduce a system which immediately grades its bishops by the situation of the districts to which they are assigned, and which stirs up friends and foes to a vigorous canvass of their merits. Moreover, it does not yet appear that longer presidencies over groups of Conferences will foster the unity of the Church or the contentment of ministers and churches. That experiment is being tried in some of our foreign fields, by the suggestion and appointment of the bishops themselves in the assignment of a bishop for two years. Engaged, as the writer is, in one of these fields, he is not yet convinced. The Conferences in Europe are nine in number, cover a vast extent of territory and climate, demand incessant travel, and are beyond, as to large local work, the time and strength of any one man. If a resident bishop should be the successor of the present arrangement his work would suffer in representation and vote by his absence from the Missionary Committee, or involve

great expense in frequent journeys. In some quarters it seems to be desired at home that bishops should return a second year to face, as the phrase goes, "their own work." But might not the result be either greater timidity in the case of difficult administration, or the perpetuation of the criticised policy? The cases are not few where the authority, temporarily unpopular, must be exercised to break up oppressive co-operation, extinguish inefficient leadership, and put men of success, irrespective of age, into places demanded chiefly on the ground of seniority. It takes time to justify or condemn these changes, and often more than a single year.

Certain it is, the greater the localization of the bishop the less the dignity and authority of the presiding elders. We have probably no office less esteemed, as compensating for its cost, in the older portions of our work. While this comes from inadequate consideration of all the facts, it yet is pressed into sight in many ways. These are, however, precisely the sections where bishops abound in service and counsel. Is there no connection between these facts?

Does it seem probable from visible signs that the election of presiding elders is near at hand? Is their coordination with the bishops in appointing power an oncoming modification? As to the first, the evidences are not many; as to the second, they are even fewer. The discussion has brought into prominence the consideration that division of authority weakens the sense of responsibility; that reforms in Conference administration would be more difficult; that hope for change of unwelcome conditions, in the *personnel* and spirit of local supervision, would be so diminished as to approach despair. What would happen if a majority of presiding elders should outvote the bishop, or districts insist upon the retention of an elder when, to all else, the Church is suffering? In all these cases the bishop cannot proceed too cautiously, considerately, or with too much accessibility to all sources of information. But under either of the propositions the Church would see the pitiful spectacle of a bishop rendered powerless by the votes of those most interested in defeating him.

If one states that present conditions are often unjust to a bishop an incredulous smile will be the first reply. Recently

an honored minister published over his own name, in the New York *Advocate*, several points of desired reform. Among them was one relating to the crushing of a young minister by a transfer to the church he hoped for, or some change in his appointment thereby. Without knowledge as to the case mentioned, we risk a statement and expect a smile. Present conditions put bishops into a singular place, namely, that ministers and laymen break our laws cheerfully, but demand that the bishops obey them. Ministers and churches, against the advice of the General Conference, interfere with the free exercise of the appointing power, and then hold the bishops responsible for misfortunes which follow. On no subject is there so much feeling, in some Conferences, as on that of transfers. We exclude from this discussion transfers recommended or made by bishops for the exigencies of the work during the Conference year. The essence of the complaint is that men are transferred to the injury of men already in the field. From the lay point of view the obligation to take a pastor from the immediate locality is not felt. Rightly or wrongly, they insist upon their right to select from the whole body of the ministry. They show how this is the privilege in other denominations, and will accept no other view. It is difficult, considering the history of the Annual Conference, to prove that this is not a right view. When there was but one Conference there could be no transfer power. When there were two or more the transfer power was simply the exercise of the appointing power. It is so to-day. Our theory has never been that any have an inalienable right to appointment in any particular territory, but to an appointment within the bounds of the Church, as exigencies may determine. There is not a bishop who would not gladly fill all the appointments in a Conference from the men belonging to it. For it is an administrative truth that, if churches sometimes press the bishop to go beyond Conference lines for the pastor desired, the members of the stronger Conferences press the bishop to stay in. They are often very unwilling to go out that another, may come. An involuntary transfer out of a preferred Conference is felt to be an intolerable hardship. The bishops feel bound to respect to the uttermost the wishes of pastors as

to the Conference in which they desire to work. In these conditions of church and pastoral desire the bishop is in a strait. If he refuses the transfer he may break up a church, and, at the least, put a burden upon the loyalty of many. If he grants it he grieves good men who feel that they have earned promotion. What does the refusal of a strongly desired transfer generally involve? The sending of some good man to opposition, and often rejection, advertised to his damage by a press ever willing to magnify trouble in churches. The bishop may know that many in the Conference are capable; he may have privately urged their claims; he may have resisted to the last the pressure; but, if convinced that there is nothing unfitting in the appointment itself, and that some good man would be brought by refusal into a year of pain, he would decide that it was best to make the transfer. If the experience of other bishops is like our own, the difficulty of getting men to go out at all from the stronger Conferences and neighborhood of large centers is very great. We have always sought equivalent exchanges, and have been defeated only by the men who declined to leave a beloved Conference by any consent of their own. A frequent occasion for asking for a transfer is the inability of a board to agree on one, among several, members of the Conference. Several have strong friends, who will not desert them as long as any man in the Conference is considered. But unity is easily had over some one from another Conference. So that, as long as churches go beyond the law in inviting certain men, and ministers are unwilling to sacrifice Conference relations, and the bishop is obliged to give every effective man an appointment, the complaints will come. There is no cure but in return to the early days of appointing, freely according to the judgment of the bishop, or by wholly Congregationalizing the Church. It must not be forgotten that it is as much a tyrannical act to refuse the well-considered wish of a church as that of a minister.

There is a strong current visible in the direction of the greater participation of laymen in the General and Annual Conferences, and to the election of trustees and stewards by the vote of all the adult members of the church. This is to be found in the European churches, especially in Scandinavia,

as well as at home. The equalization of lay and clerical delegates seems likely to take place at no distant date. The sentiment which acquiesces in the presence of laymen as members of the Annual Conference is by no means so largely developed. The ministry feels that, as the beginnings of the ministry are wholly in lay hands in the matters of license and recommendation, and that no minister has a vote in the trial of a layman, the laity ought not to be admitted to vote on election to orders, nor in ministerial trials, nor in admission on trial. There would probably be no serious disturbance of constitutional equilibrum could these questions be reserved to the ministry. The practical difficulty in such case of entertaining the Annual Conference is already being met by the necessity, in some sections, of providing by another method than that of hospitality. Upon such equalization the question would soon arise whether Annual Conferences could not be trusted with local legislative powers, not in contravention of the authority of the General Conference, but in local adaptation of general legislation similar to those powers possessed by diocesan conventions. And if any are seeking for a brake on the possibility of overriding our Constitution by a hurried vote of an excited General Conference, it could be found in granting initiative and referendum to the Annual Conferences thus constituted. There is a growing feeling, which found expression in the last General Conference, that in all States, and not in some as now, trustees must be elected by the adult membership. The power of the pastor in nominating stewards for election by the Quarterly Conference is not always a happy privilege. Failing to renominate any one, he may count it as being a permanent ground of offense. Moreover, the official board as now selected often does not represent the church in its demands on the appointing power. Responsibility to the membership of the church, through election by the membership, would certainly often change the temper and constitution of the supervising body of the local church. Nor could any great peril come from the election of delegates to the Lay Electoral Conference in the same way. When lay and clerical representation are equalized we might thus hope for the continued return to the General Conference of

experienced and eminent laymen. With very few exceptions the scanty opportunity now given for lay presence in that body prevents, by sending new men, the just and valuable influence of laymen who have knowledge of General Conference legislation and wide acquaintance.

It is the joy of all that our Church has accepted with such fullness the modern trend toward utilizing the young people of the Church. It is worth all the dangers of the experiment, and its results upon education, religious work, and denominational loyalty are incalculable. Next to this in importance, as exhibiting the growth of benevolent work and as affording opportunity for occupation and usefulness to single women, we may place the growth of the deaconess movement. Without this our work in Germany and in Catholic countries must be very slow. The mercy of God to suffering humanity, exhibited by these blessed women in the name of the Church, is a daily and persuasive sermon. Nor will we be long without similar and carefully guarded opportunities for the unpaid labor of good men, in teaching and other service, who feel themselves called to Christly work, but not to the cure of souls. We must not forget that one of the great sources of influence in the Roman Church is that she affords cheap education to the young. She can do her work more cheaply than Protestant Churches in these respects, because she accepts unpaid service. But if any of the horrible evils of monastic life are necessarily connected with such service, as some fear, it is infinitely better to go on as we are. Nothing is more visible to the writer here in Europe than the great advantage we have in our polity, so far as it takes the ancient form, without the ancient errors, of *jure divino* authority and dependence on the state. Our compact organization, the powers of the Annual Conference, the representation of ministry and laity in the General Conference, the joy of being a part of a vast organic life, our nomenclature, our preservation of the early office and the two New Testament orders are all helpful to the Gospel we preach and to the care and ingathering of souls. Those who come to us may feel a social wrench, but this is the chief penalty paid. They do not have to apologize for a society instead of a Church, nor defend claims to

power on the basis of a ghostly succession. These characteristics are known to those who precede us in this field, and who do not deny us vigor, order, loyalty to humanity and Christ.

It would be unfitting to close this article without some note of rejoicing over the higher educational standards imposed by the highest authority, as well as by the spontaneous action of the Annual Conferences. It is here our best future lies, apart from the grace of God. Our tendency here is ever onward. The motto of our fathers was, "Fire." Their sons write above their thresholds, "Culture and fire." God preserve us from that icy learning which dissociates its possessor from sympathy with the common people, and makes it impossible to conceive of its possessor exhorting a sinner to repent! We have no pulpit for a man who ceases to be evangelical in being learned. God is multiplying among us those for whom home and foreign schools have done their best, whose culture keeps pace with their love for souls. Our educated men are becoming more and more ashamed if their learning does not increase their revival power. They are hearing the call from men who need help at the hands of men who know all things that they may help all. Students of social problems and forces in our ministry occupy the best possible positions—not above, nor beneath, but in the currents they observe.

By the order of the Church the writer is expatriated for nearly two years. The movement of our home life is softened to his ears by three thousand miles of sea. But there is no moment so occupied with the toil of travel, the pleasure of novelty, or the care of the churches that he does not listen for "the sound of a going" in the dear land at home. He sees here a Christianity expressing itself in the forms, methods, and dogma of a superstitious and wicked past; demanding obedience to a claimed monopoly of venerable error. Here, he sees everywhere the native Churches chained to the State, seeking ever to be its master, but succeeding chiefly in being its slave. They try to manifest Christ through ceremonies, vestments, candles, and the smoke of incense. Even among those of our own speech there are privileged Churches whose eyes are carried so loftily that they cannot see clearly their own chains, the wrongs amid which they live, or any good in

work unlike their own. Their heart seems fixed, as to their leaders, upon the preservation of the one barrier to Christian unity, the denial through a Judaic priesthood of the universal priesthood of believers. A crowd of emperors, kings, princes, and princelets, mostly insignificant of person, dwarfed of brain, and many scant in morals, are at the top. Beneath them are "nobilities," created long ago by "anointed" monarchs as rewards for bloody service, political complacency, or bastard relationship. Beneath these are a few with more than royal wealth, acquired by commerce and manufactures, who eagerly sell an occasional daughter for a coronet, and thus enrich "noble" blood and purse—a fashion now followed by some rich Americans. Below these are the masses, burdened with taxes which bring them small return, and conscripted to die for hates they do not feel. These band themselves together to prevent encroachment and preserve power. They suffer for each other with amazing courage. They hate the Church, and cheer for Jesus Christ as a martyr to the cause of manhood and truth. It is with this common people that the future lies, not with a dancing, hunting, feasting, racing, gambling "nobility." The destruction of some old ideas is near; the *renaissance* of some, long sleeping. Whether these shall be born into peaceful life or bloody strife depends upon the hold of Jesus Christ on the next generation.

One has thus a mighty joy that we are still true to the common people. Let us pay all penalties gladly. We pay more here than at home—ostracism, contempt, persecution, one or the other everywhere. Seeing that God has given us a place, large at home and ever enlarging here, may he help us to preserve whatever strengthens our hold of doctrine, method, or government on the masses. Whatever weakens it, let us gladly hide away in the museum of disused, because outworn, forces.

Dan'l A. Goodsell

Art. II.—RELATION OF EXTRA-CANONICAL JEWISH LITERATURE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

There is no more incontestable and valuable principle of interpretation than this, that, in order to understand an author or a book, we must understand the national, intellectual, and religious environment in which the author lived, out of which the book came. Inspiration does not abrogate this principle. In both the Old Testament and the New we reverently and gladly recognize the pervading influence of the Holy Spirit, moving and qualifying men to give such a record and exposition of the facts and history of redemption as shall forever abide the rule of faith and practice. At the same time we are constrained, by the unmistakable phenomena of Holy Scripture, to frankly recognize the human element throughout—the idiosyncrasies of the several writers, the characteristics of the various schools of thought, the impress of the changing culture of the ages during which the sacred literature was produced.

To understand the New Testament, then, we must know the national, intellectual, and religious life out of which it came forth. Unquestionably the main literary influence to be recognized in the production of the New Testament is the Old Testament of the Hebrew canon. We may see this influence in every fiber of the New Testament. But there is a Jewish literature beyond the canon of the Old Testament; a literature large and varied; a literature more or less interesting in itself, but interesting especially as marking development of thought between the Old Testament and the New; a literature whose relation to the New Testament is, therefore, properly becoming in our critical age a subject of careful investigation and of eager discussion. This literature consists of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, the apocalyptic books of Palestine, and the writings of Philo. The Apocrypha of the Old Testament comprises books that are extra-canonical from our Protestant point of view, as well as from that of the Jews of Palestine. These books, while not proceeding from the great creation epochs of the history of redemption, are not to be depreciated or ignored. There is in some of them much which is strong

in thought and noble in expression, a worthy echo of the Old Testament; and in them all there is valuable material for the history of opinion during the dark ages of Jewish history. Some of these books, as Judith and Tobit, are highly interesting as religious romances, and are alive with the principles of patriotism and religion which were powerful in the later Jewish life and thought. The Books of Maccabees are immensely valuable as contemporary, or nearly contemporary, history. The most important, from the theological point of view, are the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, commonly known as Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon—the former Palestinian in tone and modeled upon the canonical Book of Proverbs, the latter Alexandrian in tone and origin, presenting us with the characteristic Alexandrian mingling of Jewish and Greek modes of thought, and furnishing in its doctrine of the wisdom of God a link between Plato and St. John.

Closer in date to the New Testament, less known, but more important for our present investigation, are the so-called pseudepigraphic, or apocalyptic, writings. While the Apocrypha is chiefly Alexandrian in origin and tone, these works are Palestinian. Nothing in them is as lofty in thought and style as the best parts of the Apocrypha, but they are crammed with valuable data for New Testament exegesis and theology. They are entitled the *Pseudepigrapha*, because several of them were published under the name and prestige of some great personage of earlier Jewish history, sometimes, perhaps, partly to shield the real author, but probably mainly to excite interest and secure favor by this literary fiction. They are more commonly known as apocalyptic, because to so large an extent they consist of apocalyptic glimpses into the future of Israel and the world. This literature probably began in the early Maccabean period, when pious and patriotic men, meditating on the decay and oppression, wrong and outrage, of their own time, were constrained to look from the present to the future, from the real to the ideal, and, with a noble confidence in the fulfillment of divine promises, to paint glowing pictures of coming strength, victory, and felicity, such as might kindle hope and inspire courage in their despondent countrymen.

Thomson, in his eminently readable work, *Books which*

Influenced our Lord and his Apostles, following the views of Hilgenfeld and Lucius, claims that this apocalyptic literature came out of the circle of the Essenes; that Jesus, being a semi-attached member of the order, was from his childhood familiar with this literature; and that its influence upon him and his apostles was very considerable. He has probably overestimated that influence. Certainly his charming picture of the youthful Jesus poring over these books is too purely a bit of imagination to be taken very seriously. And the claim of Essenic origin is mistaken. The most characteristic features of Essenism, such as communism, celibacy, the invocation of the sun, and abstinence from animal sacrifices, are conspicuous by their absence in this literature. All that can be prudently said as to the origin of this literature is that it is a natural outcome of Judaism, and especially of the Judaism of the Pharisees, not indeed scholastic, but popular, and so to be distinguished from the literature of the rabbis which is embodied in the Talmud.

It may not be superfluous to enumerate and briefly describe the apocalyptic writings referred to. The Sibylline Oracles are among the most curious works of all literature. Playing upon the current pagan notion of vaticinations by the sibyls, or prophetesses of Apollo, certain unknown Jewish writers and, later, Christian writers put respectively Jewish and Christian expositions of religion, morals, and history into the mouths of the ancient sibyls, in order to gain for their doctrines the quicker and wider currency among the heathen. This process went on for centuries, from about 140 B. C. to about 400 A. D. In the sixth century many of these fugitive pieces were collected into fourteen books of hexameter verse, of which most are still extant. These books, written in so many portions and by so many hands, have little unity, are full of interpolations, and are of uncertain date. They were accepted as authentic in the early Church, and were long held in high esteem, as witness the words of Thomas of Celano in the thirteenth century, in which the sibyl is put on a par with David:

> Dies iræ, dies illa,
> Solvet sæclum in favilla,
> Teste David cum Sibylla.

These sibyllines are of interest to us mainly as affording valuable evidence of Jewish and early Christian views of the history of the world, of the Messiah and his kingdom, and of that Messianic consummation to which both Jewish and Christian hope have looked so eagerly.

The Book of Enoch is the most important of the apocalyptic works. It consists of many heterogeneous parts of diverse authorship and widely separated dates, running probably from about 170 B. C. into the first Christian century. The unity of this compilation consists in the literary fiction which assigns all these utterances to the patriarch Enoch. Into his mouth the various writers put their own philosophy of history, their own hatred of the enemies of Israel, their own bright Messianic hope. Enoch has visions, interpreted to him by angel guides, of things in heaven and things in earth—the fall of the angels through their union with the daughters of men, their punishment, the course of human history, the awful appearing of the Almighty with his hosts to judge mankind, the destiny of the righteous and of the wicked, and, mingling with these more religious representations, wearisome descriptions and explanations of various phenomena of nature. Most of the book is tiresome reading. The writers are not possessed of the least literary genius, nor are they profound or acute thinkers. Nevertheless, the work is exceedingly valuable as a mine from which we may dig the details of the current Jewish theology, especially the eschatology of the century preceding Christ. Here we find the ideas expressed in the midst of which Jesus Christ and his apostles were educated, ideas which meet us in the New Testament representations of the popular theology, ideas which can hardly have failed to largely influence the very apostles of our Lord. There is more literary and spiritual power in the Psalter of Solomon than in the Book of Enoch. In this collection of eighteen Psalms of the Pharisees, as they are also called, we have a full and forcible exhibition of the views and hopes of the Pharisaic Judaism of the middle of the first century B. C. The theology is that of righteousness; the righteousness is generally that of outward deeds and ceremonies; calamity is the punishment of unrighteousness; prosperity is the reward of righteousness; and, inasmuch as such

recompense is not yet realized, the Messianic hope is the more ardently espoused, the hope of such a final judgment as shall give every man his due. History is read in the light of this principle of righteous recompense. Israel is conquered by the Romans in punishment of national sins; wicked Pompey in his turn lies dead on the shore of Egypt, under the just judgment of God. The deadly feud of Pharisee and Sadducee flames forth, especially in Psalm iv, where the pious Pharisees, those that "fear the Lord in their innocency," are contrasted with that worldly party of the Sadducees which had more politics than piety, the "men-pleasers" upon whom the writer calls down the curses of God with great zest and unction. There is much lyrical beauty and much religious earnestness, notably an heroic faith in the ultimate triumph of God's cause in the earth, in these sacred odes of Pharisaism. The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis, as it is also called, is an haggadic commentary on the Book of Genesis, whose object is to explain difficulties in Scripture, to make vivid and popular the facts of the earliest Hebrew history, to glorify the patriarchs as the heroes of that history, and so to confirm and establish its readers in their Jewish faith. The title is due to the fact that the work divides the history into jubilees, that is, periods of forty-nine years, not fifty as we might expect from the law in Leviticus. The work belongs to the first Christian century, but may serve as a sample of the more popular side of the Pharisaic elaboration of Holy Scripture in the time of Christ. We can hardly wonder that, for a time at least, the people turned from such dry-as-dust amplification of the narratives of Genesis to the realistic parables of Jesus, warm with true human life and tender with divine affection. The Ascension of Isaiah rehearses the tragic closing scenes in the life of the great prophet. The Assumption of Moses is a Jewish work, probably springing from the circle of the Zealots, in the first century of our era. The work has only recently been, in part, recovered. The extant portion contains the charge of Moses to Joshua, Joshua's reply, Moses's rejoinder. The narrative of the death and burial of Moses is lost. The Apocalypse of Baruch—not to be confounded with the Book of Baruch in the Apocrypha—is a Jewish work of early Christian times, in which the

writer seeks to comfort the Jews of the dispersion, after the fall of Jerusalem, by putting into the mouth of Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, a prophecy which unfolds much of the history of Israel up to the actual time of writing, and then pointing onward to the glorious Messianic kingdom in which there shall be compensation for all the distresses of the present.

These apocalyptic works represent Palestinian theology. Philo is the supreme representative of the theology of the dispersion, and specifically of that Alexandrian theology which strove to be at once faithful to the religion of the Old Testament and yet receptive to all the truth, beauty, and goodness which it found in Greek philosophy, literature, and life. Philo is immeasurably the greatest of the men who sought to commend Jewish religion to the Greeks and Greek culture to the Jews. The influence of his speculations may be discerned in certain forms of expression in the New Testament, namely, in John's gospel and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But to assert such influence elsewhere in the New Testament, even upon the thought of our Lord himself, is in our judgment unjustifiable. There is a current mistaken tendency to see a large Hellenic influence in the New Testament. The formulation of Church dogma was, indeed, largely affected by Greek culture. But the New Testament betrays very slight trace of such influence. Nevertheless, in this extra-canonical Jewish literature, and especially in the Palestinian apocalypses which constitute so important a part of it, we may not unreasonably hope to find some of the formative influences at work which prepared the soil for the good seed of the kingdom of God and helped to make Christianity what it is. A devout Christian scholar, whose judgments are usually as sound as his learning is wide and accurate—Dr. Sanday, of Oxford—says that any future advance in New Testament exegesis is to be looked for chiefly through a continuous and careful study of the Jewish writings between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D.

Our principal purpose in this article is to present a brief estimate of the kind and the extent of the influence of this literature upon the New Testament, and to indicate certain directions in which a knowledge of it may be serviceable to New Testament exegesis. Most of the works to which we have

referred were certainly in existence and in circulation at the time when Jesus and his apostles lived and taught; they can hardly have failed, therefore, to have at least indirectly influenced him and them; they must have helped to create the religious atmosphere which both Jesus and his hearers breathed. This literature was not the source of the teaching of our Lord and his apostles, but it was to some extent the condition of it.

That such an influence must be recognized is not only thus antecedently probable, but is clearly proved by the direct use of the apocalyptic literature which we find in the New Testament in at least a few cases. In Heb. xi, 37 we read of heroes of the faith "sawn asunder." In the Ascension of Isaiah we find a detailed account of the cruel death of the great prophet, according to which Manasseh and the false prophets stood around the holy man, mocking him, while he was barbarously mangled with a wooden saw. The passage continues: "And neither, while they were sawing him, did he cry nor weep, but he continued in converse with the Holy Spirit till he was sawn asunder." In Jude 9 we have an allusion to the Assumption of Moses. In Jude 14, 15 we have a quotation from Enoch i, 9. The following are the words in Enoch: "And lo! he comes with ten thousands of [his] holy ones to execute judgment upon them; and he will destroy the ungodly, and will convict all flesh of all that sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against him." When we find Jude, the brother of the Lord, thus using the apocalyptic literature, we cannot deny the possibility that Jesus himself may have been acquainted with it. There is, however, no *scintilla* of evidence that this literature was to him, what the Old Testament was, the word of God. And, as a matter of fact, there is but little trace of the direct influence of this literature upon him, except in the adaptation and use of the Messianic title "Son of man." This title meets us, as the title of the expected Messiah, in the Book of Enoch, due there, probably, to the similar expression in Daniel vii; and Jesus applied it to himself, probably because, although a Messianic title, it was less current and less politically dangerous than the title Christ—Messiah. The spiritually susceptible would recognize in his

constant use of the title the Messianic claim; the unspiritual would not be stirred to the frenzy of political revolt.

While we do not find many passages of the New Testament where a direct influence of the extra-canonical literature is clearly traceable, we do find much in this literature which illustrates the New Testament, throwing vivid side light upon the current customs and conceptions of the Jews, their sects, parties, and theology, much which remarkably anticipates New Testament lines of thought and even forms of expression. It is often difficult to decide whether we should regard such anticipations of New Testament teaching as directly influencing the mind of the New Testament writer, or as to be explained on the principle of developmental coincidence through the common influence of the Old Testament and the Spirit of God. Such parallels are, at the very least, intensely interesting, as indicating the way in which the minds of men were gradually prepared for the teaching of Jesus and the apostles. The field is wide. We may gather and present but a few specimen flowers. The Christian doctrine of the fatherhood of God is beautifully anticipated in the apocryphal book of the Wisdom of Solomon. In ii, 16, we read, "The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy; and he vaunteth that God is his father;" in xiv, 3, "And thy providence, O Father, guideth it along," referring to a ship at sea. So in Ecclesiasticus xxiii, 1: "O Lord, Father and Master of my life, abandon me not to their counsel." In these passages we have an advance beyond the Old Testament and a preparation for the New, inasmuch as the individual pious man here directly addresses God as Father. But "Father" is not yet the characteristic name of God. Its use is yet sporadic; in Christianity only does it become universal and abiding.

We find familiar ideas of the sin and fall of man in Wisdom and 2 Esdras. In Wisdom ii, 23, 24, it is said, "God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own proper being; but by envy of the devil death entered into the world." How Pauline that sounds! In 2 Esdras iv, 30, we read, "For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time."

In reference to the doctrine of angels there are many points of contact between this literature and the New Testament. The later Judaism leaned to a view of God's transcendence above the world which naturally led to a somewhat extravagant development of a doctrine of angels as God's agents in the physical and moral government of the world. The literature in question has a hierarchy of angels such as the Old Testament was beginning to know only in its very latest portions. Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Suriel, Raphael, Sarakael, Raguel, Phanuel are named; and in some of the latest of the apocalyptic books—that is, Enoch xx and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs—the offices of these several members of the heavenly hierarchy are specified. The New Testament is much more modest in its angelology. It does not name many members of the heavenly host, and it brings God himself more directly into relation with his world. Yet there are some interesting illustrative parallels. The words of Raphael, in Tobit xii, 15, "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in before the glory of the Holy One," throw light upon the representation in Rev. viii, 3, 4, of the angel with the golden censer, who adds much incense to the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar before the throne of God, so that the smoke of the incense with the prayers of the saints goes up before God.

The most important feature in the whole range of this extra-canonical literature is the large development of that Messianic hope which it gained from the Old Testament, and which the New Testament represents as gloriously realized in its inmost spiritual essence in Jesus of Nazareth and the kingdom which he founded. It is true that in parts of this literature—the most of the Apocrypha, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Jubilees, and the Writings of Philo—the Messianic idea is lacking. But, while this fact proves that the expectation of a personal Messiah was not universal, it by no means justifies Bruno Bauer in his denial of the existence of such an expectation among the people in the years preceding the advent of Jesus. The detailed investigation of the apocalyptic literature makes such denial, or even such doubt, untenable, and amply vindicates the New Testament representation of the popular feeling.

The hope which animated the ancient prophets was not suffered to die out. In many passages of this literature it is seen gilding the horizon of the national destinies with the glowing promise of brighter days when the anointed One shall come in his majesty.

In this literature, as in the New Testament, the history of mankind is seen running its course up to a final crisis, when the Messiah shall come "to terminate the evil, to diadem the right." Two ages are distinguished, the present and the future—the present of misery and oppression, the future of victory and joy, divided by the great day of judgment. In 2 Esdras vii, 42–45, we read:

> This present world is not the end; the full glory abideth not therein; therefore have they who were able prayed for the weak. But the day of judgment shall be the end of this time, and the beginning of the immortality for to come, wherein corruption is passed away, intemperance is at an end, infidelity is cut off, but righteousness is grown, and truth is sprung up. Then shall no man be able to have mercy on him that is cast in judgment, nor to thrust down him that hath gotten the victory.

The duration of the earlier, pre-Messianic period, "this present world," is uncertain, and variously estimated. A fair specimen of many passages is 2 Esdras xiv, 10–17, in which we see the men of those days endeavoring, as men of our own day are still endeavoring, to read the signs of the times and to determine when the end shall be:

> For the world hath lost its youth, and the times begin to wax old. For the world is divided into twelve parts, and ten parts of it are gone already, even the half of the tenth part. . . . For look, how much the world shall be weaker through age, so much the more shall evils increase upon them that dwell therein.

As to the person of the Messiah there are many intensely interesting passages, showing how, bit by bit, the picture was completed of a conquering hero, sometimes merely human, sometimes superhuman though not divine, who should free Israel from Gentile oppression and inaugurate the perfect theocracy—passages containing many phases of thought which anticipate the New Testament conception, but also many which are inconsistent with it. The Messianic references in 2 Esdras are too evidently of Christian origin to be considered here. In 1 Maccabees xiv, 41, we see the people in their joyous recog-

nition of the sovereignty of Simon the Maccabee, yet mindful of the greater One to come: "The Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until there should arise a faithful prophet." In the earlier portion of the Sibyllines, looking out from the dire distress of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, the writer not only predicts the ultimate triumph of the kingdom of righteousness, but connects it with the coming of a mighty King from God:

> Then from the sunrise God will send a king,
> Who will make all earth cease from evil war,
> Killing some, and others binding with strong oaths.
> Nor yet will he by his own counsels do
> All these things, but by excellent decrees
> Of God persuaded. But again the people
> Of the great God with wealth will be weighed down,
> With gold and silver and purple ornament,
> And of good things will earth and sea be full.—Book iii, 776–784.

The Book of Enoch has very rich Messianic contents. The expected One is "the Anointed," "the Elect," "the Son of man;" his preexistence is asserted; his mission to the world, to execute judgment on the unrighteous and to bring joy to the righteous, is described. The chief passage is chapter xlvi:

> And there I saw One who had a Head of days, and his head was white like wool; and with him was another, whose countenance had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of days. And he answered and said unto me, "This is the Son of man who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of spirits hath chosen him, and his lot before the Lord of spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness forever. And this Son of man whom thou hast seen will arouse kings and the mighty ones from their couches, and the strong from their thrones, and will loosen the reins of the strong and grind to powder the teeth of the sinners. And he will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms, because they do not extol and praise him, nor thankfully acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.

A very similar representation of the Messiah is to be found in Psalm xvii of the Psalter of Solomon.

It is evident that such pictures never originated the New Testament idea of the meek and lowly Messiah, who went about doing good, who founded a purely spiritual kingdom by purely spiritual means, who died for the sins of mankind; it is evident that people who had once become imbued with such Messianic expectations must have been bitterly disappointed in Jesus of Nazareth.

The passages which we have quoted, or to which we have referred, are not the only Messianic passages in this literature, but they are the most striking. In none of them do we reach the high-water mark of the New Testament Messianic conception. Nowhere in this literature is the expected one divine, although invested with high attributes and sublime prerogatives. He is never sovereign, only God's vicegerent. In the Psalter of Solomon he is merely human, perfect in holiness, taught of God. In the Book of Enoch (cv, 2) he is God's son, but probably merely in the sense of divine choice and love. In this Book of Enoch he is, indeed, superhuman; though not divine, yet preexistent and highly exalted:

> And at that hour that Son of man was named in the presence of the Lord of spirits, and his name before the Head of days. And before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of spirits. . . . And for this reason has he been chosen and hidden before him, before the creation of the world and for evermore (xlviii, 2, 3, 6). The Son of man was hidden before him, and the most High preserved him in the presence of his might and revealed him to the elect (lxii, 7).

After all, however, this preexistence is evidently only that of a creature, however exalted, and with however glorious authority invested. In the *Logos* form of Christology the influence of Philo may be recognized. The question is large and fascinating, but we must content ourself with the bald statement of our opinion that John's conception of the person of Christ is that of Paul and the rest of the New Testament, legitimately derived from Christ's own character, claims, career; that John is peculiar only in the use of the term *Logos*, to indicate the preexistence of Christ in his divine, eternal condition; and that John employs that expressive term because he and his readers in Asia Minor were more or

less familiar with the use of it in the Alexandrian speculations concerning the relation of God and the world. He took Philo's form, but into it he poured his own specific and entirely Christian contents.

In this literature we see remarkable approximation to those ideas of immortality and resurrection, final judgment, and the future recompense of paradise and gehenna which are so familiar to us from the New Testament. Due regard to the patience of the reader, however, limits us to a brief reference to the nature of the Messianic kingdom as depicted in the apocalyptic books. The picture varies, but on the whole is one rather of sensuous than of spiritual blessedness. Righteousness, it is true, will abound in that kingdom, but there is a strong emphasis upon the more material forms of felicity. For instance, in the Book of Enoch, x, 16–22, the Lord charges Gabriel as follows:

> Destroy all oppression from the face of the earth, and let every evil work come to an end; and the plant of righteousness and uprightness will appear, labor will prove a blessing, righteousness and uprightness will be established in joy for evermore. And then will all the righteous escape and will live till they beget a thousand children, and all the days of their youth and their old age will they complete in peace. And in those days will the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and will all be planted with trees, and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees will be planted on it, and vines will be planted on it; the vine which is planted thereon will yield wine in abundance, and of all the seed which is sown thereon will each measure bear ten thousand, and each measure of olives will yield ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness, and from all sin, and from all ungodliness, and from all uncleanness which is wrought upon the earth; destroy them from off the earth. And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer me adoration and praise, and all will worship me. And the earth will be cleansed from all corruption, and from all sin, and from all punishment and torment, and I will never again send them upon it, from generation to generation, forever.

The length of this earthly Messianic kingdom is variously estimated. Usually it is regarded as lasting forever; in other places, until the end of this world, then to be followed by a heavenly consummation. In the Apocalypse of Baruch the period is one of four hundred years. In the Talmud the

question is debated whether the period is of four hundred or a thousand years. Very much of our current millenarian theology, with its glorified but earthly Jerusalem, and its personal reign of Christ upon the earth, will be found already in this apocalyptic literature. From the reading of the Book of Enoch, especially, one learns clearly how difficult it must have been for the disciples of Jesus to emancipate themselves from the trammels of their education and rise to his more spiritual conception of the kingdom of God.

We have now freely quoted passages and alluded to lines of thought in the extra-canonical Jewish literature, in which we frankly recognize approximation to, or preparation for, New Testament teaching. The facts of the evidence seem to us to warrant these general conclusions:

1. That this literature did much to create the theological atmosphere, partly favorable, but largely hostile, in which Christ and his apostles lived and taught.

2. That Christ and the apostles took over some elements of this theology, assimilating them to their own more spiritual view of God and his kingdom.

3. That, even where Christianity is entirely original in its doctrine, it has made considerable use of the old forms of expression.

4. That, therefore, the study of this literature is indispensable to the scientific study of the New Testament.

5. That there is no adequate ground for the extreme position of certain recent scholars who are inclined to derive much even of the substance of Jesus's teaching from the current theology of Judaism as we find it preserved in this literature. A considerable influence upon the form we must admit. But, so far as the principal contents of Christian doctrine are concerned, Christ and his apostles were most consciously antagonizing the main tendencies of the theology of their time, and the theologians of the time united to suppress Christianity by slaying Christ. In that Judaic theology the legalistic temper is almost absolutely dominant; the conception is that so much righteousness—and that usually understood in an external sense—demands so much reward of bliss; and the Messianic kingdom is of the earth earthy. Numerous

other passages might be adduced to indicate the wide gulf which yawns between that theology and the teaching of our Lord and his apostles. It is enough to say that the broad, genial, human spirit of his teaching; the utter spirituality and universality of his kingdom, a kingdom to be consummated not in the earthly but in the heavenly sphere; the conception of the fatherhood of God made supreme and controlling; the great truths of the deity of the Messiah, his vicarious sufferings and death, his glorious resurrection, ascension, and second coming, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, the experience of justification by faith and of the new life by the Spirit—all that is most characteristic, central, vital in the Christianity o Christ and his apostles is lacking in this literature; and there is nothing in the theology which these works contain to account for such doctrines, to account for Jesus Christ, to account for Christianity.

F. N. Wallace.

Art. III.—THE APOSTLES IN ART.

Character study is not an easy branch of either literature or art. The libraries are full of biographies which should never have been written, and the galleries are crowded with statues which would better never have been attempted. Let him who purposes to portray the qualities and characteristics of a great and good man first measure carefully his qualifications for the task, and consider well the lasting injury that may result if the work be imperfectly done. It will be a serious accusation against either the biographer or artist if, by ill-considered choice of subject, or by immature and hasty expression of his conclusions, he minifies the influence which a great man left upon an age or dispensation. He has not only thus detracted from their fair fame, but robbed the living of a just appreciation of heroic souls who would otherwise stand as sources of inspiration and encouragement. The only justification of a book or a statue is that, by its vivid portrayal of the character it describes, or the event which it narrates, our appreciation has been heightened, our affections purified, and our emulation insured.

Especially is this true as a standard of judgment for painters and sculptors who have represented Christ and the twelve apostles. The moral responsibility is immeasurably heightened in such an attempt. The ideals of thousands may be formed, or corrected and elevated, by a single statue or picture. Not only questions of taste and historic insight are to be considered in a group of the twelve or a painting of Christ, but the whole conception of Christianity which civilization has formed and the very fortunes of religion are at stake in the beholders. The daily round of service for a believer may hinge on the attraction or repulsion of a figure carved in stone or cast in bronze to represent one or all of the twelve disciples, and the moral consciousness of what and why and by whom Christianity came may be clouded or disclosed by a painting of Christ. Ordinary rules are not applicable in a sculpture of the twelve disciples. The places they occupied, the spiritual office they filled, their relationship to all art, history, theology,

and philosophy since then present them in a light far more important than that of the world's greatest noblemen.

Art is justly expected to embellish and idealize. If it fails so to do the only motive for the reproduction of a sacred subject is lost. If, on the other hand, the treatment of the subject through the medium of brush or chisel ennobles our ideals, and if it gives insight into the character and work of the subject, some inaccuracy of detail and a lack of correspondence to historical data may be overlooked. Precision is not a test in art. We are justified in the disgust with which we turn from many of the early representations of Peter. Though the traditional face is usually recognized, he is degraded by coarseness and not idealized. It is therefore ill rendered. The commonest criticism of Raphael's "Paul Preaching at Athens" is that it is historically inaccurate. This, say the critics, is not Paul. He is described in the Scriptures as small in stature, weak-eyed, and having no graces of personal appearance. He should be pictured as worn with travel, stooping under the weight of the churches, anxious for his converts, harassed by grief at schisms, by his own backslidings, and by the hatred and indifference of civil rulers. "This statue, made from Raphael's painting, is magnificent," they say, "but it is not Paul." In spite of these criticisms it still remains the best Paul. He stands there like a god. With his dark redundant hair, which almost hides his brow, a massive head, and a bushy beard, he looks more like Jupiter Ammon. It would be crude art indeed that could represent Paul confronting the sages of philosophy on Mars' Hill without importing some of the godlike into him. The imagination rests completely satisfied with Raphael's work. Every feature is eloquent, every fold of the drapery speaks, and in that heroic figure we discern one who can confront intellectual heathenism in the very shadows of the Academy or Lyceum with the doctrine of Jesus and the resurrection.

The twelve disciples were first represented in paintings and sculptures by sheep. They were grouped together as passive and uniform figures, with Christ in the center on a raised platform. But the attempts to discriminate their character and individuality led, after the sixth century, to certain con-

ventional forms which mark each of them as distinctly as any twelve letters of the alphabet. We learn, after running through one half the galleries and churches of Europe, to distinguish the artistic character and attributes of the twelve disciples. We recognize Peter by the keys which he always bears. This is in harmony with the historic passage in Matthew where the keys of the kingdom of heaven are presumably committed to his keeping. St. James is known by the pilgrim staff which he carries, and St. James the Less by the fuller's bar, the instrument of his death. Philip and Andrew may be recognized by the shape of their crosses, and Simon by the saw with which he is supposed to have been sawn asunder. Bartholomew always holds the knife with which he was flayed, and Thomas displayed a square—the emblem of the exact sciences. The long staff of Thaddeus ends always in a suggestive ax, by which he perished; Matthew is distinguished by a stylus in his right hand and a tablet on his knee; and St. John stands with eyes toward heaven, waiting for the revelation which he is prepared to transcribe. At his feet is the eagle whose eye can pierce straight into the eye of the sun, symbolizing the high things of the Godhead upon which he wrote.

We can scarcely look round a picture gallery, or turn over a portfolio of prints or engravings, such as pour in upon us by every mail from Paris or Berlin, without perceiving how these conventional forms are associated with the twelve disciples. The ideas back of them are all traditional and legendary, but when the feeling is once comprehended which produced them, and the traditions studied upon which they are founded, they become intelligible and familiar, and even illuminate the character and personality of the possessor. This traditional art with its conventional forms sprang out of traditional literature. It is a mistake to suppose that these crosses, axes, and saws had their sole origin in the fancies of sculptors and painters. Back of the artists were dreaming monks, and beyond them the methods of persecution in vogue for almost three hundred years. The lives of the apostles were inaccessible, save to the learned. During the early centuries the fagot and cross and ax were everywhere busy; and,

as the martyrs witnessed a good confession by their death, reverence gradually grew up for them. This rapidly increased to veneration and adoration, even to worship. The conclusion was natural that the twelve disciples who founded the faith, and who filled the gap between the cross of Christ and the crosses of the saints, were themselves martyrs. Exaggerated fancy would fill in the details, and the most rigid theology would be unable to keep fancy within rational bounds. On reflection it becomes plain that, though the artist derived his conception from the priest, the priest in turn had it from the excited popular feeling which characterized the first Christian centuries.

The conventional forms are thus accounted for, and must be observed. The originality of the artist must display itself above and beyond them. Whenever the apostles appear in a series we expect, of course, some degree of discriminating propriety, with regard to character, in the face and figure of each. We read our Bibles so little that we do not know that, meager as are the materials for a life of the twelve disciples contained in them, they reflect almost perfectly their personal characteristics. In the Gospel histories the apostles are consistently and beautifully distinguished in temper and bearing. Whether exhibited at length, as in the cases of Peter and John, or merely touched upon, like Thaddeus and Simon, each member of the apostolic company forms a distinct and dramatic personage, and the mediæval legends, wild as they are, accentuate the Gospel individuality and fill up the outlines which are there given. But to represent the apostles in art as they are drawn in the gospels requires the most exhaustive study of the only sources from which their character can be obtained, an intuitional knowledge of human nature, the utmost power of observation, and the quality of delicate expression—conditions which can only be fulfilled by a mind and hand of the very highest order.

Almost every incident recorded of the twelve disciples has found a place in art. Pictures of the childhood of Jesus often contain representations of the disciples in their childhood, associated with Christ. James the Less, the son of Mary Cleophas; Simon and Jude, whom some account brethren of Christ;

James and John, sons of Salome, have all been grouped with him. Certainly it is a charming idea to picture those as children playing with him who were afterward to be the chosen ministers of his word. Naturally the calling of the disciples has been a common subject. One of the best representations of this event is by Baroccio. Somewhat to our surprise, though on reflection it will seem proper enough, he has made Andrew, and not Peter, the principal person in the scene. Andrew kneels on the shore with open arms extended toward Christ, while Peter is seen in the distance getting out of a boat. But a better, perhaps the best, picture of this subject is done as a fresco in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, by Ghirlandajo. The landscape as painted by him has in it a calm, beautiful lake. In the foreground Andrew and Peter kneel before Christ, while behind him are eight persons. Behind Andrew and Peter there are fifteen others. On the left, in the distance, both of the disciples mentioned are seen leaving their nets at the call of Christ, while on the right James and John also prepare to leave their boat at the command of Jesus. The picture is really made up of three distinct incidents wrought together, and is not in fact a call of the disciples at all, as only two or, at the best, four of them are represented. The artists say that too many personages are included in the groups; but so fine are the characters, heads, and draperies that we cannot wish one of them absent. The rebuke of the disciples to the mothers who brought the children to Jesus, the healing of the demoniac after the disciples had failed to relieve him, the disciples asleep in the Garden of Gethsemane, and the unbelief of Thomas are all familiar subjects. Most of the art representations figure Thomas actually touching the side of our Lord. Besides these, nearly all of the parables and most of the miracles have become the subjects of both painters and sculptors. The last supper is altogether too important an event to have escaped frequent treatment by artists. This supper gives special opportunity for an artist to portray the different characters. No subject is superior to it for discriminating the family relationships which the twelve sustained, for combining them into favorite groups, and for showing the effect on the different characters and temperaments of such

an announcement as that Christ was soon to be betrayed by one of them and crucified. The parting of the apostles is a beautiful subject, and fully equal to the last supper as an opportunity for delicate character portrayal. The wonder is that there are so few examples of it. The tradition is that, after Pentecost, they all assembled in a cave on the Mount of Olives. They continued in prayer until the night was far spent, and then arose and repeated the particular sentence of the Apostles' Creed which is ascribed to each of them. Then they cast lots for the countries to which they should go on their evangelizing errands, and with an affectionate farewell they departed in the gray of dawn to the nations to which lot had assigned them, to meet no more on earth. Save the crucifixion, we doubt if art can furnish a sublimer subject than the one which tradition and legend supplies in this parting of the apostles. The best treatment of it is a woodcut by Titian.

Sculptors rather than painters have better idealized the twelve disciples. Sculpture is a silent art. It rests on high abstraction, and is far removed from the turmoil and activity of life. Besides, there is something magnetic in marble, and the position that may be assigned to a figure done in stone or cast in bronze helps to make it real and impressive. Nearly every sculptor who has represented the twelve disciples has made himself famous by it. There are no more appropriate decorations for the aisle of a church than the twelve apostles, and more and more, we predict, they will occupy in Protestant decoration the places which the stations of the cross fill in Roman Catholic churches. Sets of the apostles are frequent in devotional figures and prints, and are so common that we need not particularize more than four or five of them. All of them will be found adequately described in a volume called *Sacred and Legendary Art*, by Mrs. Jameson, from which we enumerate the following:

1. A set by Raphael which were engraved by Marc Antonio. They are "graceful figures, and each with his appropriate attribute" and emblem. "Though admirably distinguished in form and bearing, very little attention has been paid to ancient types." St. James the Less has been omitted to make room for St. Paul.

2. The set by Lucas van Leyden is smaller than the one by Raphael. They are magnificent in feeling, and perfect examples of the characteristic German figures.

3. H. S. Beham made a curious set which is ultra-German. "They stand two and two together, like a procession of old beggars; the workmanship exquisite." But for the excess to which Beham's nationality has carried him they would be second only to Raphael's. Beham made another set, and included in it the evangelists. They stand singly and are dressed like old burgomasters. Even these have ardent admirers and defenders.

4. The "Five Disciples," by Albrecht Dürer, were evidently the beginning of what was intended to be a complete set of the twelve. He gave them simple devotional treatment, and we cannot but regret his failure to complete the other seven. Those finished are Paul, who was to displace Judas, Bartholomew, Thomas, Philip, and Simon.

We may mention, also, another German set which is familiar to travelers, and well known by reduplications brought both to England and America. It is the group on the tomb of St. Sebald in the church at Nuremberg. They were cast in bronze by Peter Vischer, stand about two feet high, and are remarkably fine. The expression of the heads, the simplicity of the attitudes, and the graceful draperies render them one of the best examples of sculptural treatment. Had they been wrought life-size with the same success, they would rank first. Even now they are worthy of a prominent place, and are in fine contrast to the mediocre representations which abound all over Europe.

Three artists, by reason of the location of their work, by reason of the individuality imported into each single statue composing the group, and by artistic qualities of pose and heroic size, must stand preeminent as sculptors of the twelve. Jacobelli, Bernini, and Thorwaldsen must bear the palm, so far as statues of the twelve go. All of them were exceedingly fortunate in finding a suitable place for their great masterpieces. Architecture, mural decorations, and light, as well as historical associations, all combine in St. Mark's, Venice, in St. John Lateran, Rome, and in the Free Church,

Copenhagen, to give to the apostles, as finished by these masters and their students, a dignity, simplicity, and heroic quality not to be found in any others.

It was Jacobelli who made the group of statues which range along the top of the screen in front of the choir at St. Mark's, Venice. They are sure to be remembered by all who have seen them. They haunt the dreams of artists and color the imagination of people to whom statuary has meant little or nothing. As one stands before the choir in St. Mark's and gazes up at them he will have an awakening suspicion that there is more in a statue than meets the eye, and that those twelve figures have a significance deeper than the estimate of a shop dealer and beyond the hurried description of a guide. Jacobelli reckoned well on certain associations and sympathies in the minds of the observer, and those who have read their Bibles and have not wholly repudiated Christian feelings will come again and again to gaze upon them and to fix them indelibly in the memory. The Virgin and St. Mark occupy the center, and six on either side those great, solemn apostles stand, as though guarding the sacred place. Their dignity and nobility move answering thoughts of dignity and nobleness; and multiplying incidents in the life of the apostles, in the history of Christianity, and in the republic of Venice flit before the mind like shadows across the woodland. The graceful campanile up which Napoleon rode his horse, the horses of St. Mark's, the doge's palace, the great plaza, and the bridges along the Grand Canal are vulgar after an hour's gaze at Jacobelli's "Twelve Apostles."

Similar feelings are excited by the twelve apostles of the school of Bernini placed in St. John Lateran at Rome. It is difficult to fully express their merit and to considerately indicate their demerit. They are inferior to the St. Mark's group, or to the Free Church group, just as Romanism is inferior to Catholic Christianity. They occupy places on the site where Constantine built the first great basilica in honor of John the Baptist. They start thoughts of the age of martyrs; of the rise of the Church out of heathenism; of the long succession of popes; and of the great mediæval blackness, called the Dark Ages, with its owls of ignorance and its bats of superstí-

tion. Everything except the figures is suggestive of the Roman hierarchy. This is the first great episcopal church, and here have swarmed crowds of ambitious bishops, archbishops, and cardinals. From these tessellated floors prelates have gone out to become popes; and legates, after saying mass here, have gone as ambassadors to the great councils of the Church, on memorable crusades, and with bans of excommunication to great political sovereigns.

But these statues of the twelve are superior, perhaps, to either of the other groups mentioned, in that one begins to realize as he looks at them what it cost to be an apostle. "Can ye . . . be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" carries its own interpretation before that great, hollow-eyed, intent, and ecstatic twelve. Those men stood nobly to their promise, and drank from the same cup of suffering. Here, as usual, Judas is displaced by Paul. Surely the "son of loss" made a woeful bargain, and has gone "to his own." Who would not give thirty pieces of silver to stand in that group, in those resounding aisles, faithful and true to Jesus Christ? Poor Judas! A solemn obscurity hangs over that member of the apostolic company. Save his one gigantic crime, his life lies mostly concealed in shadow. Indignation is tempered with pity before Bernini's group. "No sublime tidings of salvation ever fell from his lips, no converts received baptism at his hands, no church is called by his name, no country claims the honor of his grave. Only ignominy preserves his name." Not only has religion banished him, but art, taking up religion's quarrel with Judas, has relegated him to silence and oblivion. Bernini's is a great group of martyrs; and all of them save John, Thaddeus, and Paul look the martyrs which they were. They bear in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus. Here, at least, something would be wanting if fuller's bar, ax, cross, knife, and saw—instruments of their martyrdom—were absent. There is an ostentatious display of the muscles, and the physical contortions of their martyrdom are repulsive and horrible. John and Thaddeus are voluptuous, and their youth has an exaggerated softness little in keeping with the stern mien of the others of the group. All are represented in moments of transport,

astonishment, or ecstasy. They are placed on great pedestals, towering above the tallest man, and stand out effectively against huge pillars. James, John, and Thaddeus must have been cousins, as all have the same face contour and the intuitive power indicated in a magnified degree. Simon was probably one of the midnight shepherds who saw the babe in the manger. The supremacy of Peter is indicated in every line of his figure, and the shrewdness of a publican is not wholly obliterated from the evangelist Matthew's face. Whoever has seen this group will call them up when far away. If he be a student or preacher the chances are that photographs of the statues will adorn his library, and under the study lamp in tranquil silence they will shine like saints. Bernini's saints surely deserve a place in the calendar.

It is worth a pilgrimage to Copenhagen to see the group of the great Dane artist, Thorwaldsen, in the Free Church. They form an important point in the history of sacred art. Like Bernini's twelve, Thorwaldsen's colossal marble statues are ranged along the great central aisle of the church. Paul again takes the place of Judas. Nothing can exceed their grandeur. The room is admirably lighted, and they stand out bold and well defined in all their symmetry. Each of them exhibits the individuality displayed in the gospels, and detailed attention is paid to the traditional style of habit and dress. All are noble in their simplicity. St. James has his palmer's hat slung behind him. John's face is manly but fine, with a womanly gentleness. Thorwaldsen himself, we are told, only worked on two of them—Peter and Paul—and those have an especial dignity and quietude. It is sacrilege to speak against them in Copenhagen, were one even disposed to do so. Professor John Wilson said, fifty years ago, concerning them, "The other day, as we listened to the singing of a hymn by the crowded congregation, Christ seemed present with that twelve." We walk between these magnificent figures with a feeling of sublimity and awe. They make a long avenue of genius leading to the principal object of attraction in the church—the statue of Christ—as they form a long avenue of majestic figures in human history, pointing to the life doctrines and salvation of the mightier man of Galilee.

Jacobelli's group seems like the vergers of a shrine; Bernini's are the martyrs of a new religion; but Thorwaldsen has made his twelve the heroes of a triumphant faith. Success, conquest, and victory are pictured in every lineament and line. They never fished in the Lake of Gennesaret. They are not Galilean peasants, but Greek teachers, dressed like Roman senators. Crowds of students would follow teachers like those, and admiration would invent for them stories like those once told of Plato and Socrates. The white swan is in their bosoms, and the bees might suck the honey of wisdom from their lips. It would be sufficient for us if a man, like any one of those statues, should dogmatize on anything. We would hasten away with the argument of the Greek student, "*Ipse dixit.*" Unlike the celebrated Greek teachers, however, these men are of the patrician class. They might be disciples of Socrates, but they are at the same time tribunes, consuls, and *imperators*. The subjects are Hebrew, the heads are Greek, the bearing is all Roman. The exceeding merit of Thorwaldsen's statues is that they gather up the prevailing spirit of Christian culture, the militant power of Christendom, and compress and incarnate in men the didactic, robust, all-conquering, many-sided, high-souled genius of Christianity. Though these men never walked by Galilee, it could be believed of them that they would march from Jerusalem to Antioch, to Ephesus, to Athens, to Corinth and Rome, and in the very center of the Forum crown one of their number king of the wide realm of the world. Here are pictured the men who, within three hundred years, seized the throne of the Roman empire, elevated Constantine to the imperial dignity, and through him and his successors will reign until all dominion is under their Lord's feet. Jacobelli, Bernini, Thorwaldsen—but the greatest of these is Thorwaldsen.

Edwin A. Schell

ART. IV.—AN APOLOGY FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO.

WE are afflicted in our day with a brood of ready and flippant, but inaccurate, writers and talkers, black and white, who are possessed of but one idea, which is made to do service at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances in which the Negro is the subject. Like old Cato, whose speech in the forum, in the senate, in the public mart, in the social gathering, invariably closed with the thundering refrain, "*Carthago delenda est*," so these wiseacres declare upon every occasion that the Negro must have only industrial education. To charge them with ignorance makes them fit subjects for the pity of clear-thoughted men; but to charge them with bias and want of intellectual integrity, or with immaturity and insufficiency of thought, reduces them to jugglers, incapacitates them as safe guides for the development of a race or an institution, and throws their testimony out of court.

We have come to a time when the method and content of the education of the American Negro has been revived with renewed interest. Instead of bemoaning the revival, or belittling the discussion, there is reason for rejoicing. An unwise settlement is no settlement, and a thing unsettled will surely return to be settled. The air is filled with the cry for industrial education for the Negro. The argument for this kind of education is so ingeniously stated, representing that type of education as the *ne plus ultra* for the Negro's future, that many friends have lost faith in the large outcome of the present method of education as it applies to the Negro; while other lifelong benefactors, through whose agency and philanthropy the Southern colleges were planted and developed, have wondered whether they made a mistake or not. In fact, certain streams of benefaction for the education of the Negro have dried up, while certain others have lost their strong current. On the other hand, the craze for industrial education became so powerful, and the funds for the support of the colored college became so small, that many presidents of these colleges were swept from their lifelong convictions of the

need of a liberal education for the race, and were forced to adopt the industrial feature, in order to receive financial support from certain agencies, and to be well approved by Southern whites. The writer regards it as a serious blunder that nearly every one of the Negro colleges in the South has bowed the knee to this wooden image, whose toes of iron and clay are so clumsily welded together. A college is a college; it is not an industrial college, or a college for industries, though it is an industrious place. An abnormal development of society has crowded out the old apprenticeship idea, and in many respects society is the gainer. We are therefore driven to the establishment of scientific trade schools and industrial training schools. But the college is a different product; its genesis, purpose, and work assign to it a unique place in the educational system of the country. There was once a time when New England was called the land of notions, but the South in its modern industrial college idea has carried off the palm.

The pathway of Negro education is strewn with the dead bones of many theories. All of these theories were the progeny of prejudice and ignorance. This book of the recent past reads like the myths of the Norse or Greek. The visionary theories were gravely set forth with much race in science, philosophy, history, and the Bible to prove the utter impossibility of forcing an idea into the uncorrugated brain of the Negro. All the disciplines of learning, together with conjecture and the Bible, were exhausted to show that the Negro was a lower order of humanity, designed and foreordained by his Maker as a servant of servants, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. The tint of his skin, the kink of his hair, the shape of his nose, and the size of his foot all furnished conclusive arguments of his inferiority and settled his doom among men and races. One of the chief defenses of the system of slavery in this country was based upon his utter mental incapacity. Slavery, therefore, was a humane system. Never in the history of the world has there been such a chain of so-called logical argument welded together for the justification of a system. Legislative hall and court room, rostrum and stump, schoolhouse and farm, pulpit and pew all were used to enact, decide, declaim, teach, and even to defend the mental inferi-

ority and incapacity of the pagan Negro between the plow-handles on the farm. But, *mirabile dictu*, the sons of those pagan plowhandle Negroes have come upon the stage in less than one generation and have laughed to scorn the logic of the past. "Truth is stranger than fiction." But the children of the dragon's teeth are now opposed to the higher education of the Negro. They have been driven from their so-called impregnable fortress, have left their heavy guns and ammunition, and have retired to the last ditch. The problem to be settled to-day is not whether this man can learn to read, but, What should he learn? This question carries with it the unspoken one, What should he not learn? It has ceased to be a question whether the Negro can learn mathematics, Latin, Greek, science, philosophy, history, and literature. That is settled forever. But the bald question is, Ought he be taught these for his own good? Out of a spirit of great solicitude for the elevation of the man, some claim that Latin and Greek will spoil him. Or, as a distinguished ecclesiastical editor in the South puts it, "*hic, haec, hoc*" will be the ruin of the African. He will get out of his place. The ingeniousness of the questioner is second only to the ingenuousness of the questions. A cold examination of the questions will discover an ancient animus. That to the contrary, however, let us find the truth, for it is the truth that shall set men free.

Let us ask the question so often asked, Does the Negro need the college education? Americans believe in the practical. In inventive wit, in practical statecraft and all that relates to and belongs to a practical civilization America has yet to be surpassed by other nations. In fact, we have thrown religion into the scales, and have asked the question, Does it pay? This intense, practical age is in danger of becoming a superficial age. By its emphasis upon ready-made thought that has an immediate value, because of the large profit it promises, it destroys the root of original investigation in the principles that give permanency and character to civilization. The unthinking and senseless definition of a "college" is that it is a place where nothing practical is taught. This definition is usually given by the man whose boast is that he never rubbed

his head against a college wall or, in other words, by a man whose ignorance is dense and who is thankful for it.

The place of the American college in the American life is secure, and it can never be thought of without the unconscious conviction arising that, without the American college, America would not be what she is to-day in the commercial, civil, industrial, religious, and educational world. President Thwing, in his *Forum* article of June, 1893, laboriously went through Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography* to ascertain the proportion of college men who have won distinction in American history, up to the date of the publication of that work. The full number of men and women mentioned in the books is 15,142, distributed as follows and showing the per cent of the college graduates in the books:

	Clergy.	Soldier.	Lawyer.	Statesman.	Business.	Navy.	Author.	Physician.	Artist.	Educator.	Scientist.	Journalist.	Public Man.	Inventor.	Actor.	Explorer, Pioneer.	Philanthropist.	Number of persons in Cyclopedia.
Total.....	2,744	1,752	1,678	1,310	1,105	575	1,124	912	630	1,016	522	313	765	166	107	249	180	15,142
Percentage college graduates.....	.58	.03	.50	.33	.17	.029	.37	.46	.104	.61	.63	.30	.189	.11	.037	.057	.16	.35

The significance of these figures appears in the fact, according to President Thwing, that only one man out of every ten thousand of those who do not attend college rises to distinction, while, of the college men, one out of every forty-five rises to the great distinction of being mentioned in a cyclopedia. "Old President Quincy, of Harvard, said that a man got a good deal out of a college if he just rubbed his shoulders against the college buildings. But he certainly does not get much in this way, in comparison with what he gets by rubbing his head against the cases in the library. For, to the true men of alert intellect, pure heart, and strong will the college represents a new birth and a new life." In a subsequent article, in the March issue of the *Forum*, President Thwing continues his college article series under the caption, "The Best Thing College Does for a Man." From a wide territory, including many of the best educated men and women in all callings of life, we take the pith of their excellent letters:

"It aroused my mind;" "It was the making of me;" "It brought me invaluable development of character;" "I derived mental and moral discipline;" "It gave me practice in thinking and acting independently;" "It gave me ability to work with intensity, whether of body or mind;" "It enriched my life, it deepened and broadened my view of truth; it ennobled my aim; it strengthened my choice of right; it clarified my vision of, and love of, the beautiful. The college pours oil into the lamp of character, and makes its light more radiant and more lasting. These qualities are the best thing which a college can do for its students."

Without any invidious distinction, it was said of the college men of Europe by a common-sense philosopher, in answer to a senseless sneer that the college men were failures, "Yes, one third of the college men amount to nothing and fail; one third become drunkards and go down to lives of shame; but the other third rule Europe."

The bread-and-butter argument has played no insignificant part in destroying the college character of many Southern colleges. It claims that the college cannot train active, practical business men. No one would charge Chauncey M. Depew with being an unpractical man or a theorist. In an address at the tenth convention of the University of Chicago, in April, 1895, he said:

I acknowledge the position and usefulness of the business college, the manual training school, the technological institute, the scientific school, and the schools of mines, medicine, law, and theology. They are of infinite importance to the youth who has not the money, the time, or the opportunity to secure a liberal education. But the theorists, or rather the practical men who are the architects of their own fortunes, and who are proclaiming on every occasion that a liberal education is a waste of time for a business man, and that the boy who starts early and is trained only for one pursuit is destined for a larger success, are doing infinite harm to the ambitious youth of this country. The college, in the four years of discipline, training, teaching, and development makes the boy the man. His Latin and his Greek, his rhetoric and his logic, his science and his philosophy, his mathematics and his history, have little or nothing to do with law or medicine or theology, and still less to do with manufacturing or mining or storekeeping or stocks or grain or provisions. But they have given to the youth, when he has graduated, the command of that superb intelligence with which God has endowed him, by which, for the purpose of a living or a fortune, he grasps his profession or his business and speedily overtakes the boy who, abandoning college opportunities, gave his narrow life to the narrowing pursuits of

the one thing by which he expected to earn a living. A college-bred man has an equal opportunity for bread and butter, but, beyond that, he becomes a citizen of commanding influence and a leader in every community where he settles.

Thus it will be seen that the American college is at the basis of that splendid development, an intelligent, cultivated, patriotic, God-fearing citizenship, that is the glory of America and the buttress of her institutions. Drop out the college from American life, and you have the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. Let us now answer the question propounded and give reasons for our faith.

First, The Negro needs the higher education on the basis of humanity. Whatever is good for man is good for man. This is a truism that no half-wit would risk itself in denying. There are two questions in this connection that have been clearly and definitely settled for all time, namely, the humanity of all men and the equal right of all men to the opportunities and blessings of life. The humanity of all men contains its corollary, the brotherhood of all men. It is now a waste of time to attempt to prove this doctrine. Science was obliged to accept it to save itself from irreconcilable contradictions. It has passed into a fundamental belief, alongside of the idea of the existence of God. Upon that basis, therefore, the Negro should have the opportunity for higher education. He has the same instincts, yearnings, ambitions, and aspirations that other men have. We ask, Should not these divine spiritual cravings be satisfied? They should not be satisfied because he is a black man—"black" has no more claim to respect than "white"—but because he is a man. The Negro says with Terence, "*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.*" The Pharisaic solicitude, again, concerns itself as to the outcome of higher education by asking the question, Will you not spoil the Negro by giving him Latin and Greek and mathematics? Concerning this spoiling business we have this to say: If a young Negro is carrying the hod and making a fair livelihood, or if he is plowing corn and has a burning spirit within for something higher, a desire to study mathematics or science or Latin or Greek, he ought to have that desire gratified, and be spoiled as a hod

carrier and made into a cultured gentleman, a man of large ideas and broad vision, a leader of high character. The chief complaint we have to make is that too few are so spoiled. Professor Kelly Miller, of Howard University, says:

> It is sometimes objected that the higher education unfits the Negro for the work which he has to do, by lifting him above the masses. True, there are some colored people, as there are some whites, whose cranial expansion is out of all proportion to the knowledge which is supposed to cause it. If nature designs one for a fool no amount of education can alter that design.

But the fault is not in higher education; it is in the man, or teacher, or the education sometimes called "higher," but which is in truth "lower," or sometimes in all three combined. Bishop Haygood, at the dedication of the library of Gammon Theological Seminary, in an address which for breadth of vision and comprehension of the facts of the education of the Negro has not recently been surpassed, said:

> If theological schools are good for white peoples, with a thousand advantages, they are good for colored people, with a thousand disadvantages. There are dangers incidental to education, but safety is not found in abridging education, but in enlarging and bettering it. The only cure for the incidental evils of education is more education.

Pope warns us against the dangers of superficial education, while Bacon says that "slight tastes of philosophy may perchance move one to atheism, but fuller draughts lead back to religion."

In the next place, an equal right to the blessings of life carries with it the truth that every man should have the privilege of developing according to his capacity. This may be called a distinctively American victory. When the masses of Europe were bound, hand and foot, mind and soul, with the chains forged by czarism, monarchy, oligarchy, American democracy rang out the shibboleth, "Equality of opportunity." The most philosophic and common-sense putting of the advent and rule of the people against the domination of the few is in the immortal words of our greatest American commoner, "A government by the people, of the people, and for the people." The privileged class is fast retreating before the steady advance of the Demos. America cannot exist and perpetuate her institutions with one class free to be liberally educated and to

pursue the instincts, ambitions, and aspirations of their nature within the limits of law, and another class hedged in, pressed back, discouraged from seeking the highest attainable culture, and shut up to elementary and industrial training. The Negro is a human personality, and, as such, every attribute within him should be cultured, and every aspiration given free scope. This will not destroy his identity. He will become a cultured man and a man of power.

Second, He needs the higher education because of what it will do for him. Higher education is the only education that properly educates mind and develops character for service. Who needs this culture more than the Negro? Forty years ago he was the ignorant plantation hand, blurting out his wants in broken English and living in a state of almost animalism, with few exceptions here and there to show the horror of the broken state. That condition was suited to the state of slavery, in which the quasi-man was driven and directed with bit and whip. But a state of civil liberty, or with even theoretical civil and political equality, requires a different kind of culture. This new man will remain a nonentity unless he be brought into the thought-life of the nation. He needs the toning and elevation of character that comes from long years of study in the secondary and higher institutions, through personal contact with a true teacher; and, other things being equal, the more perfect will be the development of character. Thought makes character. The better the thinker the better the workman. It is thought that rules the world, not money, and certainly not muscle or skill. The power to do a thing well comes from the power to think a thing well. It is not more workmen that are needed, but more intelligent workmen. The strength to lift a hundred pounds represents a splendid physical development, but it is of the earth earthy; but the power to order a hundred pounds to lift is of the brain brainy. The Negro has had strength, muscular strength, but he has been lacking in power, brain power; and brain power comes from books, for books contain the crystallized thought and power of the ages. He could drive a mule, or dig a ditch, or plow a furrow, or hew down a tree. But mule drivers and ditch diggers and wood cutters are not the

men that make civilization. Thinkers make it. The power of close, analytical, logical, and consecutive thought comes from years of patient investigation of books. This, with the proper ethical study and examples and spirit, makes character. The Negro had no proper development of character until after January 1, 1863. Neither slavery nor the teachers of slavery could develop properly the character of the enslaved. The teacher that teaches his pupils the idea of inferiority is an imperfect, hence inferior, teacher. But for the *ante bellum* teachers to teach the enslaved Negro the equality of mind, in its essential, divine, and human endowments, would have destroyed slavery between one day's suns. For equality of mind and soul would lead as conclusively to equality of rights as that two and two lead to four. It is scarcely believable that anything contrary to this was taught. And, stranger still, we shake hands daily with the wiseacres who believed and taught to the contrary. The enslaved was taught that "black" is inferior to "white;" that kinky hair is the sign of kinky brain; and that God designed from all eternity that the Negro should be a servant of servants. The mark upon Cain and the drunken debauch of Noah were used to confirm the so-called truth in the dark mind of the pagan, and this was done without regard or knowledge of the historical difficulty and exegetical absurdity contained therein. Now, that sort of training, if it should be dignified with the term "training," has never produced a man. Manhood, not serfhood, is the goal of education. And a college education will do for the Negro just what it has done for other men. President Edward C. Mitchell, of Leland University, New Orleans, a man of rare experience as an educator and writer, said in an address before the American Baptist Home Mission Society, in May, 1896:

> What then, I ask, shall we teach the Negro? The answer seems to be as plain as the logic of common sense. Let us teach him what our colleges and universities were founded to teach. Let us teach him the only thing left us to teach. Let us teach the only thing the Negro cannot do as well for himself. Let us teach the thing which the experience of the ages and the matured judgment of all true educators has decided to be essential for the full development of manhood. Let us teach the Negro what he is, and what he is as God made

him in his physical and mental structure. Let us teach him what the world is that God has made for him with all its elements and powers and forces. . . . In short, let us give him such glimpses of the whole range of science as shall tax his powers to the utmost, while it takes the conceit out of him and brings him nearer to the supreme discovery of Socrates that he "knows nothing."

If we are to have man, we must have mind, for mind-idea is man-idea. With Hamilton mind is the greatest thing in the world.

Third, The Negro needs the higher education to prepare him for leadership. It goes without saying that the leaders of a race ought to be well educated. Until very recently the race has been without proper leaders. Men so styled came to the front suddenly because they possessed certain powers of representation. It is true, also, that many of these self-styled leaders were deficient in that rudimentary training, and in the essentials of a well-balanced character, to give them anything like permanent leadership. The whole time since freedom has been occupied in preparing leaders for this people in the pulpit, at the bar, in the sick room, in the school room, and in business and industrial callings. And, although we have been severely occupied for a generation, the fact is patent to those who have carefully studied the situation that the need for educated leaders is painfully felt. The work has just begun. Commissioner Harris, speaking of the lack of higher education among Negroes, has this to say:

This is particularly unfortunate for this portion of the community, since it, more than any other, requires a body of cultured persons within itself to oppose the adventurous persons who, by reason of their pleasing theories or ingenious arguments, are apt to be the advisers, and in a stable government are always bridled by the calm wisdom of a small, but all-powerful, class of thoughtful people.

This people depends almost entirely upon its ministry, who shape the destiny, as well as direct the lives, of the people in all practical affairs. Their voice is the voice of the oracles of God, and from their word there is no appeal. The Negro is a deeply religious being. The Church holds first place in his life. He prays, sings, worships, and feasts there. It is a place for mental, social, civil, and religious instruction and inspiration, and even for political direction. His

unsophisticated heart, like the ancient Hebrew, prays to be hid in God's "pavilion." The minister in that pulpit is the president of a university, the university of the masses. He teaches language and science, philosophy and history, ethics and mathematics, hygiene and law, civics and economics, and finally the weightier matters of the law that touch upon "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." What should be the equipment of this man? Should it be anything short of the best, the most thorough, the most comprehensive liberal training in mathematics, science, philosophy, language, literature, history, and finally in the discipline of a classical theological course? Moreover, he is to handle a book that is the *thesaurus* of the wisdom of the ages, written by men who wrote and spoke Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Egyptian, Greek, Latin; by men who were statesmen, orators, lawgivers, naturalists, philosophers, exegetes, poets, historians, preachers, teachers, musicians, generals, practical men; written in Africa, Asia, Europe, upon almost every subject that touches upon and breaks through the periphery of eternity. That preacher is to handle this book; it is his only book. What training ought he to have? Who dare say that he should not receive the best in the land? The declaration of the American Baptist Home Mission Society answers the question:

> We would give them the very best education that the present advancement of educational science and their own capacity and our own means render possible. We are not responsible for doing what is beyond our power; but, up to the limits of our power, we believe that the highest attainable is the will of God.

No course can take the place of the college course for the proper development of the character of the minister, that he may wisely, prudently, and conscientiously pursue his calling in shaping characters and in lifting a race; no course is so valuable as the seven or eight years of patient, consecutive, and laborious work in the college, and then in the broader fields of university special training in the theological seminary. He needs it, and ought to have it, to fit him to do practical work. Such an argument will apply to the study of law, medicine, pedagogy, and political economy.

The American system of industrial training, particularly as

it applies to the South in the schools for colored people, failed in making the first-class leaders this race so much needs. It cannot produce the men that can take and mold a raw, green, restless, uneducated race of freedmen, with notions of servility in its blood and of inferiority because of color and untoward circumstances, and because of a history of servitude and sorrow, into a race of freemen with sober and dignified ideas of life; and it cannot give the trend to their luxurious African nature, that, in deed and in truth, we may be able to say, "Princes have come out of Egypt, and Ethiopia has stretched out her hands unto God." It takes men of brain and heart for this work; men who know God and history; men whose sympathies are universal. But universal sympathies are developed by universal studies. Industrial training serves an excellent purpose in giving to the masses an immediate bread-and-butter knowledge, a workable knowledge of tools and language. Many have gone out from these schools and have become workmen that needed not to be made ashamed, for they applied themselves with the rudimentary knowledge to secure an increase of knowledge. On the other hand, a much larger proportion sink below mediocrity as journeymen in their respective trades, and are not heard of or seen in the battle of life. Now, by parity of reasoning, the failure of the majority should be made the basis of an argument against the industrial school. But such a proceeding would brand one as purblind. While on the subject of a practical education in the common branches of the English language, the deficiency is still greater. A pertinent question is, What is practical? Only one answer can be given to this question, and that is, truth. It is sometimes claimed that a practical knowledge, or a mastery of the English language, may be obtained in an industrial training school. We ask, Can one secure a mastery of, or a practical knowledge of, the English language in a three or five year course in an industrial school? The road to the mastery of the English language runs through Athens and Rome. Before leaving Athens he must turn to the left to visit Jerusalem, and make a short trip through Asia Minor; thence to Rome; from Rome through Berlin; thence to Paris; and from Paris he must make a short trip to Madrid and back

again to Paris; thence across the English Channel to Wales; and from Wales to Scotland, through Edinburgh, and, finally, down to Oxford and Cambridge. The question would then be, Canst thou speak English? English is the most composite, versatile, and comprehensive language in the world. It has laid all the great languages under contribution. It is like the English people; it sweeps around the globe, seeking what it may devour that is best in other tongues. And no man can have a mastery of the English language who does not know Greek. Many men can speak the language, but they speak an unknown tongue.

The sneering remark of Mr. R. C. Ogden, of Hampton Institute, quoted by Dr. Wayland with approval, was, "There are colored men walking up and down our streets who have studied Latin and Greek, but who cannot put together an English sentence, and who cannot earn their own living." This statement has an edge in the hilt as well as in the point. It may be applied with equal propriety to white men. The iniquity of this situation is not in having "studied Latin and Greek," but in not having studied them enough; for the man who studies Latin and Greek enough can put an English sentence together, will understand it, and has power to earn a living. A further trouble with this particular incident is found in two facts, namely, that the colored man had not been taught the mouth words of English in slavery by his Southern master. He murdered the king's English because he had had no teacher. In the second place, it is possible that the teacher he had when he came to school did not understand enough of Latin to teach English; hence, the Latin must be defective, and the English the same. This same argument can be made against any discipline of learning imperfectly taught. One chief trouble with our system of instruction is its haste, and haste makes waste. Americans believe in a quickly gotten learning which they call practical. The general characteristic of this kind of teaching is its uncertainty, inaccuracy, and consequent worthlessness. Inaccurate knowledge is not knowledge. Some teachers are very uncertain in their groundwork. Says Dr. Wayland, concerning the inefficiency of Southern schools:

> At best the knowledge of the classics which can be given will be but a smattering. A smattering of many subjects—of hygiene, mathematics, history, chemistry—a very moderate knowledge of the rudiments of these subjects may be of great service; but nothing is more futile and useless than a smattering of the rudiments of Latin and Greek, which for the want of practical usefulness will soon be totally forgotten.

Read this backward, and you get the full force of his conclusion. A smattering knowledge of chemistry can never make a decent cook; a smattering knowledge of hygiene makes an unsafe nurse; and a smattering knowledge of mathematics and history makes a smattering teacher. And the Negro in many cases has only had time to get a smattering knowledge of a few things since freedom. Before freedom he was totally blind; now he can only see men as trees walking; but, with the continued application of the salve of a genuine and accurate liberal education, he will receive perfect sight in time. To criticise him now, because he sees so imperfectly, discovers little knowledge of the fact and less of sympathy for the subject. The little learning that some have received has intoxicated them; but the wiser ones are drinking deeper and pursuing steadily the high ideals of thought in scholarship and manhood revealed through intelligence.

In September, 1896, the attention of the philanthropic North was called by these words to the principle involved in this recent cry to change the colleges into industrial training schools:

> It should be borne in mind in this entire discussion that, so far as the North is concerned, and, particularly so far as the Christian people in the North are concerned, the critical point in the entire matter is, whether the Negro schools now carried on in the South by Northern Churches shall lower their grade and become mere trade schools and content themselves with giving an industrial education which looks almost entirely to the material welfare of the Negro, or whether they shall continue to be, what they have been in the past, institutions of learning which have encouraged the Negroes to aspire after the highest and the best forms of culture, which have recognized the Negro's manhood and appealed to his highest ambition, and have sought to fit him for leadership and for competition with the white man on his own chosen field and with his own weapons.

The Negro, however, realizes that the secondary and higher education are of paramount necessity for leadership in all the

callings of life, and he intends to help maintain the college character of his Southern colleges.

Fourth, The Negro needs the college education as the best equipment for life. It is not to be denied that the common school education, the grammar school education, the normal school education and training, and the industrial school training each and all play their part in life. It is to be added, further, that these various grades of educational development, as they are made perfect in the disciplines they contain, are sufficient to all practical purposes for life's duties in the respective calling of the applicants, and that, in so far, they serve their purpose well. We would go a step further, and admit that it is barely possible that each in his station will find that the general system of education has outlined a sufficiency of discipline to give character, permanence, and success in the respective departments of life; that is to say, the normal course of educational training, as marked out in the general system of education, is a perfect normal course, and if strictly followed will make teachers who will perpetuate the normal educational system. The teacher so trained will be a normal teacher, and do his or her work perfectly. And so on. But these are but parts of one large and perfect discipline, through the college course and up to the university. The high character and permanency of the normal course is derived from the broad, liberal college course. It received dignity because there stands back of it its great big brother. In fact, the normal course is an abridged college course, and can only have respectability as it should keep company in spirit and homage with the college course. And hence, with us, the men and women who have taken our high normal course may be said to have the higher education. The college course is like the blazing sun in the heavens, that gives light and power to all the courses that sweep around it. These courses can be seen only as they come within the range of its life-giving rays. They belong to the college system, and are arranged with reference to the college idea, and live as the college idea lives. Says another on this point:

> It is a well-known philosophical principle that that which is first in order of time is last in order of thought, and *vice versâ*. The higher

education is the last thing that the individual pupil reaches; it is what he looks toward as the end. But from the point of view of the teachers, from the point of view of the educational system, the higher education is the very source and center and beginning of it all; and if this is wanting the whole must collapse. Take away the higher education, and you cannot maintain the level of the lower; it degenerates, it becomes corrupt, and you get nothing but pretentiousness and superficiality as the residuum. In order to maintain the lower education which must be given to the South, you must have a few well-equipped institutions of higher learning.

It is also not to be denied that a college education is the most practical education in the world, and that it will not hinder but render the performance of the common duties of life easier, with greater alacrity, satisfaction, and perfection. A cultured lady of New England writes: "My whole life is wider in its sympathies and interest because of my college training. And the mental discipline I regard as a not unimportant factor in my domestic life. That I am a better cook, because I am a college-bred girl, is a proud boast with me." A cultivated mind is the ultimate object of a college course, and such a mind is the best equipment for any calling in life or any duty upon man. Commissioner Harris has well said: "Education, intellectual and moral, is the only means yet discovered that is always sure to help a people to help themselves. It produces that divine discontent which goads on the individual and will not let him rest."

The college education of the Negro is about in the same state of acceptance and perfection as the college education of the white woman. Here is a strange anomaly in history. All the questions that affect the Negro's capacity, rights, privileges, and duties are the very questions that affect the white woman. It is safe to say, moreover, that the complete emancipation of the white woman will not take place until the black man is set free in all that belongs to manhood. History cuts some strange pranks, but God is behind history. Every now and then a croaker from the stagnant pond of mediævalism groans out, "You are spoiling the women by teaching them Latin and Greek; you are breaking down the womanhood of the race by subjecting our girls to the ordeals of a college course." Nevertheless, the American girl moves on gently, winning

laurel after laurel, opening door after door, until now these very same croakers are pleading with Negroes to save them from defeat at the hands of the officious American girls. But we will not.

There is a class of religious teachers who are greatly concerned lest the Negro be educated out of his place. They have chosen his place for him and said that God orders that he keep his place forever. The Rev. Dr. Steele is the mouthpiece for this class. His editorial, "On the Wing," of October 31, 1895, charges that the experiment of the North has failed, and that "*hic haec, hoc* will be the ruin of the African. He needs sensible, sympathetic, kindly instruction from those of us who know his place and will see that he don't get out of it." His arrogant claim of exclusive knowledge of a race's place is paralleled only by its pretentiousness. Error dies hard, but it dies; for it has been struck under the fifth rib by the arrow of truth, and it "writhes in pain and dies among its worshipers." This same "on-the-wing" editor in an attempt to explain thus says what he means by "having the Negro keep his place," and adds a charitable view of Negro education:*

> I was misunderstood in the idea that we would make the Negro keep a servile place. By making him keep his place I mean we believe in teaching him the practical industries of life. Providence has fixed his place in the social system of the country as a servant, and the education he needs is an education that will enable him to fill his place. Music, *belles-lettres*, higher mathematics, the profession—the Negro doesn't need this. It unfits him for the place he must fill down here.

It is to be regretted that the article was regarded as having come from a "friend of the race." He says that "Providence has fixed his place." This is the old argument of forty years ago. Providence fixed his place in slavery, said the teachers of that period, but Providence changed it once, and Providence may change it again. That any man of affairs or practical knowledge should claim that the Negro does not need music, when he is nearly all music, the only original music maker in America, puts a strain upon intelligent men to hear him.

It was the lamented Bishop Atticus G. Haygood, of the same

* *Zion's Herald*, December 11, 1895.

Church, who put the questions upon this editorial, "On the Wing," in his calm, comprehensive, judicial, and philosophical article, the last that came from his pen before his translation. He said: *

When it is affirmed that the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church among the Southern Negroes is a failure, let charity spread her wings; it is not malice but ignorance that speaks. Unfortunately, however, ignorance has a capacity not easy to reckon. It has led to great wars; also to long, bitter, and unprofitable newspaper discussions. . . . Few of our leading men have even now any true or accurate knowledge, from personal inspection of any of these institutions. It is simply true that most Southern men know next to nothing about this work. Not one woman among thousands knows anything at all about this work. . . . Few Southern men have enough knowledge of school or Church work among Negroes to write or speak about these things. But such ill-timed remarks as are sometimes made in speech or print do not truly represent the South—much less Southern Methodism. . . . The graduates of these schools, with rarest exceptions, like the educated men of white schools, are not the men who commit nameless crimes.

One of the battles America is set to fight is that of the masses against the classes. Our legislation and our education are for the masses. It is a false view to hold that places are for individuals. The correct view is, individuals for places. The Negro believes in serving; he has served for generations when service was counted a disgrace by men of the South. He has searched for the roots of trees with his faithful ax, and to-day, with his incisive and penetrating mind, he also discovers the roots of Greek verbs; and he will continue in the doing of this double service until the South shall understand that it is as honorable to split wood as to split verbs.

It is said he must serve, and he picks up the challenge and answers back, "Yes." He is willing to serve with spade and plow, with saw and hammer; to work with the trowel and hoe, at the driving wheel and throttle; with the sledge hammer and trip hammer; in the school room and in the sick room; in the pulpit and at the bar. He is also willing and means to work with the sword and with the pen; with the microscope and telescope; at the bench and in the laboratory; with electricity and with steam; he is ready to work in clay, in wood,

* *Northern Christian Advocate*, January 1, 1896.

in iron, in brass, in glass, in stone; and he claims the right to work in earth or sky, anywhere, everywhere, wherever human foot has trod the soil or human thought evolved an idea; and then he insists upon his right to rise into the higher world of thought for superiority of contribution to the progress of civilization, to vindicate his right and title to citizenship in the republic of thought. This is his humble ambition, nothing more, nothing less.

It is now too late to attempt to return to a simple English education, or to a so-called practical industrial education for the Negro. He has had a taste of the good things of a liberal education, and shouts back to these would-be friends,

> The shackle ne'er shall bind again
> This mind which now is free.

The gods do not take back their gifts to men. The North is free and open with her great colleges and universities. Moreover, there are Negroes among them who understand the discipline of mathematics from addition to integral calculus, who can accurately set a dentil and mathematically calculate an eclipse; others who can read modern Greek, and who know classic Greek from Xenophon's *Anabasis* or Plato's *Republic* to Aristotle's *Logic;* others who have waded through the Latin of Cicero; others who have studied the sciences and can dissect the brain of a bird as well as that of a man; others who have the historical instinct and historical ability to draw lessons from the past for the present. In fact, there is scarcely a department of learning now taught in the colleges of the land that cannot be supplied with a colored instructor able to fill it with credit and honor. And, what is still more significant, nearly every one of these men is now engaged in the battle of life, doing genuine practical work.

Concerning the subject of the Negro's place, we may be privileged to repeat our conviction upon this point:*

> Before asking now, What is the Negro's place in American civilization? a larger question comes into notice that affects all men, namely, What is the place of any branch or family of the human race in the sum total of humanity? The man who attempts to answer this question will risk his wit. The Negro's place will be what he makes for himself, just as the

* From an address at the formal opening of the Negro Building, at the Atlanta Exposition, October 21, 1895.

place of every people is what that people makes for itself; and he will be no exception to the rule. The method whereby he shall make that place is under consideration. One class contends that he must make it by staying in the three "R's," and they are specially at pains in ridiculing the higher education of the Negro, even for leaders in Church or State. Yea, he must learn the three "R's," he must master the king's English. And then he must plume his pinions of thought for a flight with Copernicus, Kepler, and Herschel; he must sharpen his logic for a walk with Plato, Emanuel Kant, and Herbert Spencer; he must clarify his visions for investigations with Virchow, Huxley, and Gray; he must be able to deal in the abstruse questions of law as do Gladstone, Judge Story, and Judge Speer; he must fortify himself to divide rightly the word as do Canon Farrar, Bishop Foster, Bishop Haygood, Dr. John Hall, and Dr. H. L. Wayland. In short, the education of the Negro must be on par with the education of the white man. It must begin in the kindergarten, as that of the white child, and end in the university, as that of the white man. Anything short of this thorough preparation for all of the stages of life for the Negro would be unfair to a large part of humanity. We ask that nothing be done that would spoil his nature or emasculate his personality; but let everything be done that would fit him to fill every station in life that man may fill, from the blacksmith and hod carrier to the statesman and philosopher. And, if such preparation require a knowledge of the old blue-back spelling book or of Aristotle's *Logic;* a knowledge of the plow or the trip hammer or of the spade or of the driving wheel; or of simple addition or integral calculus; or the First Reader or Kant's *Critique*, simple justice and common sense require that he be acquainted with whatever shall fit him to fill his station in life.

Now, if this process of education, which aims at developing his powers, making him a better man, a thoughtful man, a respectable citizen, a man of character and judgment, will spoil him, then let him spoil, and the sooner he spoils the better. If truth, pure, unmixed, is an enemy to a man, a system, a State, or society, then let that truth be proclaimed and that man or State go down. Education is not to make places for men, but men for places. The Negro is not discouraged; God has struck the shackles from our feet and the manacles from our wrists, and, please Him, with our right arm we'll do the rest and find our place.

J. W. E. Bowen

Art. V.—IMPRESSIONIST PREACHING.*

In speaking to you to-day I shall confine myself to matters of which I have some personal knowledge and experience. If I attempted to deal with certain critical and philosophical questions you might soon discover that I was the merest amateur; but it may be worth your while to listen to me on a subject with which I have had long personal acquaintance. Preaching is a subject of which we can never weary; it has for us an abiding charm. For my own part I love a book on homiletics as much as ever I did in my life. I read with eager expectation the last published lectures on the art of preaching, trusting to know how to do it before I die. It is to be hoped that you have the same curiosity and passion.

Preaching, you may rely upon it, is not going out of fashion. Some imagine that the priest is coming in and that the preacher is going out. A newspaper has just announced that fifteen hundred clergymen are to-day receiving confessions, when only a few years ago perhaps only a score of them favored the confessional. Despite these appearances, however, the world is not going that way. The twentieth century will demand something more serious than ritualism; a keen, active, intellectual age will find other work for the minister of Christ than the work of the priest. And we must remember that preaching is of cardinal importance to Churches without State patronage and endowment. The governors of Manchester New College, Oxford, have just accepted a gift of £5,000 from Mr. Henry Tate, of London, to be devoted to "special and emphatic instruction" in the theory and practice of preaching. The donor says he has "long entertained an earnest conviction of the exceeding importance of this portion of the training of students for the ministry, in Unitarian and other Free Churches." Mr. Tate has justly appreciated the situation. The power of telling out to the multitude the great saving truths is of exceeding importance to our Churches—nay, it is vital to them. It is the thing by which, in the highest sense,

* In this, as in Dr. Watkinson's previous paper in our issue of January-February, 1897, the direct address form in which it was originally delivered is allowed to remain.—Ed.

we live, as it was the essential thing in the primitive Church. Mr. Tate is wise in calling attention to the primal importance of the pulpit, and his wealth has been well bestowed in making homiletical education more possible and efficient. Dissent in England has before it a tremendous struggle, but it will never die whilst it sticks to the great evangelical doctrines, and whilst it continues to produce a race of preachers who can state those doctrines with lucidity and power.

I am now to speak to you about open-air preaching, and it seems to me that the core of the whole thing is here. You, of course, apprehend what I mean by this outdoor preaching. Not so long ago art was almost entirely academical and formal. The artist did not feel it necessary to leave his studio; he painted chiefly out of his consciousness, following slavishly certain conventional and traditional lines and types. The old artists painted their landscapes with hardly any reference to nature, and instead of putting the sky behind tree, or hill, or city, they painted everything on a background of gold—the violet heaven not being exactly good enough. But modern art has reverted to reality; it has gone into the open air; it condescends to put in the blue sky; it reflects the lights, the forms, the colors, the abiding grandeurs, and fleeting lusters of nature. The principle of outdoor sketching, now so popular, is to "hit off," as accurately as possible, the various points of interest that come under observation; to give the life, the hue, the tone, the stir, the verisimilitude of that glorious world whose fashion is ever passing away, and all art similarly sympathizes with nature. Mr. Blackburn, in his book on *Artistic Travel*, has a passage or two so relevant to my subject that I must quote therefrom. Writing from Algiers he says:

> It would be interesting to see one or two of our popular artists, who paint camels and desert scenes without ever having been in the East, just sit down here quietly for one day and paint a camel's head. . . . Do we seem to exaggerate the value of such studies? We cannot exaggerate if we take into full account the vigorous quality which we impart into our work. We cannot sit here day by day without learning several truths more forcibly than by any teaching of our schools, taking in, as it were, the mysteries of light and shade and the various phases of atmospheric effect, taking them all to heart, so that they influence work for years to come. And do we not, amongst other things, learn to distin-

guish between the true and conventional rendering of the form, color, and character of palm trees, aloes, and cacti? . . . Is it mere heresy in art that seems to say that we have learned and achieved more, in studying the glowing limbs of an Arab child as it plays amongst these wild palmettos, because in painting the child we had not perforce to learn any "master's" trick of color, nor to follow conventional lines?

Here the critic maintains, then, that the true artist must go forth to nature. He must not be the slave of academical law and traditional method; he must not be satisfied with a few clever tricks of execution; he must see things as they are; he must paint them on the spot, render them swiftly, freely, realistically.

Now, in all this the preacher has a great deal to learn. He, too, must be natural, experimental, immediate, dealing with men and things as he finds them, speaking from the life to the life. And here it seems to me the preacher fails more frequently and conspicuously than he does anywhere else. As students I suppose you rarely hear sermons, and that may account for your cheerfulness; but lately I have heard a good many, and, whilst most of them have been really excellent in several particulars, they have again and again lacked adequate human interest. They have been too far away from the ordinary man and the ordinary life. A while ago a parish meeting was summoned to consider the question of lighting the village with gas, and the promoter of the meeting began the proceedings with a lecture on astronomy. There can be no question but that the two subjects were related, yet it was a far cry from astronomy to village lights, and the peasants were excusable if they dropped away into sleep whilst the speaker labored to show the bearing of the stellar heavens upon the immediate homely question. Yet it seems to me that we preachers are apt to fall into this very mistake and to lose ourselves and our hearers in abstract and vague considerations. It is against this that I wish to protest, and to show that the preacher must not be antique, formal, and abstruse, but saturated with the spirit of the day in which he lives, bringing the eternal truths and laws to bear on the passing moment and talking to men and women in language they understand.

Open-air preaching means that the preacher shall treat the

great evangelical truths in the light of present-day knowledge and conditions. We all know something of the remarkable advances made during late years in medical science. What, then, would be said of a medical practitioner who has steadily ignored the great discoveries of the last half century? A medical man who refused to recognize the microscope and the hidden mysteries of physiology which it has brought to light, who knew nothing of bacteria, bacteriology, and germ pathology, nothing of the advance in knowledge along the pathway opened up by electrical science, nothing of the anæsthetics and antiseptics and instruments of precision which play such a wonderful part in modern medicine and surgery, nothing about the X-rays—such a professional might empirically acquire insight and skill and be useful in certain cases, but, failing to keep pace with the science of the day, he would naturally lose caste with the public and find popularity chiefly with the undertakers. And much of what would thus be true of the physician will be true also of the belated preacher. It may be said that theology is not a progressive science, that ethical science is not progressive; but there is an unfolding in theological and ethical truth just as real as are the developments in medical science. Who can look at theology and ethics, as they were apprehended thirty or forty years ago, and then consider the way in which they are apprehended now, without feeling that the change of statement is both real and immense? The world about us is ever new, and theological truth keeps on revealing itself in new aspects, meeting new situations, answering new questions, prescribing for new wants and maladies. The great musician adds no new pipe to the organ, the great painter no new color to the palette, the great poet no new letter to the alphabet; but they mingle the old notes, colors, and letters to striking and charming effects. And so whilst ethical and religious doctrine may know no essential addition, yet they are ever revealing themselves in original aspects of the deepest interest and importance. Theological doctrine demonstrates its divine fullness in perpetually defining itself afresh, and thus making itself intelligible to society with all its new facts, experiences, and conditions. The preacher must be modern in this sense, as the physician is.

The preacher must keep his eye on the great teachings of science. We ought not to overlook the significance of the vast popularity of such a book as Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World.* We need give no opinion here on the arguments of that book; but its immense popularity shows how anxious people are to mark the correspondence of the great truths of revelation with the ascertained facts and laws of creation. The preacher must go into the open air; he must learn whatever he can from the scientist; he must as carefully as possible inform himself concerning the new facts and teachings of nature; and, in doing this, he will not only enrich his discourses with new analogies and illustrations, but his ministry will be all the more authoritative and influential with that vast and ever-increasing public which buys Drummond's books and books of a similar order.

The preacher must watch the developments and strivings of the social world. Looking into the catalogue of one of our great publishers, I found there a list including scores of volumes with titles like these: *Civilization—its Cause and Cure; Religion of Socialism; Ethics of Socialism; The Drink Question; Promotion of General Happiness; Penology; Our Destiny; Luxury; Crime and its Causes; The Purse and the Conscience; Modern Humanists; Outlooks from the New Standpoint; The Condition of Labor; Poverty—its Genesis and Exodus; The Influence of Seasons on Conduct; The Ethic of Usury and Interest; The New Reformation; Rights of Women; Social Peace,* and so on. In this "Social Science Series," which is being largely read, most questions concerning human society and conduct are discussed from new standpoints. All I ask is, Can we permit ourselves to ignore a range of literature like this which belongs so peculiarly to the day in which we live? The fathers are essential, the Puritans also, and our formal expositors and theologians are simply indispensable; but no teacher who would minister successfully to the multitude can afford to be ignorant of the views and feelings, the discontents and hopes, the enthusiasms and skepticisms which find expression in this school of literature.

Not that we ought to use the pulpit for philosophical dis-

cussion, for addresses on science, for deliverances on political and sociological questions. No error on our part could be greater. As soon as the Christian preacher sets up for a scientist, a socialist, or a politician he gives himself away. People cease to care deeply and loyally for such a man. When our hearers want light on those subjects they go to specialists who know a great deal more about such questions than preachers generally know or are likely to know. The preacher is mainly strong whilst he deals with the conscience in the sight of God, and he must not lightly surrender this vantage ground. We preach Christ as the Saviour of men, their Saviour from sin and death. Our grand design is to build up noble character; to satisfy the soul with the truths and hopes of a spiritual faith; to renew the world through the salvation and sanctification of the individual. But there are two ways of doing this. We may follow an abstract or antiquarian method, or we may develop our spiritual doctrines with continual side glances toward contemporaneous thought and action; and it is for this latter method that I plead. We must be theologians, impassioned theologians; we shall prove sorry creatures if we are not. But to be successful preachers also we must be saturated with the spirit of our day and know how to take advantage of its special conditions and reasonings and language, as St. Paul did of his. "Eloquence is timeliness." And immediateness, seasonableness, are specially called for in this generation. I knew a preacher who preached the same sermon, word for word, on the occasion of the death of the Princess Charlotte and upon that of the prince consort. I presume the personal pronouns were changed, but with the exception of this flash of originality the discourse was identical. This sort of thing will not do now. We must manage to live in touch with rapidly changing scenes and systems. An ordinary man who speaks to the hour is a popular man. As George Meredith says, "A pygmy's a giant if he can manage to arrive in season."

Open-air preaching means the preaching that is in the least degree academical. In the pulpit we often fall into the error of preaching as if we were addressing scholars and theologians. It is very easy for us to make this mistake. We are at

our books from day to day; we are familiar with the terms of philosophy, the locutions of science, the technicalities of criticism; and the temptation is great to become formal and scholastic. But it is none the less an error. As a rule formal theology in the pulpit is a mistake; and yet how many sermons are merely theological statements and discussions? A brother in one of my circuits exhorted the people to "trust in Christ with a simple, fiducial faith." The blessed results of such an appeal I did not learn. Now, a physician ought to know everything about physiology. The secrets of the dissecting room ought constantly to guide him in his observations and prescriptions; but there is no necessity that he should take a skeleton with him on his visits to his patients. I am afraid that we often drop into this osteology in the pulpit, and it is a very great mistake. Not merely has the sermon a skeleton, it is a skeleton; and the congregation is weary of the cunning tricks that the skilled theologian can play upon it. It is a still greater error for the preacher to be formally logical, or scientific, or philosophical. A preacher with affectations of scholarship warned one of our congregations that "a spirit of German transcendental ratiocination was creeping into the Church," and as a menagerie of wild beasts happened at the time to be in the town the congregation took alarm and a panic ensued. The highest art is that which conceals art; and the highest art of the pulpit is that which knows most, and says the least, about what it knows. Just think, when we enter the pulpit we are face to face with men and women whose life is intensely concrete and practical. They live in the world of trade and toil, in the domestic circle with all its solicitudes; they carry many burdens and fight many battles; they have comparatively little leisure for thought and reading; they know hardly anything about theories of nature and life; they know everything about difficulty, temptation, suffering, failure, and fatigue. Listeners like these require a simple, sincere, sympathetic style of address; if we are to speak to them with advantage the theologian, the philosopher, the scientist must be lost in the man. When West painted "The Death of General Wolfe," and ventured to clothe his heroes in the dress they actually wore, it is said that Sir Joshua Reynolds sat before

the work for a long time in silence, at last exclaiming, "West has conquered; the picture will create a revolution in art." We, as preachers, must not be professional, classical, pedantic, but must deal with the people as they actually are; we must realize the scenes in which they live; we must remember the simple wants they so acutely feel. It is a miserable mistake to suppose that, if we are to be impressive, we must choose grand subjects and treat them in a stately way. Rembrandt produced the finest portrait group in the world when he painted a representation, not of kings and beauties, but of five merchants seated round a table, with a servant waiting upon them; and by dealing with people just as they are, and addressing them in familiar language on common themes, we can exercise our utmost ability, express the fullest and most delicate scholarship, and effect the most glorious results for time and eternity.

Again, open-air preaching is full of life, color, and movement. I mean this as against elegant, elaborate, and polished preaching. The impressionist artist is just now everywhere popular, and the preacher will be all the better for a quick eye and a certain liberty and daring of expression. One thing in this age we preachers cannot overlook, and that is the extraordinary popularity of fiction. Modern fiction deals with all kinds of subjects; it is economical, philosophical, historical, theological. And how wonderfully it sells! The press teems with hundreds of thousands of volumes. In the houses of the rich and middle classes you are sure to find abundant fiction, and all the inmates can talk about the latest novel. The story sells the magazines. The daily and weekly journal depends upon its romance for its circulation. And the free library proves that the masses devour these works of imagination. Much of this literature is poor stuff indeed; it is surprising that people will buy and read such trash, but it has a fascination for the multitude, and charms them into reading when nothing else would. As I say, the immense popularity of the novel is one of the most striking features of our age. And why is it so popular? Many reasons, no doubt, could be given to account for its popularity, but the main reason is that it presents truths and falsehoods with color and move-

ment. Dramatic form, personality, scenery, dialogue, are its elements of power.

The immense popularity of the novel ought to teach us the value of a concrete and pictorial style. We have to-day in this country preachers who in an illustrious degree are exemplifications of the thing I am talking about. One of our most severely expository and theological preachers is Dr. Maclaren, and yet his dramatic form and imaginative coloring make him one of the most popular of preachers; and, if Maclaren is the Raphael of our pulpit, Dr. Parker is its Rubens—facile, manifold, audacious, full of character and color, life his chief study, and the expression of life his great aim. It is impossible to overestimate the value of these great teachers to this nation; and yet, if they were to drop their metaphors, their aphorisms, their sparkle, their patches of purple, their pathos and humor, they would cease to sway the public. Of course, these are masters of their craft, and we cannot hope to rival them; but we see the direction in which we should go, and, as far as God has given us ability, we shall do well to appeal to the people with imagery, parable, and words full of human feeling, as Spurgeon and Beecher did, as Maclaren and Parker do. Our Master, who set us an example in so many things, gave also the true pattern of preaching. He reveals no conventionality of feeling or expression; he does not labor to utter wonderful things nor to elaborate exquisite ones. He always speaks with real freshness, picturesqueness, straightforwardness, and ease. He embodied the deepest thought and feeling in pictures so marvelously homely and clear that the children understood his teaching, and the common people heard him gladly.

The final feature of the preaching I recommend is that the preacher speaks to the life from the life. I have already said that the open-air preacher must have a competent knowledge of science and of the current questions of theology and science. But there is another matter still more imperative; he must know and love men. Versed in many things, the acceptable preacher is richly versed in humanity. "I have learned more," said Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, most learned man that he was, "in sick rooms, and from poor and simple folks, than from all the books which I have read." We

have remarked as the basis of this address how the true artist goes back to nature. The Moorish designer may be seen hard at work with a box of butterflies' wings for his school of design. Meissonier, the great French painter, made it a rule to do nothing except from nature; he would have models even for the most trifling and humble accessories. If the tapestry which seemed to suit for a background, or the armchair in which the principal figure was to sit, were wanting in Meissonier's properties he bought them. If the required object were not to be found he had it made. He would even order, to copy them better on his canvases, chimney pieces and staircases. When he painted his great picture of Napoleon's "Retreat from Moscow" he painted it out of doors in a bitter, wintry cold, until his feet and hands were nearly frozen. Now, a preacher ought to prepare his sermon by a close and minute study of the people, as these artists created their work by the study of reality. As Meissonier said, speaking of his Napoleon picture, he "could not paint the figures in his warm studio; in the studio the values, the relations of the tones of the figures to the landscape, would be wanting." So with the preacher. He cannot shut himself up in his study, neglectful of the flesh-and-blood people, and prepare living, influential sermons; he cannot move the multitude and yet be strange to their actual, everyday life. By withdrawing from the everyday world he loses values, tones, relations, which constitute the very magic of the best popular preaching. Methodist preachers have a great opportunity in the class meeting to acquaint themselves with the doubts and temptations, the sorrows and strivings, the hopes and fears of all kinds and grades of people. Pastoral visitation opens to us all the widest field for observation. Here the open-eyed preacher learns what the enthusiastic artist finds in the forms and colors, the lights and shades, of nature. If we make the best of these openings we shall not become speculative, literary, *doctrinaire;* but, familiar with the people, our ministry will interest them in an extraordinary degree. Great popular preachers make the scholar, the philosopher, the theologian stand in the background; and they become irresistible to the multitude, because they address themselves with power to the practical reason.

And it goes without saying that, if we are to speak to the life, we must have a life of our own from which to speak. We must understand and feel the truths we preach, and be far more anxious to realize truth than to talk cleverly about it. To talk cleverly about the various truths which concern us is a great snare; we, as public men, get to think in public, as it were, and as artists we are ever pondering how we can most vividly express this thing or that. "You cannot stop to look at a sunset, because you must write a sonnet on it," cries an American satirist; and the preacher turns so swiftly and eagerly to the telling of things that he does not give them time to sink into his own soul. There is a passage in George Meredith bearing on this matter, a passage I earnestly commend to you: "You see how easy it is to deceive one who is an artist in phrases. Avoid them, Miss Dale; they dazzle the penetration of the composer. That is why people of ability like Mrs. Mountstuart see so little; they are so bent on describing brilliantly." There is a world of truth here for the preacher. Many of us "see so little," because we are so "bent on describing brilliantly." Our first business is to see, to muse, to ponder in our heart, to possess a clear sense of things, to get a firm and sympathetic grasp of them, to know for ourselves, to reverence for ourselves, to fear for ourselves, to rejoice for ourselves; and when we have seen clearly and felt deeply, rejoiced or grieved sincerely, then it will be soon enough to describe brilliantly. Let us, however, yield to the passion for describing brilliantly, for becoming artists in words and phrases, and we shall see little, we shall feel faintly, and our speech will lack the idiom of truth and conviction. Very deeply did the prophets themselves feel in all the evils and sorrows and hopes expressed in their prophesyings; very deeply did the apostles feel the tremendous significance of the whole counsel of God, with which they were charged; and it is ever true that the convincing, converting preacher speaks not as a paper theologian, not as an artist in words, not as an elocutionist or actor, but as one who has proved in his own heart the reality of what he preaches.

W. L. Watkinson

ART. VI.—IS ANOTHER MUTINY IMPENDING IN INDIA?

THE news from India is disquieting. There have been serious riots in the neighborhood of Calcutta. These disturbances are apparently wholly unconnected with any famine suffering, and are confined, so far, to Mohammedans, though the Hindus are described as passively sympathetic. The Indian government has thought it necessary to make a great military demonstration, to overawe the rioting population. The memories of the last Indian mutiny are still so vivid, and the painful thrill of intense interest that bloody tragedy excited throughout the civilized world is still so well remembered by many, that it is with deep solicitude we raise the inquiry whether another mutiny is impending in India. The question, in its bearing upon the possibility of success in a gigantic experiment to inoculate a vast Asiatic population with European ideas, is well worth patient investigation, and, whether the event shall disprove all preconceived theories or not, intelligent theorizing on so seductive a subject must, in itself, be educative.

That the English have handled India with rare skill and success anyone familiar with what is, on the whole, the splendid history of a great experiment knows. No power in Europe, save Russia, has had anything like such success in Asiatic government. And Russia is, herself, essentially Asiatic, while the Englishman is obstinately, if not offensively, of the Occident. There is a peculiar comity among Asiatics, a subtle fraternity which goes far to unite them, however discordant among themselves, against the blunt-spoken, heavy-handed European. Besides this, the Englishman's rule is always and everywhere attended by an active missionary crusade of Christianity of a Western type, more or less stiffened with un-Asiatic garments, and, both in form and method of presentation, smacking strongly of foreign flavor. In spite of these difficulties, to speak from the standpoint of agreeable government, the English have done marvelously. The empire whose foundations were laid but little more than a brief cen-

tury ago, among a deeply conservative Asiatic people—laid by the not too scrupulous hands of Clive and Hastings—has for the past forty years been increasingly a benediction to the polyglot peoples who live immediately under the British flag, or under the rule of any one of the numerous native kings and princes who, in quasi-independence, administer their own kingdoms under the eye of British "residents." During these forty years the tangled laws of India have been codified, a vast system of vernacular and English education has been projected, great highways have been constructed, thousands of miles of railroads and telegraphs have been built, irrigating tanks and canals have been extended, perfect security of life and property has been provided, and the periodically recurring famines have been fought with a vigor and degree of success never before witnessed on Indian soil.

With all this the English are not loved. The chasm between the European and the Asiatic remains unbridged. The reasons for this vary. With the Hindu one set of reasons prevails; with the Mohammedan, another. Nor is it easy to see how, under all the circumstances, it could be otherwise. Try as he will, be as honest and well-meaning and capable as he may, the Englishman may succeed better than any other European, but, for the reason at bottom that he is the exponent of an advanced Christian civilization, he cannot succeed in winning the love of his Indian subjects for many years to come. He may be just and very serviceable; he may even win something like admiration; but secure of the confidence, the sympathies, the affections of his Asiatic peoples he cannot be until he and they get nearer together in thought and ideal. The reasons for this statement may be found by considering the two great principles which the Indian government enunciated as basal, when it took over the administration of affairs from the East India Company, after the mutiny, in 1858. These were, in effect, (1) That the various peoples of India were to be ruled in accordance with their ancient laws and customs; and (2) The people were to be educated to the standard of their rulers, with the promise of perfect governmental equality—as eligibility for office—when that standard was reached; and in this education strict regard was to be had

to every man's creed and tribal, or caste, institutions. Now, to work out these principles, to leave Hindus of various castes and Mohammedans with clashing claims and most extraordinarily tangled customs "undisturbed in the exercise of their ancient laws and institutions," and yet to "educate them to the standard of their rulers," is a contradictory task which no finesse or statecraft will enable any European power to carry out without difficulty and constant friction. The "ancient institutions" are essentially those of an Asiatic and heathen civilization; the new education is toward a progressive, individualistic liberalism, tempered by the surrender of some rights for the good of the community. Note, for instance, how all the heroic effort of the Bombay government to stamp the plague from that unhappy city is more than offset in the minds of its Hindu inhabitants by the forcible searching of their homes by the military to find plague patients. Left to themselves they would prefer to allow their infected relatives to communicate the plague to the remainder of the family and the community rather than allow the stricken ones to be segregated and put within reach of the best medical help. In many of the great cities, when the government had at great expense provided a water supply, it was with the greatest difficulty and by the rigid enforcement of penalties that the people were persuaded to forego the privilege of getting their drinking water from other than filthy wells and green-scummed but sacred, temple reservoirs. And yet many of these men are widely read in English. The Hindu can take much veneer of English education and yet remain deeply Asiatic, with feelings inflamed against English ideas. The very earnestness, therefore, of the rulers to do their plain duty, as it seems to them, often brings them into collision with the unreasoning but deeply seated prejudices of the centuries. And, if this be true of the intelligent Hindus of the great cities, how much more is it true of the tens of millions in agricultural India, where, as yet, but the faintest glimmer of education has reached. The presence of an active Christian missionary body, too, constantly gives this unintelligent mass the suspicion that the government is set upon undermining, if not forcibly destroying, the "ancient laws and institutions."

It is true that increasing numbers see in the missionaries true and sympathetic friends, many times helping them and withstanding for them the petty oppressions of governmental subordinates, and sometimes leading in wide reforms against the power of high officials. Still, it would perhaps be not too much to say that the great bulk of unintelligent Hinduism is keenly suspicious and wary against religious designs behind governmental action. It is exceedingly difficult under such circumstances to press either sanitary or social reforms, and many times, when the impatient English public chides the Indian government for its slowness and exceeding caution, that government is in sore perplexity to know what to do. Every forward step, therefore, in practical education, as Europeans understand it, is serviceable to the community but, nevertheless, provokes resentment among the very people it is designed to help.

Again, with the educated Hindu there is another cause for smoldering dislike. The government has promised him "governmental equality" as soon as he is fit for it. This, for the present, he interprets to mean that he shall be given all the offices he may be able to win in competitive examination. Unfortunately the only thing any such examinations can test is intellectual acuteness, and here the high-caste Hindu can give most of his manlier fellow-countrymen, or even his English competitors, points and then beat them. If there is anywhere a mind more capable of being crammed for competitive examinations of the academic kind than a young Bengali babu's, it has not yet been discovered. He can prepare for anything, and in faultless penmanship and in most orderly fashion spread before the wondering gaze of his examiners perfect answers to all their questions. No mathematics are too difficult for him, no logic too abstruse. Why, then, he asks, should he not forthwith be given all the chief places in the government? He already swarms in all the subordinate offices, and is found in many of the higher. Why not in all? It is difficult to explain to him, and well-nigh hopeless for him to understand, that to be intrusted with authority over multitudes of people, to fill an important place in a government that seeks to lift its people to truer ideals, he must be a man

of *morale* as well as intelligence. And here is where usually the Asiatic is sadly deficient. Of course he cannot see this. If he could it would argue an upwardness already begun. Not seeing this, he feels the government does not keep faith with him, and the English-speaking Hindu, though volubly expressing good will in English circles, is too often a malcontent who thinks he has reason for any but kindly feeling toward his English rulers.

The Mohammedans of India are more markedly at odds with their rulers in feeling and sentiment than the Hindus, as might be expected. Of the entire population one in five is Moslem. That is, there are about sixty millions of them. The Queen of England has more Moslem subjects than the Sultan of Turkey. More than one third of the entire Moslem world lives in India, and a more prolific propagandism is carried on here, perhaps, than in any land but Central Africa. Any disaffection among these, therefore, means the possibility of most untoward events. A hundred and fifty years ago these men ruled India. All the offices in all the departments were in their hands, and the Mohammedan aristocracy, holding vast estates as fiefs of the various Moslem courts, waited upon by rapacious hordes of their fellow-religionists, battened upon the produce of the land. In an evil day for them an English trading company began to take a hand in the disputes that arose between the various kings and kinglings. Pitting one against the other, and extorting trade concessions from both, the astute white men presently held the balance of power, and then acquired territory after territory. After the Indian mutiny in 1857 the imperial government, superseding the East India Company, curtly proclaimed the rule of England directly or as suzerain over the native princes, who were allowed to retain the insignia, but only partially the power, of sovereignty. The chief offices of the government were henceforth in English hands. The lands and estates held under gift from the former rulers were practically taken over by their successors and relet to whomsoever would meet the new fiscal conditions. The Mohammedans of India were reduced from being its proud masters to poor, but still proud, obscurity. The path to government offices becomes increasingly obstructed by university and competitive

examinations, and in these the keen intellectual Hindu is more than a match for the proud-spirited, but not too active-minded, Moslem. And, indeed, the scions of the old Mohammedan families are heavily handicapped in the race for governmental positions; for here the chief examinations are in English, and the Mohammedan lad must, for religious reasons, spend his early years in Arabic, the language of the Koran, and for social reasons in the study of Persian, without which he would scarcely be accounted a gentleman. He is therefore hopelessly out of the race. Among the humbler Mohammedans, too, feeling against the English is apt to run high. No Moslem can be permanently well affected to any ruler of alien faith. At heart his religion is militant, and the pale-faced Christian at the best can only be even-handed among all his Asiatic peoples, while his Moslem subject will be content with nothing less than extraordinary favors. Indeed, to be a subject, on any terms, is galling to the fierce spirit the Koran breeds. In recent years, too, there has appeared a Mohammedan party which sees the advantage to be gained in European politics by making a pretense of acknowledging the caliphate of the Turkish sultan, and seeks accordingly to agitate the followers of the Koran with the affairs of eastern Europe. This party owes its existence partly to the timidity and philo-Turkism of the English conservatives. The apathy of England in Armenia is thus being repaid by creating new dangers in India. Above all, however, in a dull resentful way the poorer Moslems feel that they have been turned off by the ten thousand from the positions they held as hangers-on in the establishments of the now dispossessed Mohammedan aristocracy. Nor are there openings for them anywhere. But fifty per cent of them are agriculturists, as against ninety per cent of the Hindus; a few thousands of them find service in the Sepoy army and the police and as petty peons, but even here they are jostled by Hindus. The remainder are in precarious circumstances. Dig they cannot, and to beg is unremunerative. The Indian Mohammedan, then, can scarcely be expected to regard his English ruler with any excess of amiability.

What, under such circumstances, is to prevent at any time another great mutiny in India? The English army? Scarcely.

That army is admirably well appointed, and the facilities for travel are such that it can easily be massed at any point in a short time. But what is an army of eighty thousand troops all told in a population of three hundred millions? And, as for means of communication, hundreds of miles of telegraph and railroad could be torn up in a single night by concerted action. The army is well calculated to stamp out, with prompt and severe action, any local uprisings which might otherwise grow into wide-extended and serious rebellion. Six active policemen can effectively club down an incipient riot that six hundred could scarcely cope with when once under way. But, for all this, the safety of English rule in India does not rest ultimately upon English soldiery.

Yet, there are opposite facts to be considered. The fighting races of India are the least disaffected. The more nearly the Hindu is himself soldierly and virile, the more readily he is attracted to the straightforward, blunt-spoken Englishman. Not only are the Sikh, the Rajput, and the Gurkha, many of the Mahratta clans, the southern Pariahs, and others not disaffected, but they are prepared to stand with the Englishman. In counting the loyal forces a very high place must also be given to the native Christian Church. In the loyalty of the fighting castes of India is England's tower of strength. Again, the India that has not learned to wholly trust or like the Englishman has not failed to learn to respect him. He is brusque, he is masterful, and not too amiable; but he is just, and keeps his word. Dislike him as he may, the common class Hindu says, in his heart of hearts, "If this man were gone I would not receive treatment so nearly fair from my own countrymen." Nor is there among the various Hindu castes any bond of union strong enough to cement them together for anything like the arduous enterprise of shaking off by force the hardy stranger. England's chief security, however, is the mutual dislike of the two great bodies, the Hindus and Mohammedans. Fellow-Asiatics though they are, and for many reasons, therefore, having feelings in common against any European, there is a very wide line of cleavage between these. A hundred years have not taken from the Hindu the memory of the oppressions that were put upon him by his

Moslem masters, nor the amount of squeeze to which he was subjected by the hordes of rapacious petty officials who thronged around every Mohammedan chieftain. Were he in any danger of forgetting, the ill-concealed scorn of the prophet's followers, whenever they come into collision, would prove an effective reminder. On the other hand, the Moslem, as he sees himself easily passed in the race for position and governmental emoluments by the sleek, effeminate Hindu, feels his gorge rise, breathes curses loud and deep, and wishes again for the time when he might beat the dog back to the rear, where he belongs. No permanent alliance can ever exist between the two, and none knows that better than they do. To rebel against English rule and so introduce Mohammedan rule—for it is the only native rule that would be possible—is not a programme to which the Hindu will ever consent. To make successful issue against the English and then give the Hindu equal rights is a programme to which the Mohammedan will not agree. If it be said that, in the last mutiny, Hindus freely joined with Mohammedans, let it be remembered that they were first brought together in the same regiment by English authority, and that the blessings of English rule, its justice, its earnest effort to benefit the mass of the people, especially the open door it makes for the Hindu to reach position, are all the achievements of the past forty years.

India administered by the East India Company for revenue only before the mutiny, and India administered by the English government, and increasingly under the eye of the British people, are two very different Indias, and the people perceive the difference. Infiltration of education and a clearer understanding of the spirit and aims of Christian civilization will ultimately lead the people to still more value the English rule. But already there is a dawning belief that perfect safety of life and property, a fixed tax rate, the opening of great markets, added facilities for travel and trade, and no manifest interference with the old religions, are matters of no small advantage. There begins to be a moderate degree of thankfulness. Under popular misapprehensions concerning particular measures there may be petty uprisings here or there, and a certain common sympathy of the ruled against their

rulers may for a time seem to unite all the various religionists, but a great united uprising for the overthrow of English rule will probably never again occur. Every day that such an uprising does not appear is an added guarantee that it will not come, for India daily grows in true appreciation of the worth of England's governance.

The Indian Church grows daily in strength and promise of permanence. More and more it becomes indigenous. Once accepted as belonging to the land, its influence will rapidly multiply and its volume increase. While the externals of a Christian civilization are taught by the government, the inner life of such a civilization—the mind and spirit of Jesus, relived in the heart of his Church—gives widening base to upbear the external structure. The English occupation of India is not to be interpreted as a matter of greed and oppression. The natives themselves begin to know otherwise. It is rather a great movement of Providence to bring most rapidly to highest social and religious development a great people who had been oppressed by the superstitions of the centuries. The cross-currents of opinion in so vast, so conservative, so internally divided a mass are necessarily confusing and hard to understand; but amid them all one thing seems certain, that the Indian empire gradually learns that England is doing better for it than in its poverty, its ignorance, and divisiveness it could do for itself. It would be well for every lover of his race to appreciate the fact that India's best future is in the hope that the great experiment of inoculating her with the views of a Christian civilization may be triumphantly successful.

ART. VII.—TYPICAL ERAS OF SKEPTICISM.

IT is a well-known fact that reflective thought moves in cycles. Its progress is not uninterrupted but, between constructive eras, periods of dissolution intervene which for the time threaten the entire edifice of thought with destruction. This is true, whatever be the meaning assigned to reflective thought. It may be taken in the sense of philosophy; and philosophy, in turn, may be technically defined, for instance, as a "rational system of fundamental principles." Or, it may be understood in a broader way to cover those general views of the world and life to which philosophy in its technical significance is so intimately related; to cover science and art and history and politics and religion, the knowledge that a man or an age believes to have been gained, the aspirations which guide conduct, the institutions and their underlying beliefs which, in part, come down to each age from the past, in part, owe their genesis to its own inherent life. In either case the truth of the cyclical character of thought-progress is apparent; or, rather, it is true in both at once, since philosophy and thought in the larger sense are as incapable of separation as thought in any sense from the lives of those who think. Undoubtedly it would be more agreeable if the fact were otherwise. If thought could progress by steady stages, each in turn forming the platform for a fresh advance, as in itself it represented the outcome of the stage preceding, much of anxiety in practical affairs would be avoided, as well as much of confusion in the sphere of man's theoretical activity. But, since we must be content with progress by flux and reflux, these eras of transition become subjects which at once invite inquiry and reward it.

Elsewhere * the present writer has endeavored to show that such transitional periods in human thinking are characterized by a certain family likeness; that, within somewhat wide limits, they form what the naturalist might call a species; and that they exhibit uniformities of development which, again to adopt the analogy of natural science, may be termed their

* "Transitional Eras in Thought," *The New World*, September, 1895.

laws. But there is another side to the subject, which has its abiding interest and its present value. This is the characteristic differences by which the skeptical or transitional ages have been marked, and which give to them severally an individual, incommunicable stamp. In spite of the generic likeness existing among them we must not expect to find absolute uniformity in negation, any more than it is to be looked for in positive thought. A Protagoras is not an Occam; nor could he be, unless the Greece of the fifth century before Christ were exchanged for the Paris of the fourteenth century after the birth of our Lord. Bacon and John Stuart Mill differ so widely as to indicate a subtle variation, even in the inductive spirit of the ages for which they wrote. For, as with the leaders and their conclusions, so also with the ages which they lead. Personal and national characteristics combine with the broader and more fundamental conditions of thought. The development of national culture, the extent of scientific attainment, the stage of political organization, the progress of social growth, the character and the purity of ethical conceptions, the nature and the intensity of religious convictions—these elements of thought join with temperament and environment and history to make sophism different from the post-Aristotelian skepticism, to distinguish the age of the *Renaissance* and the Reformation from the eighteenth century, to render our own critical era at once the heir of the negations of other days and the responsible executant of its own peculiar task.

The sophistic movement in Greece was one of those phases of ancient thinking which, by their typical character, lend to the philosophy of antiquity its perennial charm. Since the time of Hegel and of Grote the question has been urgent whether the period should be considered one of definite skepticism; whether the sophists have not been a much misunderstood and much maligned class of men; whether, to put the doubt most sharply, there was any real group of thinkers corresponding to the term. This historic doubt, furthermore, has operated to produce a juster estimate of the movement, although it is now understood that the contention of its later defenders went farther astray in the one direction than the traditional detraction of

the critics in the other. Recent historians of philosophy recognize both the destructive character of the sophists' work, and the causes or conditions which formed their partial justification. It is clear that, with the latter half of the fifth century before Christ, a time had come for Greece when abstract thought and the development of the nation conspired to yield a platform for negative conclusions. The conflicts of the philosophic schools and the agreement of many celebrated theories in the one negative result that popular thought is delusive—facts like these had combined with the progress of culture, with constitutional change and civil war, with critical alterations in religious belief and national habits, to generate a set of conditions of which doubt and skepticism are the natural outcome.

Nevertheless, the Greek sophistic is marked by features which cannot be ascribed to the influences of these forces alone. Most prominently the movement exhibits a thoroughness in its skeptical temper and in its destructive results that gives it an altogether distinctive stamp. It is not merely some one department of knowledge that is now brought into question, but rather the whole circle of thought; for, from sense-perception to metaphysics, there is nothing which does not stand condemned when tried by the critical tests. In fact, certain distinctions between the several spheres of human thinking on which much stress has been laid in later times, when estimating the limits and the validity of knowledge, were not considered by the leaders of sophism. The rather did they involve all knowledge in one general web of distrust, and turn their efforts to the preparation of the pupils committed to their care for success in practical life.

If inquiry be made into the causes of this prevalence of negation in the sophistic thinking, and the similar spirit manifested by the post-Aristotelian skeptics be recalled, the suggestion is near that it was due to some general characteristic common to the Greek mind throughout the various stages of its development. Or the explanation may be sought in features special to reflection at the period when sophism had its origin. Thus, it may be said that the philosophical inheritance of the sophists was a crude one, as was their philosophical training;

and, further, that they showed a lack of intellectual and moral earnestness which unfavorably differentiates them from the doubters of certain other ages, as it also throws a reflex light on the genesis of their doubt itself. But, in the opinion of the writer, the content of Hellenic culture and the stage of acquisition which the Greeks had reached may more justly be thought of as intimately connected with the character of their unbelief. Not, of course, that this culture is to be rated low, for it must be remembered not only that Grecian civilization remains a type of classical achievement, but also that the sophistic age followed, rather than preceded, the golden period of Greek statesmanship and literature and art. It is, therefore, to the nature and the content of Greek thinking that recourse must be had for the solution of the problem. History and poetry and drama and the arts, political theory and the beginnings of philosophical speculation, something of mathematics and natural science—these Greece possessed, but no great body of reflective truth, either philosophical or scientific, which had been wrought out by the strenuous labor of generations of thinkers and accepted as proven through considerable periods of time. In this the Greece of the era under consideration was unlike both the mediæval Europe which preceded the *Renaissance* and the modern Europe into which the *Renaissance* and reformation issued. In the one age there was a great dogmatic system, deemed the evident outcome of cogent philosophic reasoning as well as the substance of revealed truth; the later era boasts a vast body of phenomenal acquisitions, welded together under the principle of natural law, and approving itself alike by its verifiable accuracy and its practical usefulness. In Greece the treasures of the national thought were of another kind. As the old ethical and religious maxims gave way before the beginnings of rational inquiry philosophy came to embrace all the subjects of the thinking of the day. The Greeks' crude interpretations of nature, their formulas of conduct, their imaginings concerning the gods became constituent parts of the new wisdom, with everything else of intellectual result loosely associated in the one thought-fabric. So, when wisdom proved itself a snare, the entire outcome of thought seemed to fall in

the ruin. Little of established truth remained to form the starting point for new construction, or even to serve as a reminder that truth in any sense is attainable by man. Finally, the age was one when such a reminder was peculiarly needed. For thought was then so young and had experienced so many vicissitudes in its brief history that the habit of belief had not become sufficiently fixed to remain a form for fresh acquisitions, when the content of the old had disappeared. So the time of crisis ended in revolution, until Socrates appeared to recreate thought by basing it on a foundation hitherto untried.

The era of transition from mediæval to modern times was characterized by its great magnitude. In time the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are often assumed to include the entire period. But when a broader view is taken its beginning can hardly be dated later than the end of the Crusades, or its close before the middle of the seventeenth century. In space, the events of the era spread over west Europe from Italy to England and Scandinavia; while one chiefest impulse of the time, the religious reform, though checked in the Latin countries of the south, moved across the sea, and the colonies became seats of Protestant belief as well as the home of a free people. No less remarkable, again, than the extent of the movement in time and space was the scope of its effects in the several departments of human thought and the various manifestations of man's corporate life. Philosophy and science, literature and art, religion and theology, jurisprudence and politics—nay, man's entire manner of thinking about the world and his whole manner of life therein—experienced changes of so momentous a character that the movement became an emancipation from the traditions and the trammels of the past. In a word, in these centuries mediævalism dies and the modern spirit is born—the modern spirit with its free inquiry and its trust in reason; with its delight in this world, if not a certain neglect of other worldliness; with its restless energy in opening up the earth to the life and use of man, as well as in searching out its hidden secrets. Once more, these various phenomena of transition were no greater than might have been expected from the magnitude of the forces at work to produce them. The

imposing systems of the scholastic philosophy had long been undergoing decay. The mediæval Church by its dogmatic insistence, by its temporal pretensions, by its moral decline, had long been preparing the rejection of its supreme authority. National feeling and national literatures had come in to aid the princes and the holy father in opposing the dominance of the empire. Education had succeeded to the darkness of the earlier mediæval centuries; reviving commerce had brought in new ideas, as well as unwonted comforts; art had blossomed forth in forms of wondrous beauty; the great inventions had furthered the progress of the new learning, as well as broken the force of mediæval custom; the great discoveries had enlarged the mental horizon, besides revealing the existence of unknown lands beyond the sea. As great as was the difference between the forms of thought and life which we term mediæval on the one hand, and modern on the other, so great were the forces of change in the centuries which separated the two eras.

In view of these conditions it is a striking fact about the movement that it included so much of positive thought. Men abandoned mediævalism, but they did not therefore adopt a negative view of the world. The revolution, despite its magnitude, did not issue in chaos; great as were the changes in belief, secular and religious, entire rejection of belief in the main was not the outcome. Rather, with a confidence which distinguishes the era alike from some earlier and from some later periods of transition, it was felt that the things which had been discarded were to be replaced by constructions with an analogous purpose, though of a different sort. It is not intended, of course, to ignore, or even to minimize, the facts which would resist arrangement under this rubric. No such era of transition can pass without anxiety and doubt and skeptical conclusions. Religious decline and moral disaster are also among the results which these periods seem inevitably to imply. And the centuries of transition from the mediæval to the modern world form no exception to the rule. If attention be turned to the decay of metaphysical conviction which accompanied the decline of the scholastic philosophy; or to the paganism, polite and corrupt in one, which rose with the new learning on

Italian soil; or to the gropings and the conflicts through which the Reformation fought its way to victory; or to the concrete examples of skeptical opinion, as the French skepticism of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, no one will be disposed to deny that the period under discussion, in this respect, as in others, comes under the general law.

But two things in the thought of the era always occasion surprise, and both point in the direction of the conclusion just announced. First, it is remarkable how many elements of mediævalism survive in the beginnings of modern reflection, and how long they retain their place therein. The difficulty of drawing a line between the Middle Ages and modern times has become almost proverbial; and the historian of opinion, even more than the historian of events, is forced to face it, as he finds his limit moving farther and farther on, until sometimes it seems as though our ancestors were half-mediæval down to the immediate forerunners of contemporary movements. It is not merely that, in the confusion of the period, especially of its earlier portions, a return was made to the ancient systems as a basis for positive thought, but that some of the later thinkers, including several considered specifically modern, side by side with their rejection of traditional principles retain remnants of that which they condemn. Lord Bacon, for instance, centers his inductive inquiry about the search for "forms," thus echoing the metaphysics of Aristotle, the great founder of deductive theory; and he believes, forsooth, that the new science had better begin with the "forms of simple natures," as "the forms of sense, of voluntary motion, of gravity and levity, of density, of tenuity, of heat, of cold," and the like, instead of turning with later scientists directly to the complex, though concrete phenomena around us. And Descartes, who starts from universal doubt, finds the antidote for doubt as well in the traditional reliance on the divine veracity as in his own more modern principle of self-consciousness, arguing the existence of the veracious God, the while, by proofs which betray a distinctly mediæval ancestry.

This feature in the thinking of the time, however, is less marked and less important than a second which remains to be

noticed—the rapidity and decision with which the leaders of the age go on from their negative to their positive work. Destruction is not completed before construction is begun. Or, more accurately, it is destruction which involves construction, at least if the era and its various phases be regarded in a large and comprehensive way. When the dogmatic faith of the old order is abandoned in favor of reason it is because reason now demands her rights as an authoritative guide, not merely because the two yield results of a conflicting kind. The handmaid of theology does not revolt in order that she may cease from her labors or relinquish her claims, but, to borrow the common phrase, in order that she "may set up a house of her own." The new science believes itself a better way of looking at the world substituted for one outgrown, even when it is not definitely associated with speculative doctrines. Consider the long line of natural investigators from Roger Bacon to Kepler and Galileo, or even to Boyle and Newton, and note how widely spread among them is the conviction that, in doing away with a fantastic system of speculation, they are replacing it by a positive study—sometimes they call it a philosophy—of the real world. Bruno and his Italian compeers astonish us by their strange mixture of modern naturalistic tendencies and æsthetic longings and recollections of ancient philosophemes. Kepler's discovery of the laws of planetary motion is described by a recent historian as "the outcome of his endeavors to find an exact foundation for his theory of the world;" * while, in a phrase which startles us by its anticipation of a famous watchword of the later time—though of course the resemblance is not to be pressed—Lord Bacon summons men back from the abstractions of the schools to the study of things themselves. But, perhaps, the most impressive example of this spirit is to be found in the mutations of theological opinion. Wherever we strike into the stream of religious change how plain it is that the movement is in fact a reformation of religious faith and practice, rather than an abandonment of them! Luther, the Augustinian monk, becomes the lion-hearted leader of reform. Mysticism is a subordinate trait in his character, if not, as some would have it, the main-

* Falckenberg. *History of Modern Philosophy*, p. 87.

spring of his religious experience. The movement, also, which this man heads is all aglow with fervor, pulsating with a deep spiritual life. Yet how impossible it is for either leader or Church to proceed without dogma! In the man the heroic temper takes on a dogmatic coloring until his insistence on a literal interpretation of the sacramental formula brings division on the cause and even personal alienation from his natural allies. The Church must have its doctrinal symbols; so gentle Melanchthon begins the task—a task continued by many successors, in many branches of the Protestant body, until the middle of the next succeeding century brings the great cycle of creed-formation to its close. Or, add to the creeds, in which the belief of the new Church found its symbolic expression, the more detailed work of the systematic theologians, and the question arises whether the superiority of the reformed faith does not reside in its basis and its content rather than in the formal rigidity which it assumed.

In general, then, this positive tendency becomes a distinctive mark of the period that intervenes between mediævalism and the modern world. The constructive spirit, indeed, was universal neither in time nor place, nor in the individuals and schools by whose activity the thought-movement was conducted. But the nature of the change itself, the conscious aims of the men of the time, the rapidity with which new forms of truth made their appearance, and the positive character of the new thinking when it had been begun—these indicate that in this epoch the balance of affirmation and negation was more decidedly in favor of the former than in almost any other similar age.

The negative tendencies in thought which marked the eighteenth century in Europe may be approached in two different ways. These movements may be discussed in the large, as they take their rise in Britain, as they extend their influence over France, as they find their echo on German soil; and thus the entire century be considered as a century of illumination divided into its English, French, and German developments. But, while it can scarcely be doubted that this way of looking at the subject is more just, as well as more comprehensive, than to concentrate attention on a part

of the whole, the alternative method will better serve the purpose of this discussion. Instead, therefore, of endeavoring to compass the entire movement in one general survey, we may follow the example of many historians and study the enlightenment as it culminates in France. Here the movement will be found modified through the influence of circumstances springing from the condition of the French nation at the time and through the introduction of elements dependent on the nature of the Gallic mind. But, as it is often these very characteristics that best repay inquiry, there need be no regret for either their existence or their prominence.

The causes of the French illumination are well known. The exciting impulses come from across the Channel.* Acquaintance with English governmental forms molds the political wisdom of Montesquieu. Voltaire is active in spreading the fame of Locke and Newton, as well as in securing acceptance for their fundamental ideas. Diderot translates the ethics of Shaftesbury. By many hands a potent religious ferment is introduced in the doctrines of the deistic school. And, once entered, these excitants find circumstances ripe for action; for the condition of the nation was such that it gave a fresh impetus to the forces of negation. The miseries of the financial situation; the gulf between the people and the court circle; the luxury in high places; the misgovernment and corruption in Church and State alike; the unbelief on the part of chief dignitaries in the ecclesiastical body, coupled with the repression of free inquiry—these facts do not need repetition; they may simply be mentioned as the legitimate conditions of the first of the distinctive features by which the thought of the age was marked.

This first characteristic of the movement may be described as the aggressive spirit of its leaders. It is not merely that their work was destructive, a general attack on the established order; for this was but one of the factors in the aggressiveness in question. Nor was it simply a determined assault on corruption, wherever it had grown into the organism of society. Such assaults have not been wanting in other eras of transition; for example, in the sixteenth century, when the

* Falckenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-245.

reformers endeavored to lop off the foul excrescences that were stifling the life of the Church, and Luther dealt bitter as well as vigorous blows after his allegiance to the papal organization had been shaken. But the hesitancy of Luther's approach to the point at which such acts of opposition became possible for him is a sign of the difference in temper between the men of his day and the protagonists of the eighteenth-century conflict. In how few of the latter is there evident any hesitation in throwing off the trammels of Church connection, or in revolting against established institutions! How nearly universal with them is a certain vindictive mood, which neither feels regret for that which has been discarded nor shrinks from mocking, from lampooning, from vilifying things by other men held sacred! It is not a crusade that these writers are engaged in, but an expedition against a pirate crew. Their enemy is not merely in error, he is an outlaw. In politics, it is revolt against tyranny; in letters, resistance of oppression; in religion the cry arises for the "destruction of the infamous." It is easy to recognize in the illuminati the spirit of men who have been jailed or exiled for their opinions, albeit their anger is sometimes accentuated by the peculiar nature of the sufferers; of men who have seen their writings put under the ban of the censorship; of men who have sympathized with poor wretches broken on the wheel for crimes falsely charged against them in the sacred name of religion. If it were not for the unworthy character of some of its exponents, it might almost be termed the spirit of France as she rouses herself for vengeance on a degenerate ruling class and a Church which stands athwart the course of modern progress while, corrupt at heart, it is incapable of accomplishing its practical tasks.

In part connected with their aggressiveness, in part due to other causes, was the satisfaction of the illuminati with their own theories. In revolting from accepted philosophical principles and political systems, as in rejecting the traditional faith, they felt implicit confidence in the results of the new thinking. Reason, in their view, was destined at once to usher in a better age of the world. Error was to disappear, and with error tyranny, the departure of the twin evils to be

followed by a universal deliverance from disorder in society and misery in the individual life. The nineteenth century, looking backward across the Revolution and the Terror, finds difficulty in realizing such naïve confidence, but in the minds of the men of the time it was indisputably real. Even when they reach conclusions destructive at once to accepted forms of thought and to the postulates of ethical and social life, they believe that they are simply removing obstacles to the highest development of the human spirit. Toward the close of the movement, when materialism, sometimes in most naked forms, has proved the outcome, they exult in the delusion that now at length the vagaries of the past have given place to the beneficent results of untrammeled reason. With as much delight as Voltaire had scourged the Church the later members of the school maintain the negative of every form of spiritual philosophy, of every elevated doctrine of ethics, of every least manifestation of positive religious belief. Baron Holbach, for instance, in his *System of Nature*, makes the discovery that it is religion which is responsible for all the discord, all the war, all the ignorance, all the misery, in short, of whatsoever kind, that has descended upon the human race. Then he descants complacently on naturalistic materialism as the source of all wisdom and virtue; until the reader is prone to believe that, since the time when Epicurus sought to sweeten human existence by relegating the gods to a life of inglorious ease apart from intervention in mundane affairs, there has hardly been a more gross misunderstanding of the facts of nature as well as of the needs of the soul.

In part this complacency, as already remarked, was conditioned by the bitterness of the spirit of revolt. In large measure, also, it was dependent upon other causes, of which the present opportunity permits the mention of but a few. Prominent among these was the influence of natural science, now become an organized system and exerting a normative force. Long ere this, it is true, science had shown its power to govern modern thinking. In the exchange of the mediæval for the modern spirit it had been potent, both in the sphere of method and by way of result. Bacon and the methodologists had set before the world the ideal of an accurate

and progressive acquaintance with empirical reality. Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and the rest had made discoveries of such scope and import as to revolutionize men's view of the natural universe. And yet, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or even in the first half of the seventeenth, the mechanical scheme of the world was far less advanced on its way toward completion than it was in the period of the Illumination, and far less compacted into a constructive force. In the later era, especially after Voltaire had introduced Newtonian principles into France, it played a foremost part in the development of opinion. Negatively, it undermined traditional views in every department of thought; on the positive side it stood ready with far-reaching implications of its own. The atomic theory of matter, the mechanical explanation of motion, the belief in the universal prevalence of law, the quantitative view of the world, the mathematical interpretation of the principles of its existence and its action*—these took their places, not merely as parts of a new science, but as constituent elements in a new philosophy. Now, add to them Locke's sensationalistic theory of knowledge; develop all with that mingling of consecutiveness, lucidity, and narrowness by which French thinking has been marked so often, and the result is a theory of the world and life very impressive to an age just breaking free from the constraint of long-accepted dogma and in want of a substitute for that which it rejects.

Moreover, in the France of the eighteenth century the materialistic tendency was furthered by its connection with great practical needs. A century and a quarter earlier Bacon had delighted in a vision of the good to accrue to man from the mastery over nature which comes alone from understanding her and from obedience to her ways. Now the encyclopedists labored to make the vision real, by placing the results of scientific inquiry at the disposal of agriculture and industry and commerce, in a word, at the disposal of the citizens of their native land. Diderot, as Mr. Morley tells us,† would spare no time or effort, if only he could make the great work more fit to aid in the economic recovery of the nation. Remembering his own humble origin, perhaps, and moved by compas-

* Falckenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57. † *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, chap. v.

sion for the suffering poor, this editor-in-chief would spend days in mastering the processes of some trade, or in securing a picture of some machine, that, later, in the printed book he might explain the useful art to the people, struggling under their financial burdens. And, whether or not the story be accepted that the enterprise made impression even on the king and the royal circle, when they discovered in the work the explanation of objects familiar to them in their daily life, it is certain that its adaptation to practical wants was a potent factor in its financial success. The case is similar also in regard to the entire movement which the *Encyclopedia* represented. For here the historian of opinion is face to face with a force that in the last one hundred and fifty years has exercised a prominent influence in the development of reflective thought—the needs and the demands of the proletarians, on the one hand, and the sympathy for them manifested by enlightened minds, upon the other. The industrial and economic condition of France, at the time, was such as to require the clearest exposition of scientific principles attainable, and their most definite application to concrete problems. This state of affairs reinforced the predilection of the illuminati for the results of scientific investigation. Hence, too, the leaders of the movement were more ready to accept the naturalistic theory of things for themselves, and found the lesser minds, to whom it was communicated through their labors, the more willing to give it a sympathetic welcome. So the benefits of the new science and the venom of the new philosophy went together into every part of France, nay, together they spread throughout Europe. The capital error lay in the assumption that such material could nourish minds and hearts, as well as serve the ends of physical existence. Yet even this error is half-comprehensible, if it be remembered how crucial the need then was for relief for the body, as well as for the soul, and how plainly the physical aid conflicted with much that had been believed essential to the spiritual life.

With these eras of transition and doubt the present age has often been justly compared. For, although the nineteenth century has brought some of the boldest construction ever known, the forces of denial have dominated the greater part

of its thinking, especially in the period from about the mid-century onward to the present day. The crisis in this era has, further, been acute, because of the multitude of conflicting tendencies which have entered in to confuse thought. For we are still moderns. The cycle which began with the *Renaissance* and the Reformation is not yet ended. In spite of the revolution which took place at the end of the eighteenth century men are still at work on questions come down from the time of Bacon and Descartes. The mechanical view of the universe presents its problems for the defenders of a spiritual philosophy and a positive religious faith. The questions concerning knowledge have not received their definitive solution, nor can they be passed over as the unimportant questionings of an outgrown stage of culture. Pantheism and atomism, monism and dualism continue to engage modern thought, under somewhat of the old inspiration, if not under the old leaders. As the century closes the Christian world resounds with the reformers' question concerning the seat of authority in religion. Moreover, the thinker of to-day is not only involved in the stream of modern thought as a whole, but he is embarrassed by the fact that the breaking up of the last century was not brought to its term. Hume lives on in the empiricism of the first half of this century, in Britain, and the agnosticism of the generation just closing in many quarters of the world. In Germany, it is true, the negation of the eighteenth century was overwhelmed by the constructive systems with which the early decades of the nineteenth were filled. But these, in turn, fell so decisively before the onslaught of the empirical and historical sciences as to throw men back on the difficulties, sometimes back on the solutions, which Kant and Hegel and Schleiermacher believed they had forever put away. While this phase ended and recovery begun, it was discovered that there was left neither satisfactory system nor acceptable guiding principle for thought. It is evident, also, as the matter in part has been stated before in these columns,* that the age has its own particular problems, sometimes in the form of characteristic variations of older questions, sometimes of specifically new developments. There is the marvelous

* "The Return to Faith," by the writer, *Methodist Review*, January-February, 1896.

advance of physical science, with such discoveries as that of the conservation and correlation of energy, and such theories as the principle of evolution conceived as a world-law; there is the growth of the historical spirit and the application of the historical method to the question of origins, in particular to the origin of religion; there is the development of critical inquiry, especially in relation to the documentary records of Christianity; there is the progress of democracy, not only in its revolutionary, but also in its socialistic and anarchistic, phases—and all press on the thinker of to-day with questions as imperiously demanding answers as the answers are difficult to give. Our task is harder than that of our fellows in other times, for we are burdened with a double load. We are trying to do two days' work in one; we are struggling with difficulties inherited from the past and with new perplexities of our own.

One effect of this confusion is a certain mingling of parties, or even of conflicting elements, within the limits of a single system. Most nearly pure, perhaps, is that phase of thought which is termed positivism or agnosticism. Arguing it impossible to make any rational decision concerning transcendent questions, and by profession, at least, holding the results of science true in the phenomenal sense alone and subject to constant revision, this form of thought claims to confine its conclusions to the region of strictly verifiable truth. Nevertheless, a moment's reflection will convince the student of the history of opinion how far removed these views are from those earlier types of thinking with which it is natural to compare them. Take the positions of the late Mr. Huxley, for example, and compare them with the doctrines of Protagoras or Gorgias, not to say the theories of Pyrrho and his followers, and it will appear that the difference between the skepticism of the Greeks and the agnosticism of to-day is measured by the extent of that imposing edifice of predictable fact and verifiable law which nowadays is called, preeminently, science. For, at its lowest terms, the negation of the time includes so much of affirmation as is contained in the belief in a science of phenomena. But the possibility of making scientifically tenable assertions of any sort was denied by the ancient skep-

tics. Fact which, by definition, should be fact for more than the time, the place, and the individual in the given circumstances, was rejected out of hand; much more would the assumption of a body of phenomenal uniformities of existence or of action have gained their utter condemnation. The contrast, further, becomes more striking if we turn from the dubitative forms of agnosticism to the dogmatic views with which they stand in close association. For, the restriction of the conclusions of inductive investigation to their phenomenal interpretation is apparently as difficult as the restriction of agnostic views concerning the transcendent world to a mere not proven. On the one hand, consciously or unconsciously, science tends toward the erection of its principles into a metaphysics of the sensible world; on the other, it is often felt that this proposition is best introduced by an agnostic preamble concerning supersensible reality. Thus, contemporary opinion issues in one of the most surprising combinations in the history of human thinking—a dogmatic science of the finite joined in ill-assorted union with a denial of the possibility of knowing aught of absolute truth.

And yet these inconsistencies in the spirit of the age are among its most significant characteristics. Rightly understood, they throw light on the forces which control the thinking of the present and yield prophetic hints for the progress of the future. For they reveal beneath the currents of nineteenth-century doubt the presence of positive forces making for new construction. The probability of this inference is increased by the existence of analogous phenomena in the moral and spiritual temper of contemporary skepticism. The distinguished author of *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt** has called attention anew to the dissatisfaction of the time with its own unbelief and to its ingrained moral earnestness as signs of promise for a new generation. And the prophecy appears well grounded, since moral earnestness and spiritual longing are not characteristic of negative movements when the tide is at the flood, but appear with the leaders who arise to stem the current and turn men's thinking into healthier channels. A Socrates, a Thomas à Kempis, a Pascal, a Rous-

* *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, by Henry van Dyke, D.D., pp. 22–40.

seau, a Kant—thinkers of this order for the most part come upon the scene to lead an age grown weary of its doubting back to the more stable foundations of ethical and religious life. But the writer would fain go further, and find in the ethical spirit of recent skepticism not merely the reaction against doubt's practical effects, but an element in the thinking of the time which lifts it to a nobler level than the majority of the transitional eras which have preceded it. At least among thinkers of the English-speaking races there is in this age a moral seriousness, sometimes a religious spirit, which favorably distinguishes them from the doubters of other days. John Stuart Mill, and Spencer, and Huxley, and Leslie Stephen, and John Fiske—not now to speak of the poets and the novelists of doubt—how superior they rise to Hume with his cynic sneer, or even the complacency of the deists. Nor is the conclusion destroyed by the fact that the moral systems and the religious doctrines of our free-thinkers rest on foundations hitherto considered insufficient to support the spiritual edifice. On the contrary, the discordance between premise and conclusion, as previous ages have construed the argument, is the best proof of the truth at large. It shows the case in regard to the matters of the spirit akin to the situation in the affairs of the mind. Here, also, the age enjoys an inheritance which delivers it from the utter negation of earlier eras. Here, as before, there is a constructive tendency, deeper than all doubt, impelling men to seek a new basis for the life of the spirit, so soon as they suspect the old is broken down. Here, finally, in faith and morals, as in knowledge, the outlook is more hopeful because of the signs that this positive impulse is extending its beneficent work beyond the meager, sometimes even grotesque, results in which at first it issued. Thus, the present generation may count itself happy that its lot is cast in a time when the fiercest stress of nineteenth-century skepticism is already overpast. Still happier they, to come after us, who shall share in the joyous dawning of the new constructive age!

A. C. Armstrong, Jr.

Art. VIII.—A GERMAN SAPPHIRE.

In a forgotten library corner, among many musty tomes, we found a book, not long ago, entitled *Humoristische Abende.* Over twenty-five years ago it had been read with much interest. Beginning to wonder if English-speaking people had ever heard of the author, an examination of cyclopedia and dictionary revealed no clew. The *Britannica* was silent; Webster and Worcester knew him not. No one outside of his own country seemed to have heard of him; and not a line or reference was to be found concerning him anywhere.*

In name he was Moritz Gottlieb Saphir. Like Franz Liszt, the most distinguished pianist of his age, he was a Hun in nativity. Yet, while all have heard of Liszt, few, if any, have heard of Saphir, though he was the greatest wit of his times. He was born in Lovaz Bereny, a little Hungarian village, February 8, 1795, of Jewish parents. The origin of Jewish family names is little known. His father's name was at first Israel. An order was given by the authorities that every Jew must adopt some family name, besides the many and consequently confusing cognomens of Moses, Aaron, Levi, Jacob, Israel. When Saphir's father asked the judge what name he should take the judge pointed to an heirloom he wore on his finger, a ring set with a large sapphire, and said, "Call yourself Saphir." This he did, and so Israel and his son became Saphirs. The childhood of Moritz was uneventful, except as he comically describes an early love at ten, and an early application of the double rule found in the *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, "lickin' and larnin'."

He was intended, like many others of his race, for a commercial career, his father being a small farmer. In early youth he knew no German. Sent to Prague, principally to learn the Talmud, he published two poems in Count Festeti's *Pannonia.* This was his first public effort, and decided his future path in life. He soon learned to depend on himself. After a brief residence in Vienna he was banished in the year 1824. To Berlin his steps were next directed. Here his publication of

* A brief sketch of him appears in *Appleton's Cyclopedia*, and his name occurs also in the biographical list of the *Standard Dictionary.*—Ed.

two comic papers, the *Schnell Post* and the *Courier*, in 1826–29, caused him much unpleasantness, because of his constant puns and sallies on prominent people, politicians, plutocrats, aristocrats, and others. He went next to Munich. There similar enterprises were conducted by him. In 1830 his path led to Paris. Here in 1832 he became a convert to the Protestant faith. In 1834, returning to Vienna, the publication of his principal paper, the *Humorist*, was begun, and was continued by him as editor and publisher until his death. From 1850 he published annually a humoristic popular almanac. He died September 6, 1858, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His writings were voluminous, a partial list being appended.*

In Saphir wit had its best illustration. English wit is, like the English people, heavy, solid, at times stolid. French wit is light and sparkling. American wit, like all else with us, is still in a formative period. We have done something in producing poets, philosophers, artists—as much as we could. In humor a very little has had to satisfy the desire for it. We need wit, humor, sarcasm as we need salt or pepper. What we want is refinement of jest and insinuation. From the days of Artemus Ward to those of James Whitcomb Riley it is much the same. We are improving. Most of our humorists have a due sense of moral responsibility, Mark Twain being one of those in doubt. Our humor has mostly for its subject persons and things, rather than truths and thoughts. Even the immortal Lincoln, though not a professional wit, shares his fondness of stories with Bill Nye and Sam Jones. Our wit is based mainly on the imitation of dialect and other grotesque idiosyncrasies. The four points of the compass furnish almost all the woof and warp of our funny fabrics. Of two hundred and fifty-two recitations recently published, ninety-seven were humorous, all in dialect form. Brogue and provincialisms are the staples. What we need is to play more on thought, less on matter. But Saphir furnishes us better ideals. He found very much of that which we criticise in the English. "The

*1832: Four volumes of collected writings. 1833: Three volumes of latest writings (Stuttgart). 1834: *Foolish Letters.* 1838-41: *Ladies' Library.* 1846-73: *Flying Album: Recitations*, 2 vols. 1852: *Conversational Lexicon, Wit and Humor.* 1853: *Humoristic Evenings*, 2 vols., (Leipzig); also *Wild Roses*, poems. 1855: *Letters from Paris.* 1855-56: *Blue Leaves of Wit, Humor, Satire.* 1855-56: *Art of Wordplay and Wordwit.* After his death, in 1864-65 a selection of his complete works was published in ten volumes.

German wit," he says, "moves like a heavy transfer wagon slowly along; the French, like a phaeton." He was able to transfer his wares so quickly that slowness disappeared.

A poet, the sentiments Saphir expressed will abide. The specimen given will convey some idea of the delicacy of his thought. It lacks, like most of his poems, a superscription. It tells its own story:

I love the rose, when first she breaks
  Her bonds of green asunder;
And no one says, and no one asks,
  Does she love thee, I wonder?

I love the star, I gaze on her,
  I long to draw her near me;
And no one says, and no one asks,
  Dost think the star will hear thee?

I love the spring, when forth she comes
  With lilac flowers and verdure;
And no one says, and no one asks,
  Will spring return thy ardor?

I love, I love the sweet wild rose,
  A thousand songs I sing her;
And yet I ask not e'en myself,
  Does she love thee, O singer?

These stanzas appear in his volume of poems entitled *Wild Roses*. Here also is the inversion of a popular poetic proverb. Under his portrait—he was very homely, and also small-pox pitted—intended as a present for a lady friend, he wrote, "Virtue for a day, beauty alway."

His philosophic sayings, in poetry or prose, are tender, strong, true. "A great talent," he says, "is like a paper kite. The higher it rises the more street gamins gather to bring it down." An old bachelor, his appreciation for true womanhood is discerning, remarkable, ideal. He says:

Every writer should first read what he intends to publish to a spiritual, sympathetic woman. A woman's heart is the only judgment throne of manly deeds, her intuition the only criterion of poetic productions. Her reddening is the fireproof, her smiles the goldproof, her tears the waterproof, of truth. The sensations of men's hearts are only translations from the female heart, which have lost much by the process. Women's hearts contain the history of love, men's hearts its fable. In a woman's heart

fidelity is an edition of the same love. In men's hearts it is a strained continuance. Women's hearts press, even out of the fallen leaves of love, tears of remembrance and the oil of friendship; men throw them into a vase to perfume a room.

Regarding the soul he says: "Time is a great chain bridge between this and the other shore. The body pays toll here, the soul yonder. While on this bridge we are thrown hither and thither. Because of this motion foolish people think the two shores move." Of woman he speaks in still another place as follows:

We call woman the weaker vessel. If coarseness, physical strength, larger bones are power, yes. But if patience, endurance, strength of character—and these she carries as glittering gold upon her soul's wings—who is the weaker vessel? Men in luck pour a bottleful of champagne down their throats; when in ill-luck they put a bullet through their brains. A woman has a tear in fortune, a prayer in misfortune. Which is the weaker vessel? A man loses his honor and expects to recover it through a pistol shot, like a sleight-of-hand performer; when a woman loses hers both sexes condemn her. Which is the weaker vessel? Men love from instinct, and are jealous from vanity. Women love from sympathy, and are jealous because they love. Which is the weaker vessel?

It is difficult, as is evident, to translate Saphir's words without the loss of flavor. Many of his sayings depend on the twist of the Teutonic tongue. Others, however, are translatable. The following, we trust, will be found renderings, not rendings. At his *soirées*, over the cloak room, the guests read, "Here doff overcoats and shoes, hats and umbrellas, prejudices and rank." Another saying is, "Three sleep peacefully—a child, a dead man, and a watchman;" and another, "We treat men like books, tag their titles to their backs." A young poet sent him an ode addressed to immortality. He returned it with this indorsement, "This package will never reach its address." Once he argued with some friends on the meaning of a Greek passage, and insisted that it was only necessary to change the interrogation point. A little hunchback present, but not of the company, broke in with, "Do you know what that is?" "O, yes," came the answer, "a little crooked thing that asks."

His popularity, while general, at times depended on the composite character of the company. Two ladies were once discussing his merits. One said, "He is, admit it, monstrously

witty." The other rejoined, "You mean he is a witty monster." To illustrate this to a homely young lady he said: "It is true you are ugly. But then you are smarter by far. Go look in the glass, and see how smart you are." While stopping at a certain place the manager of a theater, noted for his want of sense, said to Saphir, "Strange that my legs go to sleep every day." "Not at all," said Saphir; "are they not always in your company?" In a theater two were discussing the latest work of a certain writer. Said one "'Work?' Call, it a piece." Saphir, being appealed to, said, 'You are both right; call it piecework."

As a player on words he has never had his equal in any tongue. A specimen or two: "Medicine certainly brings much light into the world, for by it humanity has been lightened much." While living in Berlin he sat, one beautiful Sunday afternoon, in front of Krantzler's noted resort. Multitudes of well-dressed people were passing on their way to the thiergarten or zoo, among them many handsome Jewesses. A stranger, both to the city and the humorist, sitting near by said, "I suppose this is the *élite* of Berlin?" "No," came the response, "only the Isra-elite."

His work is enduring. As long as the German is a living tongue his name will live, and longer. The influence of German literature—loved by such men as Carlyle, who owes to his appreciation of it very much of his literary acumen—is destined to grow. And it has produced at least one great wit. Whatever may be the particular claims of Milton, Shakespeare, Byron, and Burns as poets, or of Bacon, Locke, and Mill as philosophers, Saphir was poet, philosopher, and wit in one.

Adolf Hoffmann

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

NOTHING seems to us more practically important to be remembered than the proper, natural, and necessary function of the will in matters of faith and in the religious life. In order to a successful and prevailing ministry the minister must bear it in mind, and individual Christian living can be vigorous and victorious only by calling upon the will to put forth its power in its proper place. We simply draw attention to this justifiable and indispensable function, and note how well its importance has been recently illustrated and enforced in Professor James's volume entitled *The Will to Believe*, in Jevons's *Introduction to the History of Religion*, and in Professor Bowne's *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, the last two of which are noticed elsewhere in this number of the *Review*.

THE CIVIL SERVICE REACTION.

THE most pronounced hostility in public life is not between any political parties, but between the reformers of political methods and the active politicians who call themselves practical men and their antagonist theorists. Neither class can see any good in the other, and their pictures of each other are caricatures. The theorists are mainly right in their ideas, and partly right in their condemnations. Their chief error is that of describing all politicians as if they were just alike, and all as bad as the worst are. The practical men make a more serious mistake when they characterize the theorists as fools and hypocrites, and add that these foolishly ambitious people never bring anything to pass. For, during the last quarter century, these impracticable and foolish persons have carried through several measures of high importance and have defeated several conspicuously popular candidates.

Among legislative victories of the theorists may be mentioned civil service laws, the Australian ballot, and primary election legislation. The three groups of enactment represent a large

body of law in the nation and in the States, as yet incomplete but far advanced enough to put opponents of such measures on the defensive. To this growing body of reform legislation a good deal must be added, such as new laws against corrupt practices. The theorist has in most instances displayed in his political career among us an extraordinary capacity for practical work and for successful campaigning.

It does not follow, however, that all theorists are right both in what they approve and in what they condemn; and a fair average of them are conceited and hypocritical—as other men are. The mere bandying of epithets across the line between politicians and reformers has no kind of utility. The reproaches from either side are merited—by some persons on either side. What the reformers seem to miss is a vast middle section in politics, a well-organized and officered body extending through both parties. The fate of any measures of importance will be decided in this middle section, which is practically wiser than the reformers and not less clean in purpose. The only real check which reform ever encountered was collision with this middle section. Civil service reform presents the most notable of such checks. There can be no doubt that a reaction is in full force this year. There are special causes for a reaction; a change of administration, with a crowd of aspirants for office, is the most obvious of these special causes. "Extensions" by a retiring president, and the giving of permanent tenure to many persons theretofore removable for political reasons has furnished another special odium against this reform.

Deeper than special causes is the real cause of reaction—the change has not been conspicuously beneficent. The beneficence exists, not unmixed with sordidness, but it is far less manifest than could be desired. That a few thousand clerks are changed or are not changed has no very large measuring in any case, and the negative aspect is least striking. Only a few persons among our millions have their eyes on the theater of operations. The citizen at large does not know that any great blessing is falling on the nation through a reformed civil service.

Begging the pardon of the ardent reformer, we must suggest that the reform is in the green stage as yet. Two very important lines are hardly yet drawn at all, and the success of the reform depends on these lines: (1) The line of responsible service. In the Chicago city government the question of responsibility

has been raised and hotly debated. If A is responsible for certain public work, how far can the public go in selecting clerks for him? Is there any responsibility in a head with no power over the hands? How much power over the hands must the head possess in order that the head may be fully responsible? There are few public offices where these questions are not asked. The securities for responsible administration must be ample and in full view. (2) The purpose of examinations is not always apparent. We borrowed the system from Europe, where the purpose of an examination is to select persons who are *admitted* to *offices to be taught*—to learn how to do public business. The examination is required simply to prove fitness to learn the trade. In our practice the examination is supposed to prove fitness to discharge the duties of an office. Now, unless the candidate has had experience in the work he is to do, no examination can establish his fitness. As a preparatory trial in a *novitiate* an examination is entirely appropriate; as a system of selecting servants in a country which has no novitiate order the examinations are justly criticised, if not justly condemned.

The great body of people heartily in favor of a tenure of office uninfluenced by political change occupies a critical attitude toward the methods of reform, and will continue in that attitude for a generation. Certain results of the movement will be practically secure. The spoilsman's field of operations will be limited, and trespass by him will be punished at the polls. The efficient public clerk will be more and more secure. The reform will not go backward; but it will be on trial until the lines of responsibility are clearly drawn and the purpose and nature of the examinations are clearly understood. The current reaction is not hostile to the theory of a sound civil service so much as it is a demand for clear light on the actual methods and for all possible improvements of system. It is a part of our fundamental political logic that responsibility must be defined and made as perfect as possible, that a government by clerks is not a possible American government, that fitness must be ascertained by some appropriate test. On all these matters the intelligent friends of a reformed civil service will court investigation and welcome improvements adapted to American circumstances. The matter has passed beyond the control of spoilsmen and "bosses." The actual critics are for the most part sincere friends of the reform.

A STUDY OF BEGINNING AND GROWTH IN RELIGION.

A RATHER new phase of university research is the study of the phenomena and processes of religious experience, undertaken by a Christian scholar, who intends making such investigations his work for life or for so long as they shall prove fruitful. The inquiries already made have received assistance from President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University; Professor Lillie A. Williams, of the New Jersey State Normal School; Dr. John Bigham, of De Pauw University; Mrs. E. D. Starbuck, and others. "The inquiry is undertaken in the belief that religious experience is the deepest, most sacred, and most important of life, and that collating a large number of facts will help much in understanding the laws of the spiritual life." In order to obtain personal testimony direct from a large number of individuals as to their experience in conversion, or any sudden awakening, a list of questions was sent out promiscuously as follows:

1. What religious customs did you observe in childhood, and with what likes and dislikes? In what ways were you brought to a condition to need an awakening—faulty teachings, bad associations, appetites, passions, etc.? What were the chief temptations of your youth? How were they felt, and how did you strive to resist? What errors and struggles have you had with, (a) lying and other dishonesty, (b) wrong appetites for foods and drinks, (c) *vita sexualis*; what relation have you noticed between this and moral and religious experiences? (d) laziness, selfishness, jealousy, etc.?

2. What force and motive led you to seek a higher and better life—fears, regrets, remorse, conviction for sin, example of others, influence of friends and surroundings, changes in beliefs or ideals, deliberate choice, external pressure, wish for approval of others, sense of duty, feeling of love, spontaneous awakening, divine impulse, etc.? Which of those or other causes were most marked, and which were present at all?

3. Circumstances and experiences preceding conversion—any sense of depression, smothering, fainting, loss of sleep and appetite, pensiveness, occupation disturbed, feeling of helplessness, prayer, calling for aid, estrangement from God, etc.? How long did it continue? Was there a tendency to resist conviction? How was it shown?

4. How did relief come? Was it attended by unnatural sights, sounds, or feelings? In what did the change consist—breaking pride, public confession, seeking the approval of others, feeling God's forgiveness, sudden awakening to some great truth, etc. How sudden was the awakening? Did the change come through or in spite of your own thought, deliberation, and choice? What part of it was supernatural or miraculous?

5. Feelings and experiences after the crisis—sense of bodily lightness, weeping, laughing, joy, sorrow, disappointment, signs of divine pleasure or displeasure, etc.

How differently did you feel toward persons, nature, ideas, God, etc.? Did you have unfulfilled expectations or disappointments?

6. Comparison of life before and after—changes in health, habits, motives, conduct, and in your general intellectual and emotional attitude. Did you undertake any private religious acts, as Bible reading, meditation, acts of self-sacrifice, prayer, etc.?

7. Were there any relapses from first experience? Were they permanent or temporary? Any persistent doubts? What difficulties from habits, pride, ridicule or opposition of others, etc., had you, and what methods did you adopt? Do you still have struggles in your nature? Does that indicate that the change was not complete? How have you and how will you overcome them? What needed helps, if any, were wanting at any time?

8. Did you always find it easy to follow the new life and to fit into its customs and requirements? If not, how did you succeed—by habit, pressure and encouragement of friends, a new determination, a sudden fresh awakening, etc.?

9. State a few bottom truths embodying your own deepest feelings? What would you now be and do if you realized all your own ideals of the higher life?

10. What texts, hymns, music, sermons, deaths, places, and objects were connected with your deepest impressions? If your awakening came in a revival meeting give the circumstances and methods used. What do you think of revivals?

11. If you have passed through a series of beliefs and attitudes, mark out the stages of growth and what you feel now to be the trend of your life.

To these questions enough persons responded to furnish one hundred and thirty-seven cases sufficiently complete and typical to furnish a basis for comparison and tabulation in order to discover what they had in common and in what respects they differed.*

Obviously a large number of cases is needed for any safe generalization. It took three years of continuous effort to accumulate, by means of the question list, materials for the present study. The character of the conclusions suggested to the investigators by the mass of testimony received may be partly judged from the following extract, which is here laid before the pastors of Methodism for consideration and criticism:

The differences between the male and female and revival and nonrevival cases lead to some definite inferences. In the first place, the custom of some religious bodies of working toward a distinct break in the life and a sudden awakening to a higher life is in line with something entirely normal in human nature, and which often comes spontaneously in the natural growth of the individual. Especially in the case of persons who have gone far astray, or who lack self-reliance and need

* Further aid is solicited from all persons who may be willing to sacrifice time and effort by writing out and sending to E. D. Starbuck, Clark University, Worcester, Mass., the conductor of these investigations, a brief, concise, and accurate statement of their experiences in conversion, under the questions in the above list.

the stimulus of outside influences to escape an imperfect way. For such instances the methods conventionally used seem altogether wholesome. It is a matter for the most serious consideration, however, how the helpfulness of the revival service can be kept and its disadvantages avoided. It is significant that of the whole number of cases studied only two or three of those who had been through revival experiences spoke in unqualified terms of approval of the usual methods employed. There were a few of the number who condemned them severely. There was a general deprecation of the emotional pressure usually exerted, and this coming from the converts themselves should be of value. We have seen that the average age of revival conversions is considerably less than the nonrevival, which shows they have been hurried. There is every evidence that many of them have been hastened unduly. Many were left out of the study because they had clearly been forced into compliance with what they were not ready intelligently to accept. They were pulled green and withered. It was especially true in the case of sensitive girls who were carried away by the excitement and afterward awakened to the fact that it was not a true experience. It is like pulling away the folds of a growing bud to disturb unduly the tender unfolding of religious nature. The greatest difficulty seems to be that the hardened natures who need the help of violent methods for restoration are the last to respond, and meanwhile much harm is done to those who are receptive and responsive to finer influences. Unless the person is ready for a change the results of hastening conversion are apt to be temporary and soon followed by relapse. We have seen that "backsliding" much more often occurs after revival experiences than after the others. The question is, How can we preserve the essential things in revivals and at the same time escape their evil effects? How can the uninterested be led to identify themselves with righteousness, and the wayward be reclaimed without harm to those who least need the influence of revival tactics? A few things are suggested by the study, which can only be most briefly hinted. People should be dealt with as individuals as far as possible instead of in masses. Still, the force of the ensemble should be preserved in furnishing the necessary stimulus to carry the "seeker" out of his slough. The higher motives should be appealed to more and the lower ones less. It is doubtless entirely out of proportion that one third of the subjective forces present at conversion were self-regarding (mostly fears), while the number of distinctively altruistic motives were only one third as frequent as the self-regarding. The lower ones should, of course, not be neglected. If a person has become an habitual transgressor of right it is not only pedagogical, but true to the facts of life, to bring him squarely to face the evil consequences of his ways, and to feel the awful authority of the moral and spiritual order. But conversion means unselfing, the entrance into a new life of insight and love, and the wise teacher will naturally hold up those incentives which are in direct line with the new life. If men were reached more on their God side the possibility of lifting them into a higher life would be greater and the results more permanent.

Another similar study is now being conducted by the same investigator as to the character of religious growth in cases not marked by abrupt beginnings or in periods free from sudden changes, and a list of questions suitable for eliciting the desired

information is ready to be sent to all who can be induced by the interest and importance of the matter to return answers to the inquiries. It would seem that many persons, laity and clergy, women and men, young and old, ought to be eager both to furnish for such a purpose in strict privacy (anonymously if preferred) the particulars of their experience, giving age, sex, temperament, church, and nationality, and also to obtain the tabulated results and justified conclusions of the investigation when completed. Such results and conclusions will be sent free upon request to all who answer the list of questions. These results are regarded in scholastic circles as of sufficient importance to be lectured upon in Clark University, Stanford University, and elsewhere.

EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE AND RECENT UNIVERSITY RESEARCH.

PROBABLY not all who read Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* perceived that his central aim was to substantiate from a new standpoint on the scientific side of things the reality of the religious life, and especially of its catastrophic feature, sudden conversion. The book grew out of his observation as an evangelist and his study of conversions in an evangelizing tour with D. L. Moody through the United Kingdom in 1873–74. Born, as it was, not in dreams, but in the heat of actual experiment and in contact with living facts, his book should have held some truth. Speaking a young man's fervent message to young men, he saw hosts of them converted under his appeals, as, in many cities, he summoned them to a personal friendship with Christ, which he set forth as the secret of a pure manhood and the inspiring power of a strong and beautiful life. Into the mind of this undergraduate, who had laid down temporarily his college text-books to be for the time a traveling revivalist, there flashed the conviction, while in the thick of the business of bringing men to spiritual awakening and renewal, that the reality of conversion, though scouted in the circles of scientific culture, is countenanced by laws which are familiar to science. Often he saw the spiritual life begin as if it were a new creation let down suddenly into the merely natural life, and yet it seemed not a violation of man's nature but a change wholesome, suitable, and necessary to his due development, harmonious with the natural and expected enlargements of life in

general. His fascinating and suggestive book was enthusiastic and extravagant, its arguments in part were inconclusive, its contentions were pushed to extremes; the light of biology is not so sufficient as he made it seem for an interpretation of man's spiritual life: but that beautiful book had a core of firm and solid truth; science, as well as philosophy, will be compelled to countenance conversion and various other stages of the spiritual life as a normal part of human nature's unfolding, and harmonious with the cosmic order as well.

A sacred interest attaches to certain recent studies in the psychology of religion conducted in and from Clark University, Worcester, Mass., on the assumption that the spiritual realm, as manifest in the moral nature of man, is a real world presenting phenomena susceptible of experimental investigation, with a view to ascertaining the regulative laws and underlying principles in accordance with which the due development of man's spiritual nature into a healthy and vigorous religious life proceeds. In the *American Journal of Psychology*, vol. viii, No. 2, appears an article entitled "A Study of Conversion," by E. D. Starbuck, which presents in tabulated form some results of an investigation conducted in the scientific spirit by scientific methods through inquiry and testimony, together with certain conclusions drawn therefrom. We infer that this special study appears as part of a general scheme intended to be, when finished, a complete examination of the facts of adolescence, or the development of the human being from infancy to maturity, that is, from birth to the age of twenty-five. The whole, when it shall appear, will be of absorbing interest to all serious-minded persons; but a careful scrutiny of the results already published in the article referred to is of immediate practical importance to all pastors, parents, Sabbath school teachers, and professors of pastoral theology. We doubt if any minister should enter upon his work for the coming autumn and winter without a thorough reading of the reprint of the above-mentioned article in pamphlet form.* Its contents will help to locate and define afresh for the pastor his present opportunity of saving souls, so that he may direct his efforts intelligently to results large and lasting.

Besides calling attention to this pamphlet and to the possible value of the systematic investigations of which it is a part, we

*This pamphlet may be obtained through mail from Edwin Diller Starbuck, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

wish to note that such studies are bringing confirmation to the soundness of evangelical doctrine; and particularly do they tend to show that John Wesley was a wise spiritual philosopher, as sagacious in psychologic discernment as in practical administration, having so fully the mind of the Master that he, too, correctly "knew what was in man," and so understood how to deal with men effectively for their moral transformation. Human nature was mightily moved under Wesley and Whitefield because their message was framed and their methods proceeded on a correct understanding of the human constitution, which accordingly responded instinctively to their intelligent and accurate touch.

It is not yet so widely known as it should be that the great evangelical revival was abreast of the most advanced European scholarship of that age. The Moravians in Germany and the Methodists in England were in the current of the most progressive philosophy, steering in one of the channels sounded and marked by Spinoza, Lessing, and Kant; steering away from the false and comfortless conception of a deity so external to the world, and outside the regular order of things, as to manifest his presence only by breaking in upon the normal order with signs and wonders, and steering into the deep, safe waters of the doctrine that God is present and known in the convictions and common experiences of the soul, and that the test of truth and the certification of reality reside in man's consciousness.

It is difficult for us to realize how offensive was the idea of conversion to the world of Wesley's day, in which the truth presented itself as something new. Even to many professedly Christian men of that time that strange doctrine seemed to deprive religion of all sanity, dignity, and decency. That God by his Spirit moved in the nature of man to lift it, all at once and as a whole, to a higher life, and to give it a new adjustment, a true orientation in relation to spiritual realities, was to the eighteenth century a fanatical notion, severely condemned and scornfully rejected by the prevalent philosophy, which leaned to the deistic conception of a distant, incommunicative, and uninterested God who heard no prayers, extended no care, and held no intercourse with men. To the general world of that day people who claimed that a revolutionary change had been wrought in their inmost nature, and attributed it to the presence and working of the Holy Spirit of God, appeared like fools or hypocrites. But as the great revival proceeded the genuineness of religious

awakening and moral transformation became so obvious to earnest men of philosophic acumen and spiritual insight that the divine reality thereof was presently accepted by the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists, as well as by not a few in the Established Church. Soon those religious bodies, which had descended from seventeenth century origins, found themselves unified in faith upon one common central doctrine which worked itself out naturally into considerable uniformity of practical method. Religion from being mainly institutional, if not merely formal, was revivified and intensely vitalized, and the minds of men were turned from reliance on priesthoods and sacraments to a quickening belief in a living God working immediately upon, or rather normally within, the human heart.

Not only is it a fact that the principles and teaching of the Wesleyan revival kept step with an advanced philosophy and were in harmony with the trend of the highest eighteenth century intellect in continental universities, but it is equally and even more interestingly true that the latest researches of scholarship in this year of our Lord 1897 confirm the soundness of Wesleyan doctrine. Whoever cares to learn may know that experimental psychology, standing on the threshold of the twentieth century, is reaching back to put its sanction on the principles and preaching of the eighteenth century's evangelical awakening, making it clear that Wesley, Whitefield, and their coadjutors discerned as by divine illumination the facts of man's inner nature and caught the secret of God's methods with the soul. It is not too much to say that evangelical doctrine subjected to modern critical investigation is shown to be scientifically sound, and that the experiences testified to as corresponding thereto and connected therewith are proven to be no pretense or delusion, but real; not tokens of a fevered imagination, but of health; not symptoms of hysteria, but of the normal progress of a necessary personal development. The latest psychology in the youngest university for original research teaches in effect that the multitudes who, in Wesley's day and under the same doctrines in later times, rejoiced over a change in their own nature were not ignorant, but in that matter at least were in advance of the general intelligence, and were no more fanatical than they who disapproved and ridiculed them were intelligent and wise. The further investigations which are proceeding or promised may have particular interest for us.

THE ARENA.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD JAPAN, RETROSPECTIVE AND PROSPECTIVE.

It is safe to say that a few years ago the Protestant Churches of America took more interest in Japan as a mission field than in any other country. The speedy evangelization of the mikado's empire was greatly desired and eagerly expected. Both the Church at home and the representatives on the field were full of enthusiasm. But a great change has taken place. Some hold that we have not room in our sympathies for more than one people at a time. Others affirm that the need is less, both because of the advance of the nation and of the progress of the Church. Still others regard the work as less hopeful than formerly. The appropriations of our General Missionary Committee fell off from $66,665, four years ago, to $48,576 last year. This we believe to be not so much the result of a lack of interest or an absence of hope as a necessity growing out of special conditions. The committee last year found itself unable by nearly one hundred and forty thousand dollars to appropriate as much for the general work as four years before. Only three fields received an advance over the year named, Africa, South America, and India. All of the others suffered. Would that the gifts of the Church had warranted an increase to Japan of eighteen thousand dollars for the quadrennium, rather than a decrease of that amount! We went to Japan in 1873 because it was felt that the people needed the Gospel, and because it was a promising field. Has Japan had its day? Is the golden age in mission work behind us? God forbid! The field was never more needy nor hopeful than to-day.

All who are not Christians are Shintoists, Buddhists, Confucianists, or, what is perhaps worse, indifferent to religion or skeptical. One in a thousand of the people are Protestant Christians, one in five thousand Methodists, and one in ten thousand Methodist Episcopalians. Since the World's Parliament of Religions we have heard much of the elevated teachings and influence of these faiths of the East. To be sure, there are excellent things in them all, but they cannot satisfy man as a moral and religious being. There is another side, which must be seen in daily life in the Orient to be appreciated. The Shintoists teach that the Japanese, being a moral people, need no moral law. But neither in Buddhism nor Confucianism are there the loftiest teachings, the highest motives, or the transforming power of Christianity. The Japanese, with all the peoples of the world, need the power and sweetness of the Gospel in this life and its blessed hope for the next. Compare the Buddhist doctrine of transmigration with the Christian doctrine of heaven, and then choose. We have the glad tidings. Are not many of us condemned by the words of the leper in the days of the awful

famine in Samaria who, when plenty had come to him, said to his fellows, "We do not well; this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace?"

The indifference and infidelity which are becoming more and more prevalent, especially among the educated classes, are a result of the departure from the old faiths, of the reading of skeptical literature from Europe, and of the world spirit which accompanies material prosperity. Those who know the situation can but feel greatly concerned. The failure of the old faiths to satisfy man's higher nature, the influence of modern science, together with the immorality of the Buddhist priesthood, which has brought it into contempt—all have had their influence in destroying the old and in making it difficult to substitute the new. Confucian agnosticism and Buddhist atheism have cooperated in preparing the soil for the skeptical writings of the West. Says Professor Henry Satoh: "In a soil already prepared by Confucian philosophy and Buddhistic atheism, and in a soil where there is more or less prejudice against Christianity, none can find a readier access than the theories of such classes of thinkers as agnostics, materialists, and skeptics of almost every description. There is a tendency to welcome anything and everything that is opposed to Christianity." We are not free in this country from the world spirit that follows business anxiety and prosperity, but should have fortitude to overcome it. But what should be said of a nation just coming out of heathenism? The new industrial Japan greatly needs the Gospel. The nation needs it badly and now.

Two things should especially encourage us, the progressive spirit of the nation and the results of missionary effort. I need not refer to the great advance which Japan has made. There is no other nation that has so astonished the world during the last quarter of this century. Some argue that in consequence they are able to take care of themselves. An official member of one of our churches in this country, when learning that I was to come home last year on furlough, advised me to leave with an idea of remaining in this country, on the ground that a nation that can fight as Japan did, in the war with China, is able to get along without missionaries. It takes more than the externals of civilization to make a Christian nation. From a purely intellectual standpoint the Japanese educational system is unsurpassed, but it makes adequate provision neither for the education of women nor for the moral training of both sexes. The progress that is being made should stimulate us to action and warn us against delay. In choosing a candidate for a scholarship it is natural to select a bright boy rather than a dull one. And it is natural for us to take special interest in a promising nation—not that all do not need our sympathy and help—because of the possibilities. The Japanese have certainly proven themselves worthy of our best effort. They are destined to be the English of the East. In industries and commerce they are to take a leading position. The influence of their civilization will not be confined to their own islands. What shall

it be? If the Bible is the secret of England's greatness, as her noble queen is reported to have said, then at this time when Japan is manifesting such an ambition it is our privilege to give her that which will truly exalt her and make her a power for righteousness. Rather than deter us from further activity her progress should stimulate us to greater effort. What we do must be done quickly, for the character of the new nation is being rapidly molded.

Again, the success which the Church has had and is having, notwithstanding all discouragements, should certainly inspire us. Who can even outline this in the space at my disposal? Compared with other denominations, the growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been phenomenal; and yet, if a recent writer is correct, it has taken twenty-five years to double the membership. In Japan, with everything against it, humanly speaking, the same has been done in the past ten years. To be sure, in this respect some missions have done considerably better. Yet not only have we doubled in numbers, but in presiding elders' districts, pastoral charges, native ministers, Sunday schools, and Sunday school scholars—that is, in round numbers. The type of member produced is also a most important factor in the future prosperity of the Church. I note briefly three things—intelligence, benevolence, piety. To be sure, we are not to neglect the poor and illiterate, and this has not been done. Methodism has a providential mission to such. But, in common with other denominations, an unusual proportion of our converts in Japan have come from the educated classes, which, as I have pointed out, are hard to reach. This is due to the work in our mission schools. Many of the Christian students have gone into the higher government schools, where John R. Mott, in his world tour, found them greatly interested in Christian work and in the great movement which he represents. Many are preaching, some teaching, and others are officers in the army and in other branches of the government. This means much in the way of Christian influence for years to come. Does such work pay? In gifts the native Church, in the period noted, has done even better. It has trebled and more in the amounts paid for pastoral support, quadrupled in benevolent collections, and increased nearly sixfold in the amounts contributed for current expenses and church and parsonage building. The work is better organized and equipped, and the native workers much more promising, both so far as intellectual and spiritual qualifications are concerned. There is a growing interest in spiritual things and an intense longing for an unusual outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Last year was marked by the presence of the revival spirit, both at the Conference and on the charges, and the future will certainly be glorious.

This is not the time to retrench or withdraw, but to reinforce strongly. The opportunities which are now ours will soon be gone forever. The evangelization of Japan is a possibility in this generation, if the Church will do her duty. At present rates, however, it will take a

century, and it is not impossible that the type of piety may be greatly affected by the delay. Much has been done, but "there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." As was the case with Palestine, when these words were uttered by Joshua, some of the territory has been only partially occupied and much not at all.

Kingston, Pa. HERBERT B. JOHNSON.

NOVELS AND SERMONS.

IN the August *Bookman* Clement K. Shorter points out the fact that the Victorian literature has been preeminently "a literature of the pulpit, . . . always moral." By which he means that it has always preached. "Wordsworth, we know, was ever a prophet; Coleridge —why everyone knows the story of Lamb, when asked by S. T. C. if he had ever heard him preach, retorting, 'I have never heard you do anything else.'" And our writer goes on to show that nearly all the great authors of the Victorian epoch, especially the novelists, have been dominated by some moral purpose.

It has often occurred to us that, in fact, a good novel and a good sermon are much alike. Both are distinctively works of art—in their highest types, of creative art. They must each have a plot or plan, not too discernible, but distinctly marking a beginning, a middle, and an end. They must begin somewhere and arrive somewhere, and that arrival, to be successful, must be forceful and dramatic.

The writer of a novel and a preacher of a sermon are unlike the author of a scientific treatise or a lawyer making his plea before a jury. The scientist and the lawyer have the facts with which they are to deal provided for them, and imagination and invention have little to do in determining either the matter or the form of their discourse. But the preacher and the novelist have the whole universe from which to choose their themes, and imagination is a prime factor in their treatment. The scientist and historian may be said to speak of particular facts; the preacher and novelist, of general human facts.

The novelist and the preacher must alike speak true to the general features of human nature. While debarred in most forms of fiction and of the sermon from speaking with perfect exactness of particular historic individuals, yet the treatment of universal human phenomena must have such verisimilitude that each hearer or reader feels it to be essentially correct. The preacher or the novelist most appeals to us who makes his supposed instances most natural.

Sermons and novels must be interesting in order to succeed. With scarcely any other form of literature is this absolutely necessary. A book of law, or science, or reference, or history may be dry as dust, and yet answer all the purposes of its creation, while the preacher and the novelist must charm while they instruct, or their work is futile. The element of human interest is absolutely indispensable.

Is there not, then, good reason why a minister should study the great masters of fiction? By catching the secret of the successful novelist's art may he not learn the need of cultivating his own invention and imagination and of infusing a vital human interest throughout his sermons? No one, in fact, can be a moving and powerful preacher who has not in him in many respects the elements of the successful writer of fiction.

J. C. JACKSON.

Columbus, O.

THE PRESENT OUTLOOK FOR MISSIONS IN CHINA.*

To every foreigner resident in China who has an open eye to the course of events it is apparent that a great change is taking place in the attitude of the Chinese, and particularly of the official classes, toward missionaries and their work. Whereas formerly the mandarins were almost altogether contemptuous or else actively hostile, many of them are now looking to missionaries as a possible means of help and benefit to their country. Here and there, it is true, a man is still found who shows the old spirit of proud superiority and antagonism, but such men are becoming fewer, and their influence is evidently declining. In saying this we must not be understood to suggest that the officials are at all desirous that Christianity may spread and triumph. It is extremely probable that, with rare exceptions, they are more or less indifferent with regard to the Gospel and the Church. But they recognize that Western peoples have both knowledge and power, in which China is sadly lacking, and they look to the missionaries with something of the feeling with which the impotent man at the gate of the temple looked to Peter and John. They hope to receive something from the missionaries, but have little inkling of the true character and magnitude of the blessing which these bring in the name of Jesus Christ.

With the masses of the people it is different. The missionaries have now for many years been in close contact with them over a large part of the empire. Consequently they better appreciate the true object of the many-sided activity of the Christian Church, and their quickened interest must be regarded as, in a very considerable degree, an interest in Christianity itself.

The signs of these two movements, the one among the officials and *literati* and the other among the people, are manifold. Mention may be made of some of the most important and striking. (1) The increase in the number of inquirers and converts is extraordinary. In Fukien province, and in the very neighborhood of the massacre of 1895, no less than twenty thousand inquirers presented themselves last year in

* The above communication from Dr. Stevens was received after the writing of a somewhat similar article in our "Missionary Review" department. As the testimony of a qualified observer in the midst of the movements he describes it is a valuable confirmation of the statements to be found on pages 814-816.—ED.

connection with the three missions working there. Of these some five thousand have been accepted for Church membership. Dr. Griffith John, who has been laboring in Hupeh for thirty-five years, says that the increase of the last few months is unprecedented, and that the character of the converts is such as to inspire confidence. Similar statements might be made of other provinces, notably Shantung and Manchuria. Even in Hunan, the most bitterly antiforeign of all the provinces, there are now at least two devoted companies of Christians. (2) The demand for Bibles and Bible portions, as well as for Christian books and tracts, shows a remarkable advance. The American Bible Society circulated last year no less than 396,088 copies of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, and of these only some two per cent were donated. The sales of the British and Foreign Bible Society and of the National Bible Society of Scotland have also been phenomenal. The enlarged success of the tract societies can be no more than named here. As an indication of what they are doing it may be stated that the Central Society, working from Hankow, circulated last year nearly a million and a half of their publications. Other and kindred societies, such as the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, and the Educational Society of China, have also felt the sweep of the flowing tide, and have contributed not a little to its force and volume. (3) Medical and school work are now in high favor. In some instances officials of the highest rank have appealed to the missionaries to aid them in establishing institutions for the instruction of Chinese youth in Western knowledge, and many of the mission schools are crowded.

If it is asked by what means this great and significant change has been brought about, the answer is plain. In the good providence of God the late war with Japan was made a potent agency in opening the eyes of the ruling classes to the weakness and need of their country. Much of the prejudice and opposition of former years have been disarmed by the influence of Christian literature, the beneficent and self-denying work of missionary physicians, the teaching in Christian colleges and schools, missionary interviews with mandarins, and, not least, the pure and devoted lives of missionaries and their families.

The Christian Church has a great and effectual door opened of God in the China of to-day. True, there are many adversaries still in the land. It is perhaps not improbable that there will yet be many days of trial and persecution, both for foreign workers and native Christians, in some parts of this wide field. But, notwithstanding, the times may be said to be ripe for a more earnest and more aggressive effort on the part of the Church. A truly magnificent opportunity is now afforded well-equipped Christian physicians, teachers, and preachers. Will not the Church hear the voice of God in the present condition of affairs, and send forth and sustain such laborers as are needed for the ingathering of the Lord's harvest in China? The country has long been known as the Celestial Empire. To Christian eyes it is manifestly ruled, not by its rightful

King, but by the prince of darkness. Now is the time when an unparalleled opportunity is afforded the Church to bring the kingdom of God near to the people, through the manifestation of the truth.

Shanghai, China. JOHN STEVENS.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

REV. J. WALLACE WEBB in his criticism, in the July-August *Review*, of my contributed article on the above subject, quotes extensively from John Caird's *Philosophy of Religion*, in defense of his position that the essence of religion lies in feeling, and with the impression that Dr. Caird's view is identical with his own. I wish simply to call attention to a fact which my critic has evidently overlooked. Not a sentence of these quotations represents Dr. Caird's own view. They are all taken from pp. 157-160 of his book (Macmillan and Company, 1894), where he states at length the position that the essence of religion lies in the feelings, *preparatory to refuting it.* This he does in the pages immediately following.

Stamford, Conn. FRANK W. CROWDER.

THE ATROCITIES OF THE CUBAN WAR ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOSAIC LAW.

STEPHEN BONSAL, who has been an eyewitness of the Cuban war, has written an article on that subject which appears in the May number of the *Review of Reviews.* In it he says: "Perhaps after our delay, our inactivity which has permitted atrocities to be committed and a policy of extermination to be enforced which is without a parallel in modern history, and a war to be waged according to the Mosaic law almost within our borders, . . . we must admit that if six months ago we had a character to maintain as a nation in the vanguard of the powers of civilization and of humanity, we now have that character to redeem." The Israelites under Moses's leadership looked forward to exterminating wars, but this was because the nations which they were to dispossess had corrupted themselves till "the cup of their iniquity was full," and sparing them would have involved the hopeless contamination of Israel. The command of extermination came from Jehovah. It was severe. But who can affirm that the moral preservation of the Israelites, sufficient to enable them to fulfill the mission for which they were chosen, did not require it? When a nation reaches a certain degradation who can say that extermination is not a mercy even to the nation exterminated?

The mode of extermination, under the Mosaic law, was by the edge of the sword. But in Cuba, according to Mr. Bonsal, it is the cruel process of starvation. He informs us that some of the Cuban women who are taken captive are reserved by the Spaniards for evil purposes. The Mosaic law made this a capital crime and punished it as such. Our eyewitness of the Cuban war tells us that certain men who were shut up to starve were permitted at their request to go out into the fields under

guard to dig roots, and that four of these men, while thus engaged, were shot in the back by order of the sergeant, the others being frightened back to their starving families by this breach of good faith. Joshua was the first and great interpreter of the Mosaic law of warfare. Shortly after he entered Palestine with his army the Gibeonites came to him, representing that they lived in a distant land and desired to make peace with him. Accordingly, Joshua "made a league with them to let them live." Their deception was soon discovered, but this Israelitish general, out of respect for his covenant, still spared their lives. I cannot see how this resembles shooting men in the back who have been allowed in pretended good faith to dig roots for their starving children.

Where in the Mosaic law can a syllable be found that sanctions the torture of enemies? To say that the war Mr. Bonsal has described is "waged according to the Mosaic law" is nothing short of blasphemy. It is an insult to the commonest scholarship. An insinuation which shows such disregard for truth does violence to pagan morals, to say nothing of the ethics of Christian civilization. The only explanation my charity allows me to give for such a paragraph in the *Review of Reviews*, without a correcting note by the editor, is that it escaped his notice.

Seward, N. Y. M. J. Ostbyee.

ON REFORM AND CONVERSION.

A correspondent of this department makes a great mistake, I think, in his use of the word "conversion." Too many preachers make the same mistake. Religious teachers ought to be careful in the use of words; and I am surprised that anyone should imagine a difference to exist between "reform" and "conversion," which is one and the same thing.

There is a difference between "reform" or "conversion" and "regeneration." Confusion must be created in the minds of hearers by the improper use of these words. They are not synonymous, but complemental, and differ essentially. I think that Ezek. xi, 19, 20, shows a clear distinction between regeneration and conversion, or reformation. God gives man a new heart; that is regeneration. The man then walks in God's statutes and keeps his ordinances; that is conversion. Regeneration is internal, a work wrought in us; conversion is external. The work in us is hidden, except as manifested by the outward life of the regenerated man. Regeneration is the birth from above; conversion is the walking of the regenerated one in the new life. It seems to me that the distinctions in meaning are so clear that no one need make a mistake concerning the use of these terms. Let us keep the distinction clearly before our hearers. A man may reform without regeneration; but regeneration crucifies the "old man" with his deeds, buries him into the death of Christ, and raises up a new man to walk in the newness of the life that is in Christ. A regenerated man will be converted and torn from his former sinful life to a life of faith in the Son of God. C. R. Rice.

Baldwin, Kan.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC PRAYER.

It is one of the complaints often made against ritualistic Churches that they place too much emphasis on the service. On the other hand, it is charged against nonritualistic Churches that they neglect the service and give excessive importance to the sermon. Perhaps both charges are partially correct. The ritualists have undervalued the sermon, and hence have not cultivated preaching to the extent to which it has been done in nonritualistic Churches. On the other hand, many Protestant Churches have overvalued the sermon, and have apparently regarded the other parts of worship as relatively unimportant. It is worthy of note, however, that many individual churches are enlarging the liturgical part of their services. Indeed, the Methodist Episcopal Church as a body is making marked strides in this direction, as shown by the order of worship enacted at the late General Conference.

There is one part of the service of Protestant Churches which is often undervalued, namely, the prayer. And yet, what can be more important? The people are gathered together for worship. Preaching is an essential part of church service, but not all-important. It is true that the Saviour's primary command was, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." But the accompaniment of preaching has ever been prayer. The ability to pray in fitting words, and with power, is not always coincident with the ability to preach. We have known men of fine scholarship and choice literary style and real piety who seemed to hesitate, even to the extent of awkwardness, in their prayers. On the other hand, men whose ability to preach has been inferior have been wonderfully effective and felicitous in their approach to the throne of grace.

It is not of prayer, however, as such that we are now writing, but of public prayer as a ministry of blessing to the people. By public prayer we mean those prayers which are offered by the minister in his official capacity. There is the prayer which ordinarily precedes the sermon. In this prayer the minister is not speaking for himself only; he is the mouthpiece of the congregation. It is becoming, therefore, that he gather up and summarize in the compass of a few minutes the needs, the aspirations, and the hopes of his people. For the time being he is the embodiment of a whole congregation, and is, as it were, their voice, approaching the eternal throne. The dignity and the importance of his position cannot be overestimated. In order that such a prayer may be appropriate he must, as it were, enter into their feelings by a study of their condition, and must put in fitting words those things which he recognizes as the heartfelt expressions of his people. Who would

engage rashly in such a service? Who would undertake to voice without premeditation such lofty aspirations? Only a bold man would venture to approach the sacred presence, under such circumstances, thoughtlessly and carelessly. The usefulness of fitting prayers on such occasions is very great, and many people have gone from the house of God realizing that the prayer has been to them more effective than the sermon.

Another occasion of public prayer is found in dedications of churches and in the inauguration of great enterprises. At such times it is customary to invite some one to offer a prayer appropriate to the occasion. To be able on such an occasion to present before the throne of grace the interests under consideration in words that are fitting, and with emotions that are sincere, is a gift which ought not to be undervalued. One who can do it properly has a great means of usefulness.

Another form of public prayer is that which takes place at the bedside of the sick. It is the special prerogative of the ministry to visit the sick and to administer the consolations of religion in hours of trouble. It often happens that there can be no personal converse with the sufferer, and the only way of administering consolation to him and of securing divine blessings for him is in prayer. Here all the power, ability, and delicacy of taste and appreciation which belongs to the ministerial office are called into requisition. It is to be feared that preachers, especially young preachers, do not appreciate at its full value the importance of this part of their duties. It is a great thing to be the mouthpiece of a sufferer—one perhaps rapidly approaching the end of life—in the presence of God. To pray in such a manner as to be true to one's self and true to the sufferer and true to God is as much a test of ministerial preparation as to preach a sermon on some important occasion.

Another occasion of public prayer of the utmost importance is the prayer at funerals. This involves the delicacy of taste, as well as the fullness of treatment, which belongs to ordinary public prayer. No one has failed to notice the felicity of some persons in prayer on funeral occasions. Indeed, almost every community has a minister who is regarded as peculiarly gifted in this direction. To pray acceptably at such a time, as the comforter of the suffering ones and of the sympathizing friends and in such faith as to reach the throne of grace, makes demands at once upon the intellect and the heart of the preacher. On such occasions, words fitly chosen are "like apples of gold in pictures of silver." Happy, indeed, is he who by nature, by training, and by grace is fitted for this important service.

We desire to emphasize, therefore, in this paper the ministry of prayer as one of the most efficient sources of the preacher's usefulness. Its power for good, we fear, is not estimated among young ministers as it should be. They are constantly studying how to preach, and they do not inquire as they ought to do how to pray. When the disciples asked this question of our Lord he answered them with that beautiful prayer which has been repeated all through the Christian centuries.

In thus urging the importance of public prayer, and of preparation for it, we must not be understood as undervaluing private prayer. The first impulse toward salvation is an impulse to pray. It is a part of the Christian's very being. Prayers are the instruments of our approach to God, and in his presence they are not valued by the choiceness of their language nor by any external adornments of presentation; but they are received and answered in proportion as they are the outpourings of earnest souls. The first condition of true prayer in public is prayer in private. He who would pray well before the people must be familiar with prayer in the secret place where none but God is near. He who prays only formally does not pray at all. Thought may be feeble, language lame, but the heart, pouring out itself before the Lord, will constitute the most insignificant utterances the most effective prayers. A true prayer will always be in part spontaneous; but in its highest form it will also be well considered beforehand. In order to properly pray there must be suitable spiritual and mental preparation. We may prepare ourselves by reading the Scriptures, thus putting our minds in a spiritual frame, by self-examination, and by consecration of ourselves to the divine service. Having thus prepared our hearts, and ascertained by premeditation our needs, we may fitly approach the throne of grace, whether we come for personal blessings or for public welfare.

With the answers to prayer we do not need to concern ourselves. It is ours to pray. We are invited to come, bringing our needs and pouring our wants into the ear of the infinite Father. It is his to answer, not according to our petitions, but according to our necessities. We may ask for the things which we do not need, or which we should not have. It is the prerogative of our Lord to give, not according to our asking, but according to his wisdom and his fatherly interest in our welfare. Our Father knoweth that we "have need of all these things."

The object of this paper will not be secured if we have failed to impress on the reader the supreme value of personal and public prayer for the minister of the Gospel. It is the one thing without which a minister cannot succeed. He may have passed through the schools; he may have become familiar with ancient and modern learning; he may be able to discuss with perspicuity and force the great theological problems of the times; he may be an eloquent and powerful preacher; but he cannot reach his highest power as a Christian man, or as a Christian minister, if he does not enter into his closet and shut his door and learn from our Lord himself what it is to pray.

SOME ADVANTAGES OF SMALL PASTORAL CHARGES.

It is a laudable desire on the part of the young itinerant to secure, at as early a period in his ministry as possible, a church of recognized prominence. He imagines that in so doing he will attain greater usefulness than would be possible to him in smaller fields of labor. He is in

danger of forgetting that any field of labor to which he may come, in the order of Providence, is an important one and worthy of his best powers. It is well for such a one to bear in mind that in the administration of the Church there may be small charges, but no unimportant ones. Every place demands the best powers and attainments of the preacher.

Such smaller charges often afford the opportunities for the noblest forms of labor, both in the pulpit and in pastoral life. In them are often found some of the most intelligent hearers, who demand the very best that the preacher can give them. There are no charges so small as not to demand the choicest attainments of the man who is called to dispense to them the Gospel. These charges are not only places of power, but also sources of power, for out of them go forth those who are to bless the world both in the ministry and in business life. In God's light there are no second or third class appointments. They are all first-class, for every place where God puts us is the best place for us and for the world.

In addition, however, to the opportunities for usefulness which these charges afford in the direct work of the preacher with his people, it is important to remember that there are other respects in which they may become thrones of power even greater than would be possible in a pastorate, with a large membership, in a great city. Some ministers are specially qualified for usefulness in the departments of biblical and theological study. It is neither fitting nor necessary that the scholarly work of the Church should be confined to professors in our institutions of learning. The atmosphere in which the minister lives is one of intellectual activity, and he may, if he will, increase his own stores of knowledge, while at the same time he prepares himself more fully for his direct duties. For such pursuits the smaller charges offer unusual facilities. In a prominent city charge there is a tax on a minister's time and energies which leaves no room for studies outside his routine duties. The busy pastor has not an evening that he can call his own. Pulpit demands, coupled with extensive pastoral obligations, exhaust both his powers and his time.

Another of the advantages of a small charge to the preacher is that it affords opportunity, not only for sacred study, but also for literary productiveness in some chosen field. This is not the primary work of the preacher, it is true, and must always be done in subordination to his supreme duty to preach the Gospel. His call is to preach, and whatever interferes with his success in saving men must be rigidly excluded. He has no right to accept an appointment unless he intends to do his full duty in relation to it both as preacher and pastor. There are churches, however, so circumstanced that the preacher can keep abreast of all his duties and at the same time find opportunity to give to the world the results of his studies and thinking. There are productions of highest value which would probably never have seen the light if the author had been placed in a large church. It is a serious question whether the late English text critic, Dr. F. H. Scrivener, would ever have done the work for New Testament criticism if his earlier years had not been passed in an

obscure parish among the Yorkshire miners. It gave him time to pursue his studies in a department where one cannot succeed who does not exercise time and patience such as cannot be secured amid the exactions of a large city pastorate. In that narrow field Scrivener wrought year after year on his studies, in a department where there were few toilers at that time, but out of which came results of highest importance to the settling of the New Testament text. The great philosophical writer and thinker, Jonathan Edwards, who produced his immortal work, *Freedom of the Will*, when a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, is another illustration of the same thought. Dr. Bloomfield, the author of valuable notes on the New Testament and other critical works, in his preface to one of his books asks the indulgence of his readers because he was compelled to do his work at a distance from the great libraries; and yet the very fact of his isolation may have enabled him to accomplish it at all. It is needless to multiply instances. A study of all great writings will reveal the fact that they were prepared afar from the strain and bustle of public life; they were works which required opportunities for meditation such as are afforded by quiet environments.

Small churches also constitute for the young minister the best school of preparation for those positions which are generally regarded as more responsible and important. Life is a great school, and every position should be regarded as one of preparation for the future; nor does this school life expire with the freshness of youth. The early part of one's ministry is of special importance because of its bearing on the whole after career. One of the most eminent preachers of our country advised one in whose future he was deeply interested to remain for years in a retired country pastorate before he assumed a charge which otherwise might be too taxing for his strength. There is opportunity for reading and meditation such as will strengthen and enrich the mind and heart. Such a charge enables a timid man to gain confidence in his own powers and to prepare sermons which may serve as a basis for his future work. John Wesley was trained for his great mission by his efforts in small communities. Henry Ward Beecher was greatly indebted in his preaching to his early experiences in a small place, on what was then the frontier. The experiences secured in churches sometimes very remote from the great centers proves of wondrous value in later years.

It would be an inadequate view, however, which would lead us to conclude that what are sometimes regarded as small churches are merely stepping-stones to larger positions, or are opportunities for study and literary productiveness. The latter are always to be regarded and treated as secondary. Any outside work which takes the preacher away from his direct business of preaching and pastoral work must be avoided. The best epistles which the minister can write are those written on the hearts of his people. Whatever studies or scholarly labors the pastor may undertake, either in a small or large charge, it must always remain as a fundamental proposition that he must be a man of one work.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE EDUCATION OF MOSES.

THE silence observed in the Old Testament regarding the early education of Moses is remarkable. Though the story of his birth and childhood is given at some length, there is not a word concerning the nature of the instruction which he received. We are simply told that the Hebrew child rescued from the waters was for some time nursed by his own mother, who, when the child grew, brought it again to Pharaoh's daughter, and that he became her own son. St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, in his wonderful speech, voices, without doubt, the traditions current in the first part of our era, when he says that "Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

The exact meaning of these words must be learned, if learned at all, from other sources than the Bible. Philo Judæus, writing about the time of Stephen's martyrdom, in his life of Moses enters into details concerning the education of Israel's emancipator. According to this celebrated Alexandrian Jew, Moses while a mere child showed great aptness for learning. His fondness for study and the readiness with which he mastered all his lessons attracted attention at once, for, unlike other youths, he spurned the toys and amusements pleasing to children of his age, and plunged into the mysteries of the sciences which were taught those intended for higher positions in life. He had all kinds of masters, "some coming of their own accord from the neighboring countries and the different districts of Egypt, and some being even procured from Greece." He soon surpassed all his teachers, and seemed to arrive at all knowledge intuitively. His progress was like that "of a horse, bounding over the plain," and one remarkable characteristic of his mind was that it was "incapable of admitting any falsehood." The subjects mastered by him, according to Philo, were "arithmetic and geometry, and the whole science of rhythm and harmony and meter, and the whole of music." He was also taught the mysteries of the sacred characters called "hieroglyphics," the philosophy of animal worship, and all the encyclical education of the Greeks. Besides, he was made familiar with the literature and sciences of Assyria, especially with "the knowledge of the heavenly bodies so much studied by the Chaldeans." These statements of Philo must be taken with allowance; yet, while they contain some exaggerations, there is no reason to doubt that his account, in the main, is true. As for Josephus, it is surprising that he passes over the childhood, and especially the education, of Moses much as does the Pentateuch, for we have no light from him on this subject.

In view of the silence of the Old Testament, the meager report of the New, and the probability of exaggerations in the statements of Philo,

are we then to despair? It will be generally agreed that such a man as the Moses of Hebrew history existed, and that he lived sometime between 1560 and 1200 B. C. Accepting the account as given in the second chapter of Exodus, that he was brought up at the court of one of the Pharaohs, it is reasonable to conclude that his education must have been of the same extent and character as that given to young princes and those destined for the services of the State. Even under the Old Empire the princes received "government appointments; for example, one called 'the treasurer of the god' had to fetch the granite blocks out of the quarries of the desert; others officiated as high priests in the temple of Heliopolis; and others, again, became the chief judges or the 'scribes of the divine book;' and nearly all of them were, in addition, 'chief reciter priests' of their father, and belonged as 'governors of the palace' to his inner circle of courtiers." Though the age in which Moses lived cannot be ascertained with scientific precision, any more than the exact date of some of the papyri treating upon the education of princes, yet the fact that so large a number of such papyri, extending over so long a period of Egyptian history, have been brought to light ought to aid us greatly in the discussion of this subject. If, as it is now generally believed, Moses lived not far from the golden age of Egyptian culture, when Babylon and Egypt had reached a high place in literature, we can easily understand the importance usually given to him as a factor in the history of civilization.

Education was, at all times, highly valued by the ruling classes in Egypt. This explains why all those destined for the State offices were compelled to spend many years in study for their work. Dauuf, the father of Pepy, says to his son: "Give thy heart to learning, and love her like a mother, for there is nothing so precious as learning." Take the following, cited by Erman from an old document: "He who is industrious as a scribe, and does not neglect his books, may become a prince, or perhaps attain to the council of the thirty, and when there is a question of sending out an ambassador his name is remembered at court." Again: "The poor, ignorant man is like a heavy-laden donkey; his name is unknown and he is driven by the scribe." The word "scribe," used something like our phrase "college graduate," was given to him who had mastered the prescribed course of study.

What was the nature of the course pursued? From existing records we learn that those privileged to be educated at the State institutions were brought to the court schools at a very tender age; that the discipline was rigid; and that corporal punishment was common. Says an old master to his pupil: "Spend no day in idleness, or thou wilt be flogged: for the ears of the young are placed on the back, and he hears when he is flogged." As might be expected, then, as in our times, one of the first duties was to master the arts of reading and writing. The complicated system of hieroglyphs, with its many signs and curious ideographs, must have taxed the young Egyptian much more than our simple alphabet.

From very early times there was the hieroglyphic style, and alongside of it the cursive or hieratic, just as in our schools the printed and the written alphabets. The difficulty in passing from the stately hieroglyphic to the hieratic would be no more than that experienced by a child in our own schools in passing from the printed page to the copy book. The various characters and their combinations having been mastered, and a fair progress having been made in writing, the scholar would now be drilled in composition and rhetoric. We have abundant proofs that the Egyptians laid great stress upon fine style and elegance of diction. Some of the chapters in the Book of the Dead and many of the religious and love lyrics, as well as the more profound sayings of the wise, which have come down to us from the earliest ages, are sufficient evidence of the great care with which the Egyptian scholar clothed his ideas. Thanks to the discoveries of such men as Professor Petrie, a large number of old school copy books, used by the pupils in their classes in rhetoric, are shown in our museums. Many of these are in an excellent state of preservation, showing not only the corrections of the teacher, but also the exact number of lines written in one day. The pupils spent much of their time in copying from the philosophical and religious works of the Egyptian sages. The portions thus transcribed would serve a twofold purpose; for, while the young student was improving his penmanship, orthography, and style, his mind would be stored with useful knowledge and pious maxims. These papyri also prove that the epistolary style was thoroughly taught the young student, probably to aid those intended for the diplomatic service at home and abroad.

The education of a prince was not purely literary in its nature, for, alongside of *belles-lettres* and rhetoric, instruction was also given at least in the elements of more than one science. There is in the British Museum an old papyrus written during the reign of one of the Hyksos kings, but in fact a copy of a much older document. It is an old text-book in mathematics, perhaps the oldest yet discovered. It contains examples in addition, multiplication, and division, as well as many problems of an elementary character, such as would be useful in everyday life; for example, rules for land surveying, for ascertaining the capacity of a granary, for paying a workman in produce for a given amount of work, and other rules of a similar nature.

Other papyri show us that astronomy formed a part of the course. Even more than five thousand years ago the Egyptians divided the year into three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days, or practically as we do to-day. They also had their twelve months of thirty days each, making three hundred and sixty days. Then they added "five intercalary days at the end of every year." Many charts of the heavens on which are indicated the position of many stars during the twelve hours of the night for as many as fifteen successive nights have been found in the tombs of the twentieth dynasty. The Egyptian, like all nations, had their lucky and unlucky days, for even the

most enlightened people were not free from such belief. As an instance we may cite Job iii, 8, "Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to rouse up leviathan." Inseparably connected with the study of the stars was that of magic, spoken of at length in the Book of Exodus, and with this, again, the study of medicine. The very large number of prescriptions found for all manner of diseases, as well as the various recipes for the compounding of cosmetics, hair dyes, insect exterminators, and other preparations, show that the people of Egypt made great pretensions on this line. Many of the remedies prescribed in their ancient medical books are very disgusting, but, according to Erman, not more so than those revered by the apothecaries of Europe in the seventeenth century of our own era.

The intimate relation between the priests and the king explains the influential rôle played by the former in matters of education. In Egypt, as in Babylonia, the priesthood took a very active part in educational affairs. Indeed, the priests were at the head of all education; hence the predominance of the religious and the ethical in Egyptian culture. This also explains the prominence given to the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, the intermediate state, and the future life in the literature discovered in the valley of the Nile.

If any dependence is to be placed upon the opinions of the best Egyptologists the age of Moses was one of great literary activity; indeed, some have called it the Elizabethan age of Egyptian literature. Any young man, therefore, then educated for the civil service would wield the pen of a ready writer, and would be an adept in composition, and well acquainted with the niceties of rhetoric. The statement of Philo that Moses was versed in Babylonian literature is made highly probable by the discovery of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, for this important correspondence between so many foreign lands and Egypt proves that both the Babylonian script and language were known far and wide many years before the Exodus. It is almost certain that Egyptian and Babylonian held about the same place in the education of an Egyptian courtier as English and French in that of Europeans preparing for the diplomatic service in our day. The fact that Moses was of Semitic origin is an additional reason for believing that he was acquainted with cuneiform writing and the Babylonian language.

The inference may therefore be safely made that education in the Mosaic age was sufficiently advanced for the production of a book like the Pentateuch. Leaving out all reference to inspiration and supernatural guidance, there is nothing in these five books, from a literary standpoint, which could not have been written by the great legislator himself. Thanks to the science of biblical archæology, the strongest objections against the Mosaic origin of the first part of the Old Testament Scriptures are being gradually swept away, and the more we discover and decipher the more are we persuaded that the Pentateuch, as we have it, is substantially as it came from the pen of Moses.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE WORLD MOVEMENT OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS.

THE movement which has just resulted in the organization of the World's Christian Students' Federation deserves far more than passing consideration. It is nothing less than an attempt to make Christian leadership dominant in the entire higher educational institutions of the world. This organization had its inception in a conference in Scandinavia, composed of representatives of five intercollegiate movements which had already grown to great vigor and influence. They were the American Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association, the British College Christian Union, the German Christian Students' Alliance, the Scandinavian University Christian Movement, and the Student Christian Movement in Mission Lands. The delegates assembled in this international conference in Sweden were authorized by the great bodies represented by them to consider the question of a great international Christian federation of the students of the world. This was the first student convention in which were present delegates from all the Protestant nations of the world. There was to be no merging or consolidation of old organizations, but each was to preserve its independence and individuality while receiving inspiration from, and giving unity to, a great consolidation of activities. Since that time five other organizations have become associated with this movement—the Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association of India and Ceylon, the Australasian Student Christian Union, the Student Christian Union of South Africa, the College Young Men's Christian Association of China, and the Student Young Men's Christian Association Union of Japan. The promotion of the objects of the federation is committed to a committee composed of two men from each of the above "movements." Corresponding members have been appointed for countries not yet admitted to the federation. Only those movements have been federated which combine a national or international group of colleges, and which in their aims and work are in full harmony with the objects of the union. The federation had, as its first object, the possibility of a full investigation of the moral and religious condition of students in all lands; and, besides disclosing vast opportunities, it has been found to greatly facilitate the introduction of organized Christian work into some of the most difficult and important unoccupied fields, and to promote the comparative study of the methods of promoting a Christian life and work among students. What the indirect influences of such a movement are to be cannot be foreseen. It is hoped that it may tend to the development of strong international bonds of union, which shall greatly facilitate, if they do not dominate, treaties between nations that look to peace and brotherhood among them.

In this great federation nationality has no significance. The Student Young Men's Christian Association Union of Japan in joining this body gives the first impulse toward a larger conception of life by the Japanese nation, and directs the first expression of that impulse to something broader and greater than the merely selfish national interests of that island empire.

When we reflect that this entire development among the student class of the world is but twenty years old, the American Intercollegiate Young Men's Christian Association having been organized in 1877, the growth seems not only phenomenal, but must stand out as a great providential development, challenging the attention of the Christian world. Twenty years ago there were less than thirty of these Christian Associations in the institutions of learning in the United States and Canada. The British College Christian Union is but four years old, beginning with seventeen universities and colleges, and now every great institution of learning in the British Isles is identified with this movement. The German Christian Students' Alliance is but seven years old, and originated in the Bible circles of the gymnasia. Its importance among the thirty thousand students in the universities of Germany itself cannot be estimated, apart from the influences which go out from these universities upon the thought of the rest of the world. The Scandinavian University Christian Movement was only perfected as an intercollegiate organization two years ago. National organizations among the Christian students of colleges have been organized in India, in China, in Japan, and are already admitted to membership in this world's federation. Nor is all this mere machinery. It has been the outgrowth of increased and intense spiritual manifestations, and has all been dominated by the missionary principles, so that the local associations, the national associations, the international associations, and this entire world's federation have been built up on the base of the profoundest conviction of the duty to evangelize the world.

This is not the place for a notice of this great movement, nor even for a proper review of the literature which covers the case; but we cannot refrain from at least making mention of the brief and comprehensive manual by John R. Mott, entitled *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest: the Universities and Colleges as Related to the Progress of Christianity*, which has been recently issued with favorable introductory indorsements by ex-President Harrison, the Earl of Aberdeen, Governor General of Canada, the Right Honorable Mr. Gladstone, and Prince Oscar Bernadotte of Sweden.

THE NEW DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA.

From many sources there comes testimony to the excellent effect of the political punishment visited on the perpetrators of the massacre of Kucheng and the rioters in West China, together with the awakening of

the Chinese by the China-Japan war. Dr. H. H. Lowrey affirms that the war gave a new impetus to China. The government was made to realize its weakness, and they have as one result resolved to establish a university in each of the eighteen provinces, with smaller schools in the large cities, for the purpose of instruction in Western science. Dr. Hunter Corbett says that, during the war, the newspapers and magazines published by missionaries were everywhere sought for by Chinese as affording the most reliable information. Thus, the scholarship and intellectual power of the West has found recognition by the nation, as well as by the people. He declares that, instead of prejudicing the people against the missionary, the late war has awakened such a desire to receive instruction from him as has been seen at no previous period in history. Christianity and education are coming to be understood to be inseparable, so that when parents become Christians their sons and daughters are trained and educated in such a way as to give them special advantages; and this is not only understood to be the case by the Chinese, but is welcomed. Parents are pleading to have their children educated in the mission schools, although they know that as a result they will probably become Christians. But, with them, education is beyond price, and the education introduced to them through Christianity has a higher value under existing and prospective conditions than any other. Even Li Hung Chang directed the agent appointed to secure students for the Imperial College at Tientsin, intended to educate men for government service, to secure all he could from the Christian schools, as he would there find the best material. There has never been such a demand as at present for books written or translated by missionaries—such as histories, works on science, political economy, natural and moral philosophy, and other text-books for schools and colleges—as well as for religious books. Native physicians, educated after Western methods, are held in high esteem and are summoned to the relief of highest officials; lady physicians are called to the homes of the most wealthy and aristocratic; and hospitals are receiving liberal subscriptions from Christian converts, and from Chinese officials and merchants not yet Christian. Recognizing that official corruption and incompetency were the chief factor in the recent humiliating defeat of China, many believe that Christianity is the only power which can restore their prestige and give to them the wealth and influence of Western nations. The organization of a complete postal system has been intrusted to Sir Robert Hart, who has during the past third of a century been at the head of the Chinese customs department, and who has brought that service to a purity and efficiency unexcelled in any land.

Dr. Martin, president of the Imperial College at Peking, declares that the scholars of the empire are awake as never before to the effects of their inadequate style of education, recognizing that it was not new arms or numbers, but a new education, that enabled Japan to gain the victory in the recent war. Hence, in every direction there are fresh openings

for the teaching of Western languages and sciences. Dr. Martin quotes from the preface of a new work on political economy by a mandarin who sneers at the metaphysical subtleties of Buddhism, since Buddha's native land has been three times conquered by foreigners. He points out that the production and distribution of wealth are not among the subjects of instruction which are taught in China, and that hence a vast and magnificent empire has been left to run down into poverty and weakness until it has become helpless in the presence of its foreign foes. Dr. Martin thinks it a great thing to have haughty scholars, like this writer, humble their ancient pride and sit as learners at the feet of the progressive teachers of the West.

The increased demand for religious literature throughout the entire land is something most extraordinary. The sales of the Central China Religious Tract Society last year amounted to a total of over one million three hundred thousand copies; but that is only one out of thirteen societies. The National Bible Society, of Scotland, with its headquarters at Hongkow, sold a quarter of a million of copies of books, and so on with the other great societies. All this literature is sold, and an eminent missionary says, "Everyone, whether missionary or merchant, believes that what a Chinaman is willing to buy must be the thing he wants." The spiritual results are equally phenomenal. The massacre of missionaries near Foo-Chow in 1895 struck horror to the Christian world, but Rev. P. W. Pitcher, writing from that same district, says it has been estimated that since then twenty thousand inquirers have presented themselves at the doors of the churches of the three missions located in the Foo-Chow districts, and of these twenty thousand inquirers probably five thousand have been accepted and united with the three missions since August 1, 1895.

Rev. Timothy Richard, of Shanghai, says the government is calling for schemes of reform; and a peaceful reformation, instead of a revolution, can only be secured through missionaries seizing the present opportunity by word and by books to quiet the reformers, so as to avoid the disasters which attended the Taiping rebellion in 1852. Even in such a hostile province as is that of Hunan, where the most vile and virulent attacks against Christianity and Christians have originated, another and more favorable sentiment is now manifested. The chief examiner, who furnishes texts for the Chinese classics to those who are candidates in the competitive examinations, welcomes the incoming of Western studies.

The newly appointed minister of China to the United States, Wu Ting Fang, an unexceptional Christian, a member of the English bar and also of the Church of England, in addressing a company of Chinese at San Francisco declared that, when China had no diplomatic relations with this country, their missionary teachers guided and protected them in their foreign relations, and that it would not do to forget them and their important service.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Richard A. Hoffmann. In the dispute relative to the significance Jesus attached to the supper instituted by him, which dispute abates none of its intensity, Hoffmann has made for himself a place. In 1896 he published a small work entitled *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi. Ein biblisch-theologischer Versuch* (Jesus's Conception of the Lord's Supper. An Essay in Biblical Theology). Königsberg, F. Beyer. In this work he discusses with true German patience the form or reading of the words which we should accept, deciding in favor of the *textus receptus*, and also the sources of our information. He holds, contrary to some, that the gospel of Luke is not a distinct source alongside of Matthew and Mark, and thus reduces the number of the sources within the New Testament to two, the synoptic gospels and Paul. These are somewhat independent of each other. As a third source he adds Justin Martyr's account (*Apology*, 66). He thinks that account was not drawn from the three synoptics in their present form, but from other collections somewhat different from them. He refuses to accord to any one of these sources unqualified preeminence, but prefers to investigate the details of each and to judge accordingly. However, he accepts as settled what the three sources have in common. He regards every attempt to show an inner connection of the Lord's supper with the Jewish passover feast as a failure to understand the purpose of Christ. In this he argues with the majority of modern thinkers. To reach a satisfactory conception of the new covenant which is mentioned in connection with the administration of the cup he discusses the significance of the death of Christ. Here he distinguishes sharply between his disciples who are gathered about him and the unbelieving multitude of his people. It was not for the former, but for the latter, that he went to his death. In other words, he gives the preference to the language of Matthew and Mark, and thinks that the "for you" of Luke and Paul does not express the thought of Jesus. Yet if the object of the Master in giving his disciples the bread and wine was not to impart to them the knowledge of the forgiveness of their sins, and the assurance of the divine pleasure, what was his object? First, Christ used the bread and wine to represent his life, his body and blood, which suggested to them, therefore, the power of his life to give them life. Second, he meant the supper to be a memorial of him, and thus a source of comfort to them. Yet he did not have in mind any gratification of pride in himself, but rather that they might be compensated for the loss of daily personal communion with him. The early disciples and the apostles, continues Hoffmann, were not always mindful of every feature of value in this sacred feast, though

they always betray a recognition of the highest features of the meal. We may not agree with all of Hoffmann's ideas, but we must recognize in them an honest attempt to solve a problem which, once it has become a subject of investigation, cannot rest until it finds a solution satisfactory to the thought of the Christian world.

Erich Haupt. Once again we bring him before our readers, this time to give his thoughts relative to the New Testament idea of the apostolate, which he has published in a recent work, *Zum Verständniss des Apostolats im Neuen Testament.* Halle, Niemeyer, 1896. With Harnack and Sohm, he regards its essential character as that of a charism. But it will be better to give his argument. He thinks the title "apostle" to be not a borrowed but an original one. Nevertheless, he does not think the idea clearly contained in the word. In order to determine what the idea is he takes up all the passages in the New Testament which refer to it. In his study of the gospels and Acts he gathers that the "twelve-apostolate" was an historical reality, but that Jesus did not give the twelve a definite duty distinct from the other disciples. The missionary command was not directed to the twelve in person, but as representatives of the congregation, and contained our Lord's programme for the future. Nothing definite concerning the apostolate, then, can be learned from these sources. He next turns to Paul. The revelation to him finds its kernel, not in what was revealed, but in the fact that Christ revealed himself to Paul, and it was on the basis of this that Paul felt himself "called to be an apostle." The distinctive feature of his apostolate was not in the conferring upon him of an office. Like the twelve, he felt convinced of his duty to work for the kingdom of God, but his special task of missionary to the heathen became clear to him only gradually. So that a definite limitation of the concept "apostolate" is not to be found in the life and experience of Paul. The apostolate falls under the category of gracious gifts, not under that of an office. An office signifies a definite limitation and a sense of legal obligation, both of which are wanting to the New Testament apostolate. In as far as the apostolate rests on the force of personality it is like the prophetic function of the Old Testament. It differs specifically from other charisms in that this is the gift of founding churches and administering the word. Whoever had an independent commission for the development of the Church was an apostle. The content of the apostolic activity was the founding of missions, the institution of missionary methods, and the production of the New Testament writings. As a fundamental activity it could have no long continuance, and it could not be transmitted by those who held the office to any successors. The apostolate had only an indirect source in Jesus, who did not found it, but who merely created the conditions under which his disciples could become apostles in the sense in which Paul uses the term. In a time when the question is being discussed anew by scholars these thoughts are valuable, though not altogether final.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Renèe de France, duchesse de Ferrare. Une protectrice de la Rèforme en Italie et en France (Renée of France, Duchess of Ferrara. A Protectress of the Reformation in Italy and France). By E. Rodocanachi. Paris, Paul Ollendorf, 1896. This work is partly the result of original research and partly an embodiment of the studies of Jules Bonnot, conducted with a view to a biography of Renée. It permanently settles some questions which have hitherto been in doubt, as the dates of her birth and death, which have now been fixed respectively as October 25, 1510, and June 15, 1575. It is interesting to know that even the account book in which Renée recorded her household and other expenses now proves to be one of the most valuable of the sources from which a knowledge of her life can be extracted. On the other hand, it is to be profoundly regretted that as yet her correspondence with Calvin and other principals of the Reformation has not been rescued from oblivion. The book describes in about equal parts the life of Renée in Italy and in France. As a princess she was married at the age of eighteen to Hercules, the hereditary Duke of Ferrara, the object of the marriage from the political standpoint being to maintain the interest of the ducal court in France. From 1528 to 1560 she fulfilled her difficult and painful situation, and then returned as a widow to her native land. During this thirty-two years she remained French in her sympathies. This is revealed in part by her bountiful charities. These were, indeed, given regardless of national or of religious considerations; yet far more was bestowed in this way upon Frenchmen than upon any other people. From the beginning her sympathies were with the Protestants, and this inclination developed with years. The court of Ferrara was thoroughly Romanist, and was even under the suzerainty of the pope himself. The situation was plainly not one of ease. Nor did she fulfill her duties in this respect as perhaps an idealist could have wished; for, while she was in correspondence with Calvin, she also managed to retain the favor of Pope Paul III. When too hard pressed by persecution she accommodated herself both to the Roman mass and to the confessional, and yet she kept even Calvin in such humor as that he could regard her as the most valuable support of the Italian Reformation. It would be wrong, however, to consider her as doing all this with hypocritical intent. Rather was it the result of a conviction that in this way she could better perform the obligation which rested upon her. In part, also, it arose from the fact that her benevolence was wide enough to include Protestant refugees, and also to provide for the Italian monks. In France her situation was little less difficult. Personally, she became more and more openly Protestant; yet her son-in-law was the Duke of Guise, the most bitter opponent of the Reformation in France. This is a book which all readers of the French language and those interested in French religious history will find full of profit.

Gesammelte Schriften. 11 Band, zur Ethik. 1 Theil, Die geheimen Fesseln der wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Theologie. 2 Theil, Einige Grundfragen der Ethik (Collected Writings. Eleventh Volume, Ethics. Part I, The Unconscious Bonds of Scientific and Practical Theology. Part II, Some Fundamental Questions in Ethics). By F. W. Dörpfeld. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1895. The bonds in which scientific and practical theology are unconsciously held are forged and fastened in the act of refusing to make ethics independent of all other knowledge and science, instead of employing the scholastic method of authority. Ethics is made dependent upon dogmatics, or, in other words, is deduced solely from the Scriptures, the formal principle of Lutheran theology. Dörpfeld has no objection to ethical works based on the teachings of the Bible, but he does object to making the Bible the authority for ethics, which should be treated rationally. To this error of ethical method he traces the difficulty the German Church experiences in winning back the estranged masses. But, that ethics is independent of dogmatics is proved by him on the ground of the assertion that the improved moral tone of the community caused the entire reformation of the Church with its doctrines, in the sixteenth century. He claims that by induction it is possible to discover from experience what the normal morality demands. Thus the science of ethics is in no wise behind any of the other rational sciences, in point of certainty and exactness. But this great gift of God, this rationally evident ethics, which makes the fundamental half of the theory of religion a matter of evident knowledge, theology cast out into the street as a worthless thing. Rational ethics coincides in every respect with the teachings of the New Testament, but these teachings are illuminated by the principles of rational ethics. On the other hand, the moral teachings of the New Testament are furnished in such great abundance in order that the principles which underlie them might the more readily and surely be found, although the followers of the method by authority have not found these principles, or else have borrowed them from philosophy. Dörpfeld asserts that Christianity has been the most influential factor in the advancement of the rational method of ethical study, and that the present perfection of rational ethics is due to the fact that we have in the New Testament a corrective for our theories of morals, a test to which we can bring all our conceptions of ethics. It seems to us that in making these concessions Dörpfeld gives up his case, for he practically affirms that rational ethics cannot be trusted, while the ethics of the New Testament, the method by authority, can.

Vater, Sohn, und Fürsprecher in der babylonischen Gottesvorstellung. Ein Problem für die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft (Father, Son, and Paraclete in the Babylonian Conception of God. A Problem for Comparative Science of Religion). By Heinrich Zimmern. Leipzig,

Hinrichs, 1896. This is an attempt to trace a trinity in the religion of ancient Babylonia. It consists of Ia, god of the ocean; the son-god, Marduk, god of the early sun; and Gibil, or Bilgi, god of the fire. Nusku, who is related to Gibil in point of nature, and who may be identified with Gibil, appears once in the character of the Paraclete or intercessor. Hence Zimmern ventures to raise the question whether this is not a parallel to the Christian triad, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, or Paraclete. Professor Jensen in a critique of this work admits that in conjurations and exorcisms Ia, Marduk, and Gibil work together and are associated with each other, but points out that further than this there seems to be no mutuality of interests, and that no nearer connection between them appears to exist. He also admits that Nusku, or Gibil, is once represented as being requested to act as intercessor; but it is equally true that the Babylonian religionist appealed to other gods for the same favor, and not only that they should intercede with Marduk, one of the supposed trinity, but also with the other gods, as Sin and Sames. But, even in the place upon which Zimmern depends for the suggestion of a Babylonian trinity, Nusku was not to intercede with Marduk for the king, but with Sin. These points greatly weaken the probability of Zimmern's hypothesis, which, however, he tries to strengthen by the assertion that our ignorance of the later development of Babylonian religion makes it impossible to say that there was not a modification of it which would make it easier to establish the parallel between the Christian and the supposed Babylonian trinity. The weakness of this argument from ignorance is astounding. On such grounds we could prove anything, if we only knew little enough. But, as Jensen points out, it is only after 81 B. C. that we have no texts illustrative of the religion of Babylonia. What documents we have show no material modification after the time of Assurbanipal. But, even if Zimmern's case were made out as to the triad, still it would differ materially from the Christian trinity, whose persons are closely connected and represented as intimately related, to say nothing of the frequency of their mention in the New Testament together. We have no objection to parallels between the heathen religions and Christianity. But we object to the pretense of them where there is no evidence that they exist.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Dispute Concerning the Christ of the Gospels. Although it has been in progress for many years this dispute has recently been rendered acute, and that by a little work devoted to the subject by M. Kähler, professor of theology in Halle. Kähler's position is that we have no adequate sources for a biography of Jesus, in the modern sense of these terms. But he also says that we are none the worse off for that, since to the Christian it can make no possible difference as to the external course of the life of Christ. The effective Christ is the Christ who was

preached by the apostles and believed in by the early disciples. We need no biography of him to receive all the benefits he has to confer. Kähler is not alone in holding to this position. Otto Ritschl, the son of Albrecht Ritschl, who was the founder of the Ritschl school, says, "For the believing Christian, as such, the question relative to the historical Christ has absolutely no significance." Von Orelli, who is as strongly opposed to the Ritschlians as is Kähler, speaks of the historical Christ as belonging only to the past. Perhaps, however, Kähler's position is rather more clearly put than that of any other. Hear him: "Why do we commune with our gospels? What have we in Jesus? The redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our sins. What more do I need to know of him than what Paul announced to the Corinthians, namely, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that on the third day he arose again according to the Scriptures, and that he was seen? This the glad tidings, this the testimony and confession of faith which has overcome the world; and in addition I need no exact knowledge of the circumstances of the life of the Crucified." It is not strange, then, that those who are fond of historical research should complain of such remarks, for they are elicited by the feeling that the present state of historical science is such that it tends to destroy faith in Jesus rather than to give us a picture of his life. We do not think that this is true, although, as a matter of fact, much of what was formerly accepted as established is giving way before historical investigation. The result is that, in general, the most negative of the theologians of Germany are most strongly in favor of the prosecution of the study of the life of Christ. And they do it under the plea that the neglect of strict historical study of the life of Jesus has reacted until Herr Liebknecht, one of the leaders of the social democracy, can say, "We do not even know of Jesus of Nazareth, whether he so much as lived; we only know that all that is related of him must be false." They also attribute to this neglect the possibility of such productions as *Joshua Davidson*, a life of Jesus according to social democratic ideas, and Notowitch's recent forgery giving a pretended account of the life of Jesus during the years between twelve and thirty. Many of the best and most experienced teachers of Germany, at least in the professed interest of Christianity, assert the necessity of a better method of teaching concerning Jesus in the higher grades of the State schools. They affirm that the attempt to teach Jesus as the Redeemer, with the neglect of all the other features of his life, is a practical depreciation of all his life except his passion. One of the ablest of them affirms that, when Kähler declares that he needs no exact knowledge of the Crucified, but only so much as Paul communicated to the Corinthians, he really furthers the cause of unbelief—an unbelief which asserts that there was no historical Christ in the sense of the gospels, but that Christianity was the product of the thought of the apostles, especially of Paul, and that the person of Christ was in some measure an invention added to their

doctrine, or, at any rate, that Jesus was by no means the historical person the apostles claimed him to be. Those who favor the strictest application to the Gospel records of the principles of historical criticism thus claim that what they wish to arrive at is, not what the apostles and early disciples thought of Jesus, but the facts as to what Jesus was and taught; and they believe that, for the most part, the means at their command are ample to furnish such information. It all seems right enough to the unsuspecting. But, when it is remembered that their results deprive us of much that we have hitherto believed concerning Christ's life, and that they fill up the chasms in the Gospel records by inferences drawn from the times in which Jesus lived, and that their real object is to establish the so-called religion of Jesus in distinction from the religion taught in the entire New Testament, we can see why the initiated oppose them so strongly. For, by their criticism, they cut out of the Gospel record as untrustworthy about all that is peculiar to the teachings of the apostles, and by so doing reduce Jesus to a very different form from that in which he appears in the gospels taken as a whole.

Roman Catholic Apologetic Activity. It is a peculiarity of much recent Romanist apologetics that it does not attempt a defensive statement of the general tenets of Christianity, but rather of the Roman Catholic form of the faith, and that in its extremest positions and its most peculiar doctrines. However, while there is a degree of the polemical spirit necessary in such a method, yet it must be said that there is not altogether wanting a spirit of conciliation toward Protestantism. The religion of revelation is nevertheless the religion of the Roman Catholic Church, and the *demonstratio Christiana* is simply the *demonstratio Catholica*. The decisive proofs of the truth of Christianity are those which Romanism offers for its dogmas, using the external proofs, for instance, from miracles. One of the most recent asserts that if in the exercise of the cautions which the Roman Church requires for the establishment of the fact of miracles certainty is unattainable we should have to doubt the possibility of fixing any fact. Hence it is necessary for Romanist apologists to make a vigorous defense of their supposed miracles against the suspicion of spiritualism, magnetism, and hypnotism, from the results of which they are almost indistinguishable.

An Interesting Question in the History of the Relation of Protestantism to Foreign Missions. Professor Kawerau has recently published a small work on the question why the German Protestant Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries failed of a full comprehension of the missionary idea so prominent in the Bible. He shows that all the reformers alike failed to see in the great missionary texts of the New Testament the ideas that are so plain to every Christian to-day. The reason he assigns for this is that they expected the last day to come almost

immediately, and overlooked the fact that the preaching of the Gospel to all the world was one of the achievements which was to precede that day. Together with this was the fact that the heathen world lay outside of the range of their thought; or, in other words, they were so absorbed in the reformation of the Church that they gave no thought to the non-Christian world. The fact that the leaders of the Church up to the middle of the seventeenth century were indifferent, if not hostile, to missions he explains on the ground that they held the doctrine of a single ministerial office, that of pastors bound to their individual congregations. They assumed that the apostles who went out and preached the Gospel in all places had once for all discharged the duty of the Church. It was a cold and barren idea, no doubt, but it explains, if it does not excuse, their pitiful neglect.

Religious Life in Denmark. It is impossible to accept all that the book says from which we quote, since it disregards some of the fundamental distinctions of theological parties. Yet, on the whole, it is trustworthy. We find that the orthodox party stands true to the Apostles' Creed, underrates the sacraments, overrates the value of the social scriptures, and is too optimistic for safety. In the propagation of the Gospel there is much that is Methodistic, such as the preaching of repentance, the offer of the "mourners' bench" (*Bussbank*), and the realization of an assurance which arises from an inner and blessed experience. Laymen think more highly of all this than do the educated clergy. It is marvelous how Methodism takes with the Danish people. One of the principal movements of the present time is the work of the Society for Domestic Missions, which is under the leadership of the evangelist Wilhelm Beck, and which is carrying forward the work of spiritualizing the formal life of the Church. There are many in Denmark whose religious life is characterized by worldly conformity, and among these it is that rationalism in its newer forms makes its appearance and finds a welcome. Among them are some who, while calling themselves Christians, hardly know whether there is any life beyond this. On the whole it is a dark picture.

The British Wesleyan Conference. The recent session of the British Wesleyan Conference was held in Leeds from July 20 to August 4. Rev. W. L. Watkinson, fraternal delegate to our last General Conference, was elected president. Rev. Henry J. Pope, D.D., was made Secretary of the Home Missionary Department, Professor W. T. Davison, D.D., fraternal delegate to the Southern General Conference of 1898. "The Welsh Wesleyan Methodist Assembly of Wales" was constituted, to bear a somewhat similar relation to the parent Conference as does the Irish Conference. For twenty years there has been agitation for increased lay participation in connectional affairs; this year a great but not decisive battle was fought; final action was postponed till next year.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

WHAT about the rank of the writers now conspicuous in the world of letters? Speaking for England, at least, Edmund Gosse takes a somewhat discouraging view of the situation, in his article on "Ten Years of English Literature," as found in the *North American* for August. "The trumpets and fifes of this almost too glorious summer," he begins, "are over at last, and we sink back into the dowdiness of the day after the feast." The last decade "has been a period of the removal of landmarks." In 1888 "Tennyson was writing still, and his modes had not radically changed for sixty years. Browning, having completely conquered the public and the critics, was nearing his eightieth year. For those who loved elegance and lucidity in prose, what could be offered more acceptable than that of Newman, and Newman, on the borders of ninety, was still alive. At Oxford, Jowett formed a barrier of influence; in science, there were Tyndall and Huxley; in history, there were Kinglake and Froude." And not only have these gone—and their old age indicated their near departure—but also such natural successors of younger years as Matthew Arnold, William Morris, Pater, and Freeman. Only two aged writers survive in England whose public appearance "could excite universal enthusiasm"—Spencer, who is "still visible," and Ruskin, who is "quite unseen at Coniston," and has practically "joined the chorus of those invisible singers whose births made the second decade of this century so incomparably splendid." As for Gladstone, he "does not solely, or even considerably, owe his prestige, as Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Herbert Spencer do, to the exercise of the pen." In this removal of landmarks poetry has not suffered most. "It is quite certain that the variety, delicacy, and fervor of its young versemen have done more to redeem the decade from the charge of poverty of spirit than any other products of the pen, and the spiritual quality which interpenetrates some of their best work offers the most encouraging phenomenon of recent intellectual life in England." As for the novelists, however, Mr. Gosse finds the vast majority "wholly worthless, mere cumberings of the press." The "great reading public," also, "is rapidly becoming unable to assimilate any ideas at all, and to appreciate impressions it requires to have them presented to it in the form of a story." And, along with this, at educational centers "masters are chosen, not because of their scholarship or their tact, but because of their prowess at football or cricket," while generally "the athletic ideal has pushed all others to the wall." Yet Mr. Gosse is not an unreasonable croaker, as these random quotations would suggest. While confessing to a certain disquietude, he does not see in this rest from "the stern middle Victorian priggishness" a permanent danger. One may watch with regret the ebb of the tide, and yet not be a cynic.

In the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Professor J. M. P. Metcalf continues his notice of "The Tell-El-Amarna Letters." Of the Palestine letters he says: "We find the wedge-shaped characters used to write one more language, and, in this case, not a non-Semitic one, as in the cases above, but one that seems very, very like our Hebrew, in fact, practically the same language. The Palestine letters are full of glosses in the Hebrew language. That the language of those who lived in Canaan, two hundred years before the Exodus, was Hebrew is conclusively proven by these letters." In this issue President Henry Morton, Ph.D., concludes his consideration of "The Cosmogony of Genesis and its Reconcilers," his article being particularly devoted to a review of some of the work of the different creative days. "Further Studies on the Bloody Sweat of our Lord," by W. W. Keen, M.D., LL.D., is a discussion "from a medical standpoint" of the possibility of such a physical phenomenon. By the citation of various similar instances, both European and American, the author shows that, in the case of Christ, "with such intensified emotion beyond the limit of human endurance, and with such physical suffering as culminated on the cross, it cannot be a wonder either that his sweat became bloody, or that his heart, even at so early an age as thirty-three, should rupture." In "Joseph as a Statesman," the Hon. James Monroe, LL.D., points out the high qualities which marked the rule of this Jewish leader. The author's reference at the close to the administration in Washington seems a peculiar digression. The next article, by Professor H. A. Scomp, LL.D., considers "How to Promote the Study of Greek." General culture in Greek, the writer holds, "must concern itself more with the thought, the literature, of the Hellenes, and less with forms and syntax;" the language must be dealt with "as a living tongue;" and the Erasmian system of pronunciation must be renounced for "the native" system. "Improved Homes for Wage-Earners" is a practical discussion, by J. G. Johnson, D.D., of an important subject. "The slums have no right to exist. No city has the right to permit them to remain. Business energy, illumined by a love for our city and for our fellow-men, will banish them, and will eliminate from the regions of poverty every element of degradation and the last vestiges of ugliness." Edward Mortimer Chapman follows with an elaborate discussion of "The Idea of the Kingdom of God;" and W. Douglas Mackenzie, D.D., concludes the list of contributed articles with a paper on "Evolution Theories and Christian Doctrine." He affirms that "within the Christian religion it is now recognized that there has been a continuous history, both of doctrine and of institutions. The religion of revelation has its place in history, which means that it has had stages, development, evolution." The relation of evolution to the doctrines of revelation and of sin is particularly considered by Dr. Mackenzie.

The admission of the products of Great Britain into Canada at a reduced tariff rate forms the basis of Henry Birchenough's article in the

Nineteenth Century for July. Under the title of "The Jameson Expedition—a Narrative of Facts," Major Sir John Willoughby publishes his official report of that now famous adventure. The advance of science in its investigation of brain structure, and the practical application of the "serum treatment" to the "black death" and to snake bites, are discussed by Prince Kropotkin in "Recent Science." A suggestive charge is found in "The Growth of Caste in the United States." Its writer, Joseph Edgar Chamberlin, notices the habits of fashionable society in New York, Newport, Fall River, and elsewhere, and in the rigidity with which our *élite* guards the doors of admission to its charmed circle finds the proof of his claim. Sir Wemyss Reid, in "Some Reminiscences of English Journalism," recalls certain interesting personal experiences. "There is something worse," he says, "than the egotism of the journalist. This is his Wegotism—if I may adopt a word invented, I believe, by Sir William Harcourt. The journalist who, by virtue of his command of the 'We,' thunders forth his decrees as though he were throned upon Mount Sinai is only too familiar an object in modern journalism." In the succeeding article, entitled "On Conversation," James Payn declares that the art "has suffered in England from the example of its most famous professor," Dr. Johnson. "The fact is, conversation is a gift of nature; when artificial, it is never really good. The disposition must be genial; the wit ready and keen, but of the kind that 'never carries a heart stain away on its blade;' the humor abundant, but always arising from the situation, not pumped up, but a natural flow; there must be a quick sympathy, and above all the desire to please." The life and peculiarities of the author of *Sandford and Merton* are noticed by Colonel M. Lockwood, M.P., in his article on "Thomas Day." The discussion of "Genius and Stature," by Havelock Ellis, is full of interest. The saying of Balzac that "nearly all great men are little" seems disproved by the tabulation of names which the writer gives. "It will be found," he writes, "that we thus obtain one hundred and forty-two tall men of genius, seventy-four of middle height, while one hundred and twenty-five are short." And in conclusion he observes that "among those variations and abnormalities which, as is already generally agreed, we find with unusual frequency among the very tall and the very short, extraordinary mental aptitude ought sometimes to occur." In "The Pope and the Anglican Archbishops" the Rev. Father H. I. D. Ryder listens "with bewilderment" to "the claim of continuity from the mouth" of the Anglicans. His article is the Roman Catholic presentation of some of the questions which divide, and will perhaps always divide, the two Churches. Attendance at the funeral of Louis Pasteur, in Notre Dame, and a later visit to his Institute prompts the article of Lady Eliza Priestley on "The French and English Treatment of Research"—the advantage being on the side of the former. "Life in Poetry—Poetical Decadence" was originally delivered as a lecture at Oxford, by Professor W. J. Courthope, C.B. Its title is

self-explanatory. J. Cuthbert Hadden discusses "The Teaching of Music in Schools," particularly considering the merit of the Tonic Sol-fa system; M. M. Beeton, B. A., deplores the decline of colonial prosperity, in "The Wrecking of the West Indies;" and Miss Frances H. Low writes "How Poor Ladies Live—a Rejoinder and a 'Jubilee' Suggestion." The Hon. Mrs. Theo. Chapman concludes the long table of contents with a brief but adverse paper on "Woman Suffrage Again!" The results of such sufferage on women would, she maintains, be "more deplorable, as we think, than the spectacle which seems so to distress many worthy people at present, of an educated lady seeing her coachman go to record his vote at the poll, while she has none."

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July has: 1. "Philip Melanchthon—Scholar and Reformer," by John De Witt, D.D., LL.D.; 2. "Mariolatry," by R. P. Farris, D.D.; 3. "Pope Leo XIII on the Validity of Anglican Orders," by R. C. Reed, D.D.; 4. "The Public Language of Our Lord," by R. B. Woodworth, A.M.; 5. "A Divine Manual for all Christian Workers," by A. W. Pitzer, D.D.; 6. "W. K. Marshall—A Missionary Pioneer of the Southwest," by D. F. Eagleton, A.M.; 7. "A Plea for Unity," by R. P. Kerr, D.D.; 8. "The Southern General Assembly, 1897," by W. McF. Alexander, A.M.——The July number of the *London Quarterly* opens with a paper on "The Victorian Era." Other articles are, "A Jacobite Arch-Traitor," "Arctic Siberia and its Wonders," "The Structure of St. Paul's Doctrine," "Miss Kingsley in West Africa," "Jowett as a Teacher," and "The Progress of Our Colonial Empire during the Queen's Reign."——Among the admirably illustrated articles of the August *Century* are, "'The Lordly Hudson,'" by Clarence Cook; "A Journey in Thessaly," by T. D. Goodell; "The Alaska Trip," by John Muir; and "London at Play," by Elizabeth R. Pennell. Among its valuable historical articles are, "Controversies in the War Department—Unpublished Facts Relating to the Impeachment of President Johnson," by Lieutenant General J. M. Schofield, and General Horace Porter's tenth paper on "Campaigning with Grant."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for August is rich in suggestions for those who need. The opening sermon, with portrait of the preacher, is on "Paul's Secret." Its speaker is F. B. Meyer. This is followed by a sermon on "The Creed of the Mount," by Dr. D. J. Burrell, the discourse being also accompanied by a picture of the speaker.——The issue of the *Outlook* for August 7 continues its illustrated series on "The Story of Gladstone's Life." Other articles made attractive by their pictures are "The Master of Balliol"—a review of the recent life of Jowett—"The Cambridge Conferences," and "Studying the Sun," an account of the Amherst eclipse expedition to Japan in 1896. This issue of the *Outlook* is called the "Educational Number."——In the *Gospel in All Lands*, for August, Dr. Smith has made Mexico and Japan the subjects of attractive illustrated articles.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

An Introduction to the History of Religion. By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M.A., Litt.D. 8vo, pp. 443. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This is an investigation of the history of early religion on the principles and methods of anthropology, the recent results of which it summarizes, and then endeavors to estimate their bearing upon religious problems and to weave the whole into a connected history of early religion. It does not claim to be a history of religion, but only an introduction thereto, aiming to prepare the student for the study of that history by familiarizing him with some of the elementary ideas and some of the commonest topics of the subject. It deals, not with Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism, which are called "positive religions," as being enjoined by some known founder, but with what the author calls "customary religions," as being practiced by custom and tradition without the authority of any single founder. These earlier religions, their ideas, customs, and institutions, form the theme of this book. Results of recent anthropological research which lay scattered abroad are here brought together and focused in order to show what their total bearing on the history of religion is. The data presented are preliminary and helpful to the study of comparative religion. Even if there were any use there is no good reason for objecting to the application of the comparative method to the study of religion, because while the use of that method does imply that religions resemble one another (else there were no use in comparing them), it also implies that religions differ from one another (else it would be unnecessary to compare them). Comparative anatomy is needed because animals differ from each other in structure. The very existence of comparative philology proclaims the fact that there are differences between languages. So the application of the comparative method of study to religion is a rejection of the notion that all religions are alike. That they differ is assumed by that method, and the aim of it is to find out how much and in what respects. The Christian who believes in the vast superiority of his religion over all others ought in all consistency to welcome all honest comparison of other religions with Christianity. He not only has no reason for fear, but also he cannot afford to show signs of being afraid of the result. Incidentally the author corrects the notion that evolution is the same thing as progress; evolution is sometimes degeneration; a lower type frequently comes out of a higher. "Institutions not only grow but decay also, and decay, as well as growth, is a process of evolution. Florid art is evolved out of something simpler, but is not therefore superior to it. The Roman empire was evolved out of the Roman republic, and was morally a degeneration from it. The polytheism of Virgil is not better,

as religion, than that of Homer; the polytheism of late Brahminism is certainly worse than that of the earlier periods." These and similar undeniable historic facts make it clearly possible that the heathen religions may have come from some higher religion by a long process of degeneration; and the savage of to-day may be historically an evolution from, and yet morally, intellectually, socially, and religiously a degeneration from a far higher and nobler type of man. From the scientific and historic point of view such a fall of man as is recorded in Genesis is not improbable. That human history began with a savage and brutal state is not a justified conclusion of anthropology. When anthropology gets back as far as that hypothetical creature which it calls "primitive man," it is even then not in sight of our first parents, and, as Jevons says, "the anthropologist, standing on primitive man's side of the gulf, cannot pretend to see or say with certainty what did or did not happen on the farther side" of that gap where our first parents were. Remarking that the balance of purely scientific opinion inclines to settle in favor of a monogenetic origin of the human species, Professor Jevons writes: "Whether the anthropologist will fall back upon the Book of Genesis to assist him in his conjectures as to what happened before the earliest times on which his science has any clear light to throw, will depend upon the value he assigns to Genesis and the interpretation he puts upon it. Some writers argue that Genesis may be literally true, but it never says that religion was revealed. But it seems to me that the account in Genesis could never have been written except by one who believed (1) that monotheism was the original religion, (2) that there never was a time in the history of man when he was without religion, and (3) that the revelation of God to man's consciousness was immediate, direct, and carried conviction with it." A good index at the end of this book guides to the particular contents of chapters which treat of the supernatural, life and death, taboo, totemism, animal sacrifice, the sacrificial meal, fetichism, ancestor worship, nature worship, polytheism, mythology, priesthood, the next life, transmigration of souls, the mysteries, the Eleusinian mysteries, monotheism, and the evolution of belief. The author notes that, as every anthropologist now knows, the notion that any race of men, however rude and savage, is found destitute of religious ideas, has "gone to the limbo of dead controversies." Commenting on the fact that the progress of knowledge in any large field encounters from time to time facts which seem irreconcilable, it is observed that in the case of religious faith numerous difficulties of this sort are encountered, as, for example, the difficulty of reconciling much which happens in the world with the conviction that all that happens is for the best. "*Such difficulties*," says Jevons, "*require an act of will*, if faith is to reassert itself; and the energy thus stimulated may expend itself in renewed efforts to harmonize the apparently conflicting facts. The desire to unify our experience is a perennial need of human nature. The fact that it can be unified is not peculiar to religion, but is

the base of all science. The track by which science has marched in its conquest of nature is marked by the ruins of abandoned hypotheses. One hypothesis is cast aside in favor of another which explains a greater number of facts; and although no hypothesis, not even evolution, accounts for all the observed facts of the physical universe, yet no man of science believes that the facts are incapable of explanation: on the contrary, he believes that they are only waiting for the right hypothesis, and that then they will all fall into line. In a word, as a man of science and in his scientific labors he walks by faith—by the faith that the universe is constructed on rational principles, on principles the rationality of which the human, or at any rate the scientific, mind can comprehend. His faith is that the external facts of consciousness do form one consistent, harmonious whole, regulated by the laws of nature, and that we can more or less comprehend the system which the physical universe forms. Now, the moral philosopher holds the same faith with regard to the facts of morality, that they, too, are consistent with one another, and are all consistent with reason and with the moral aspirations of man rightly construed. The religious mind believes that these facts, all facts, external or internal, of which we have direct knowledge, immediate consciousness, can be reconciled with one another, or rather actually are harmonious and consistent, if only we could see them as they are, instead of looking at them without seeing them. But this, the religious, faith which looks forward to the synthesis of all facts in a manner satisfactory to the reason, to the moral and to the spiritual sense alike, covers a much larger area than either science or moral philosophy, and is much more liable to meet with facts apparently irreconcilable with it. *Hence the effort of will is a much more frequent and more marked feature of religious than of scientific faith.*"

Beyond the Horizon; or, Bright Side Chapters on the Future Life. By HENRY D. KIMBALL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 250. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

We do not understand that Dr. Kimball has suggested in this book any new argument for immortality. He has not written for critics who have already swept the field of proof and are still exactingly insistent on further evidences. But his volume, which is the outgrowth of three decades of ministerial life and study, is rather designed for the comfort of common people with their everyday yearnings and pathetic loneliness. To this effect he declares in his Preface: "We have written to help our own thought, and with the hope that we might help the thought of others, concerning the world to come. The possible readers we have had in mind are not great theologians or profound philosophers. Nor have we had a vision of the sentimentalist, who lives in his feelings, poring over these pages. We have rather seen, mentally, dear friends of other years, to whom we have sustained the relation of pastor, with our book in hand. . . . We also confess to a hope for a wider circle of readers among those whose faces we have never seen—persons

in whose hearts bereavement may have put the spirit of thoughtful inquiry concerning the future." Yet, if the author proposes no new argument for the unseen life, the proofs which he adduces have at least passed through the alembic of his own thought, and are therefore new, though old. We may quote in full the titles of his various chapters, which are as follows: "Is There a Beyond?" "Conscious Existence after Death—Natural Witness;" "Conscious Existence after Death—Supernatural Witness;" "The Intermediate State;" "'Clothed' or 'Unclothed;'" "Resurrection;" "With what Manner of Body?" "Judgment;" "Heaven—Where is It?" "Heaven—What is It?" "Recognition in Heaven." As to the fact of a future the reader lingers over the fourth of the author's eight proofs, in the opening chapter, to the effect that immortality follows if we postulate God. There are "traces of infinity" in man's nature. In his intelligence, affection, will, personality, and creative powers; in his moral nature; and in the fact that, like God, the real man is invisible, his origin seems to be different from that of material things. "Man is evidently sprung from the divine nature, and, hence, is God's child. He is God in miniature; he is the absolute put into conditions. As such he must be dowered with immortality." Concerning that mystery of which the believer does not tire to talk, the nature of the resurrection body, the author holds that "the elements of the essential human body at death will enter into the body of the resurrection." He further says: "Will the digestive organs be superfluous, and therefore be eliminated? But what Scripture suggests it? On this assumption what explanation can be given of the fact that our risen Lord partook of food? What significance is to be attached to the fruit-bearing trees which line the banks of the river of water of life?" And, again, there are in this life indications of a law which may make the risen body "the faithful and exact expression of the spirit within." Each man "is in this life molding and shaping his resurrection body. Just as every stroke of the sculptor helps to bring the angel out of the marble, so every thought, feeling, and purpose contributes something to the beauty or deformity of our resurrection body." Or, discussing the no less fascinating questions that cluster around the location and occupations of heaven, the writer thinks it at least "not unreasonable" to believe that "the physical universe is to maintain its integrity, through whatever changes may be wrought, as the field of study and the theater of exploit for moral intelligences." While the Scripture gives no hint as to the situation of heaven, in its relation to other worlds of the universe, yet the theory of a common center of all systems of worlds—as held by Kant, Lambert, Mädler, and others—is suggested at least as a possibility by Dr. Kimball. Nor does the theory put the Father's house at "an awful remove." Distance is only relative. "The standard of distance to the mole that burrows in the meadow is not that of the bobolink which pours forth its song with gushing, gladsome melody. . . . London is nearer Chicago to-day than Detroit used to be. . . . To the divine

Being there is no such thing as distance. Angels and redeemed spirits doubtless move with greater celerity than light. . . . An heir of God is heir to all that he has made." There will be worship in heaven, "character development," the creation of one's own environment "in harmony with his individuality," the "community life," activity "both voluntary and spontaneous," and acquisition of knowledge. Some will perhaps teach others. "We shall enter heaven from the level of this life's attainment. . . . There will ever be heights beyond the heights. The farther heights can never be reached till those nearer have been scaled." And there will doubtless be recognition in heaven. The sociality of our nature, the indestructibility of memory, the imperishability of affection, the universal longing of the heart, and the intimations of Scripture are so many arguments, thinks Dr. Kimball, for recognition. "Heaven will not be so unlike this world as many seem to think. Take sin away, take death and sickness and weariness and pain and poverty out of this world, and it would doubtless be very like heaven." By such random quotations the reader may infer what have been the author's excursions into this ever-inviting field of speculation. Because it is a line of inquiry of which children and children's children will never grow weary, the book has a claim upon universal attention. Whoever has come to think that he is better than a clod, that he is not to stay here always, that he is going out into the great immensities, that he is to have fellowship with cherubim and archangels, and that he is to look upon the beatific vision of the Godhead will find suggestions and help in the volume.

The Celestial Summons. By Rev. ANGELO CANOLL. Edited by HOMER EATON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The reader is not less interested in the personality of the Christian minister here recalled than in the message he brings to men. Mr. Canoll served as a Methodist pastor for forty-three years, in five Annual Conferences. His friend, the late Rev. R. H. Howard, in the "Introduction" says of him: "Mr. Canoll was eminently a pulpit orator. Even long before he attained his majority he was regarded throughout the whole extent of his Conference a prodigy of pulpit ability, and ever thereafter, in all his various fields of labor, was uniformly considered a creature of unique, versatile, and matchless gifts. His vivid imagination and imperial voice, whose every intonation was music; his fervent impulses, charming imagery, choice diction, and always fresh and vigorous thought—the whole set off by a faultless pulpit manner—combined to make him easily chief among his ministerial brethren. . . . He was always thoughtful, scholarly, manly, not to say profound. His style, if ornate, was always chastened, severely simple, and cast in the best of English." The volume of discourses now under consideration—whose editing was left to the kind offices of Dr. Homer Eaton—takes its name from the first sermon of the twelve. The third discourse, entitled "Nature's Interpretation of Immortality," dwells upon "a single and special view" that, says Mr.

Canoll, "has never been presented, so far as I am informed, and as I have been assured by competent authority." This view, in a word, is that there is in nature a "merging or evolution of the lower order into the higher," and that, unless death be a "transition to another life," the "ever-onward march ceases that very moment." With what thrilling climax the sermon closes: "Opposite forces of grace and sin are acting upon you, and for the present, it may be, you hesitate under their equilibrium; but that equilibrium will soon cease, and you will sweep out upon your long career of darkness or of light. You are defining your orbit, and you are defining it for eternity. . . . I am indeed preaching truths that pervade the whole system of the Scriptures; but you can burn the Bible, and the infinite volume of nature, whose pages represent eternities and whose worlds are but letters—that book will never revise its theology to escape our fagots." In the sermon on "Watching with Christ One Hour" occurs this forceful and vivid utterance: "The strange spectacle that fills us with wonder and shuddering on the misty slope of Mount Olivet repeats itself daily. Broadly cast upon all the perspective of history are the ever-contrasted forms of the tireless, sleepless, struggling, overcoming Christ, and the palsied sleepers who fear or faint in the dark hour of the great and agonizing tribulation of the regeneration." Of the place of feeling in religion Mr. Canoll, in his sermon on "Christ's Sovereignty over the Human Heart," speaks as follows: "There is no irrepressible conflict between the reason and the sentiments, the intellect and the heart; and we must beware of that increasing tendency of the modern pulpit, and of the Church generally, to regard the intellect as the lawful potentate over the working Christian forces, and the heart as an imbecile pretender hardly to be tolerated." The last discourse, on "The Millennial Call," rings with the invitation of the Gospel to mankind, "O come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord, toward the ringing of the glad millennial bells." These quotations, necessarily fragmentary and chosen at random, suggest what the complete volume is. In their perusal the reader feels himself in the presence of an intellectual and spiritual teacher of unusual power.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Theory of Thought and Knowledge. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. 8vo, pp. 389. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.99.

The satisfaction which many a reader finds in this, as in the author's other books, is like the pleasure of seeing the fog lift and a sunlit landscape come to view. One is reminded of a morning at Zermatt, when the clouds blew away from the Matterhorn. No keener intellect for analysis, no more decisive judgment, no rarer genius for elucidation can be found at work anywhere in philosophy. Any mind with the least capacity for philosophic comprehension may find straight paths, solid

footing, and bright daylight in these pages. Matters usually abstruse and opaque are set forth clearly in a style concise, translucent, accurate; no word superfluous, no sentence obscure, no statement unintelligible, no reasoning inconsecutive, no page dull. By a revision now proceeding Professor Bowne's previous volume on metaphysics is to be adjusted to the book before us so that the two together may form a kind of whole, setting forth a general way of looking at things which will be found consistent with itself and with the general facts of experience. The root idea in the theory of thought here presented is that thought is an organic activity which unfolds from within, and can never be put together from without by the mechanical juxtaposition and association of sense impressions. From this it follows that the laws of thought are to be sought within thought itself as immanent principles of mental action, and are not a deposit or precipitate of sense experience. Accordingly the author says that knowledge is not "something originating outside of the mind, possibly in the nerves, and passed along ready-made into the mind; it is rather something built up by the mind within itself in accordance with principles immanent in the mental nature." In treating of the theory of knowledge particular attention is called to the speculative significance of freedom, to the suicidal character of all mechanical theories of mind and fundamental existence, and to the impossibility of any tenable theory of knowledge except on a theistic basis. In this book, as elsewhere, Professor Bowne places emphasis on the volitional and practical nature of belief and inculcates tolerance by reminding us of the incompleteness of all our systematic constructions. Last of all, it is shown how much of popular speculation and magazine philosophy is rendered worthless by vicious forms of verbal and logical illusion. It is remarked especially of current heated discussion of social problems that it is largely verbal and abstract, having little contact with reality and being mainly carried on in a mirage of rhetoric and question-begging epithets, so that there is hardly any more pressing necessity than the exorcism of logical specters and verbal illusions in order that we may see our problems as they really are. Little as the subject-matter of philosophic works usually lends itself to brief quotations, there are in this book many paragraphs and pages we are tempted to quote as perfect examples of luminous, compact, and irresistible statement. The author never uses figures of speech inaccurately, nor is he led astray by them, but one notices how sometimes at the end of an extended argument in purely philosophic language a short illustrative sentence puts the matter concretely, so that the gist of the argument lies visible in a flash, as distinct as a fly in amber. The things likely to impress the reader most are the author's at-homeness in the world of philosophy and metaphysics, his mastery of materials and native familiarity with all bypaths as with open roads, and the clearness, solidity, and cogency of his reasoning. His chief aim is to bring to light certain fundamental principles which underlie the puzzling prob-

lems of thought and knowledge. As an example of how the philosophic skeptic may be cornered, we quote from the close of the second chapter on the theory of knowledge the following conclusions resulting from precedent argument: "1. If the sensational theory of knowledge leads to the impossibility of knowledge (and Hume showed that it does), then sensationalism must be eschewed by everyone who views knowledge as possible. 2. If materialism has similar consequences (and it certainly has), then materialism must be rejected by every believer in knowledge. 3. If all fatalistic theories, whether of finite minds or of the basal reality, engulf thought in hopeless skepticism (and they unquestionably do), then they also are to be ruled out as fatal to the first condition of all theorizing —trust in our power to know. 4. If, finally, atheism is but another name for some or all of the above theories, and hence has the same bearing upon knowledge (and the identity is unquestionable), then atheism is to be rejected as essentially inadmissible, as being the destruction of all theory itself among the rest. . . . The implications of the theories mentioned may not prove them false, but they do prove that we cannot consistently allow them to be true and retain any system of knowledge. Even the theories themselves would lose all logical foundation as a result of their own consequences." These are cases of suicide not mentioned in the newspapers nor reported to the coroner. Nowhere is firmer validity given to our religious convictions or stronger warrant for Christian belief than in Professor Bowne's writings. The only thing we could crave for the volume before us is an index for convenience of quick reference, after a first reading, if such an index be practicable in connection with the treatment of such subjects.

Without Prejudice. By I. ZANGWILL. 12mo, pp. 384. New York: The Century Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

In several senses this is light literature. The light buff color of the cover strikes the eye; the book feels lighter in the hand than any volume of its size we can remember; and all its topics, grave or gay, are played with in a lightsome, rapid, and easy fashion. A flashing fancy darts across its pages. A satire, which is like a keen, bright rapier thrusting right and left, pierces many things. The author of *The Master*, *Children of the Ghetto*, *Ghetto Tragedies*, and several other novels, appears as a sparkling essayist in these selections made from his monthly contributions to the *Pall Mall Magazine*. The book is dedicated "To You;" its contents are grouped under three heads, "Gossips and Fantasies," "Philosophic Excursions, Here, There, and Somewhere Else," and "Afterthoughts: A Bundle of Brevities." The author's light-hearted candor takes many willful liberties, but without prejudice or animosity; and his queer quips and quirks, his whimsies and vagaries, are conceived in all moods except the mood of dullness. What the woods are like one tells you best by bringing to you some spicy pieces of birch and sassafras and wintergreen, some wild flowers, lovely or peculiar. A few sprigs will give our readers something of the zest and color of these

essays. The true critic is an interpreter, not a cynic; criticism with the praise left out savors of the prosecuting attorney rather than of the judge. On the omnipresence of prejudice the author says: "A human being is born a bundle of prejudices, of instincts, impulses, and intuitions that precede judgment. Reason is only called in to justify the verdict of prejudice. Sentiment is prejudice touched with emotion. Patriotism is prejudice touched with pride, and politics is prejudice touched with spite. Philosophy is prejudice put into propositions, and art is prejudice put into paint or sound. . . . Every man is born a Platonist or an Aristotelian, a Romanticist or a Realist or an Impressionist, and usually erects his own limitations into a creed. Every country, town, district, family, individual, has a special set of prejudices along the lines of which it moves, and which it mistakes for exclusive truths or reasoned conclusions." Miscellaneous bits are culled as follows: "The cocksure centuries are passed forever. In these hard times we have to work for our opinions; we cannot rely on inheriting them from our fathers." "Just as the Pyrrhonist in maintaining that there is no truth asserts one, so the literary pessimist partly contradicts his contention of the futility of existence by his anxiety to express himself elegantly." "What Professor Huxley has done for the crayfish, that Thackeray did for the snob. He studied him lovingly, he dissected him, he classified every variety of him." "Mr. Stead believes in himself in a way that is refreshing in these atheistic times." "The world is divided into those who take life seriously and those who treat it as a farce. The workers and the fighters have the nobler, better part. A genuine emotion, an earnest conviction, vitalizes life. The daydreams and enthusiasms of hungry youth are better than the dinners of prosaic maturity, and a simple maiden in her flower is worth a hundred epigrams." The idealists in art and literature say essentially: "We can create a much nicer world than nature's. Why be plagiarists when we can make universes of our own?" "Englishmen cannot think of two things at once; they are like heavy, solid craft, sound of timber but slow of turning. 'One thing at a time' is the national proverb." Zola is called "that apostle of insufficient insight." "Because real ethics resides, not in rules, but in principles, obedience to the letter may mean falsity to the spirit if the circumstances that dictated the rules have changed. This is not casuistry. It is a concept not to be found in Pansetius or Cicero or the Jesuit fathers. It means that we are not to wear our boyhood's waistcoats, but to be measured for manhood's. Tight lacing is bad for the spiritual circulation. . . . The governing principles of morality must be broad and simple." This is from the essay on the "Philosophy of Topsy-Turveydom:" "Darwin, the Barry Pain of biology, asserted that man rose from the brutes, and that, instead of creatures being adapted to conditions, conditions adapted creatures. Berkeley, the Lewis Carroll of metaphysics, demonstrated that our bodies are in our minds, and Kant, the W. S. Gilbert of philosophy, showed that time and space live in us. In literature it is the same

story. To credit the scholars, Homer is no longer a man nor the Bible a book. As for Zechariah, it was written before Genesis. This topsy-turveydom is a valuable organon of scientific discovery. Take any proposition, invert it, and you get a new truth. Any historian who wishes to make a name has but to state that Ahab was a saint and Elijah a Philistine; that Ananias was a realist and George Washington a liar; that Charles I was a republican hampered by his official position and that the Armada defeated Drake; that Socrates died of drinking and that hemlock was what he gave Xantippe." And then the author, to show how it may be done, strikes out for fame by an apology to Jezebel, whom he eulogizes as a "martyr in a noble strife," a "protestant for light and sweetness against the narrow incompleteness of Elijah and Elisha's view of life." English prose is said to owe to Walter Pater "harmonies and felicities unsurpassed and unsurpassable." Style alone may make good art, but not great art. Matter, and not form, is the supreme thing. "It is on the quality of the matter it informs or controls, its compass, its variety, its alliance to great ends, or the depth of the note of revolt, or the largeness of hope in it, that the greatness of literary art depends. as *The Divine Comedy*, *Paradise Lost*, *Les Misérables*, and the English Bible are great art." Apropos of Pater's literary style is the following: "This exquisite care for words has something of moral purity as well as physical daintiness in it. There is, indeed, something priestly in this consecration of language, in this reverent ablution of the counters of thought, those poor counters so overcrusted with the dirt of travel, so loosely interchangeable among the vulgar; the figure of the stooping devotee shows sublime in a garrulous world." "Prose is the highest of all literary forms, the most difficult to handle triumphantly. We get the music of it in Ruskin and in Pater." Concerning the proneness of people to estimate things by their cost or amount of advertising Stevenson is quoted: "If we were charged so much a head for sunsets, or if God sent round a drum before the hawthorns came in flower, what ado would we not make about their beauty." About the World's Fair at Chicago Zangwill, who is sad because he did not see it, writes: "Except as an object lesson in the unity and federation of mankind the fair had no valuable *raison d'être*, and, unfortunately, the school term was short and the number of pupils comparatively limited. America is a long way from everywhere, even from itself." The search for truth and reality grows ever more resolute and relentless. Its fearlessness is the highest form of proof of faith. Weaklings moan, "Analysis and criticism are killing ideals and driving to despair." But robust souls answer: "Ideals that can be killed by knowledge are delusions which deserve to die, and you are better off without them. Know the truth at all costs, for it alone can make men free. Superstition is slavery. No comfort at all, if that were the result, is better than false comfort. But fear not, little flock; despair will not be the result of analysis; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom by exact knowledge of what and where that

kingdom is. On, therefore, after truth and fact, with intrepid faith in the system of things and in the Author thereof." European tourists are described as "going about comfortably with a Baedeker and a stock of admiration which they distribute as per instructions." Zangwill happened in Venice when the present German emperor was there, and writes: "This young man—from all I have observed since he became my neighbor—lives a highly colored dramatic existence, in which there are sixty minutes to every hour and sixty seconds to every minute. He must be a disciple of Nietzsche, a lover of the strong and splendid, this German gentleman, who is just off to Vienna to prance at the head of fifteen hundred horsemen. While William II lived opposite me it was all excursions and alarums. As a neighbor an emperor is distinctly noisy. . . . What a strange life is a king's! What an unreal universe of flags and cannons and phrases monarchs inhabit! Do they think that the streets are always gay with streamers and bunting and triumphal arches, always thunderous with throats of men or guns, always impassable? Poor kings! I always class them with novelists for ignorance of life. If they would only stop and think! But when they stop they do not think, and when they think they do not stop. And this William II, he, at any rate, is not likely to stop and think." And yet more about William: "We English have abolished the sovereign, but we are too loyal to say so. In Germany the sovereign refuses to be a symbol, and in a country overcivilized in thought and undercivilized in action he is having a pretty good innings. I must confess I do not find this attitude of his merely ridiculous. It forces clearly upon the modern world the question of kingship, whether it is to be a sham or a reality. Unpopular as William II has made himself by his martinet methods—ridiculous, if you will—there is only one step from the ridiculous to the sublime. In a flippant age he takes himself seriously, has a sense of responsible relation to his people." Zangwill, rummaging old court records, finds the signature of Queen Elizabeth to be the most regal autograph in the world, "like some ships going out against the Armada with swelling canvas and pennants streaming. There's a woman after Nietzsche's heart—strong, splendid, and unscrupulous. If Nietzsche had married her he might have changed his philosophy." Writing of progress, he says: "The notion of progress, said Spinoza, is a futility, because God, of whom the universe is a manifestation, is always perfect. Later philosophers have found this doctrine a barren blind alley and craved for the notion of a more energizing God. But both notions seem perfectly compatible. Progress may be just the way perfection manifests itself. The universe moves—and at each point is perfect. It is as good as it could be—at the moment; it could not be any better. For if it could have been it would have been; it has no interest in being otherwise. That it is not perfect in our sense of the word matters little to the metaphysician. We have such limited experiences of universes that we could not judge what a really good one should be like; and to say that ours is bad is to foul

our own nest." "Herbert Spencer knew a retired naval officer in whose mind God figured as a sort of transcendently powerful sea captain. An old English admiral, when fighting the Dutch, was confident of victory because he was sure God wouldn't desert a fellow-countryman. The materialist says woman's poetry is inferior to man's because she exhales less carbonic acid." For a last quotation this admonition comes across the sea to our republic: "Let universal suffrage operate honestly, or let it be suspended or abolished. Let those States which now, in accordance with deep Machiavellian principles, dishonestly, by a reliable inaccuracy in the counting, render nugatory the vote of the enfranchised black man, withdraw their spurious pretense of Christianity. A double standard of morals subtly infects the whole core of the nation. Corruption cannot be localized; it creeps and spreads through all departments of thought and action. To give with the right hand and take away with the left is a maneuver unworthy of a great nation. To found society or communities upon a farce is to lower those ideals by which, as much as by bread, a nation lives."

The Complete Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell. 8vo, pp. 492. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This is the latest volume of what is named "the Cambridge edition" of the poets, and like those of Longfellow, Browning, Holmes, and Whittier is a benefit conferred upon the reading public by providing much for little, in small compass and attractive form. We are more than half inclined to side with those who regard Lowell as the representative American poet. One advantage in holding all his poems in one's hand at once is that one marks the author's gradual perfecting of quality and form from the first crude beginnings. Lowell in maturity looking back over his earlier poems apologetically adopted the words of Petrarca to Boccaccio: "We neither of us are such poets as we thought ourselves when we were younger." The history of the principal poems is given in headnotes, and a liberal use is made of the *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, published in two volumes by Harper and Brothers. Lowell's face is the frontispiece, and the title-page bears a picture of "Elmwood," the old square house at Cambridge in which Lowell was born and died; of which he wrote in a letter: "Here I am in my garret. I slept here when I was a little curly-headed boy, and used to see visions between me and the ceiling, and dream the oft-recurring dream of having the earth put into my hand like an orange. In it I used to be shut up without a lamp —my mother saying that none of her children should be afraid of the dark—to hide my head under the pillow, and then not be able to shut out the shapeless monsters that thronged around me, the creatures of my brain." Edward Everett Hale, a college mate, writes of Lowell's Harvard student days: "The fashion of Cambridge was then literary. Now the fashion of Cambridge runs to social problems." The brightest students in those days were interested chiefly in literature; they read and discussed Byron and Shelley and Keats and Carlyle and Tennyson and

Browning. A great change has come. Now athletics, the physical sciences, social problems, dominate the student mind. This suggests that we may have entered on an era the literary product of which will be so small and poor as to make us cling with ever-increasing appreciation to the literature bequeathed by Hawthorne, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes. Of his college days Lowell wrote in middle life: "Never were we ourselves so capable of the various great things we have never done." Distinguished as a poet, he was far from being a mere *littérateur;* he was a publicist, a prophet, a patriot, a man of the world. His wit and humor, his moral fervor, his keen ethical discernment, his gift of irony and ridicule, enabled him to make many an effective raid against wrong and corruption in civil and political life. His dispatches while minister at Madrid and at the Court of St. James show "his sagacity, his readiness in emergencies, his interest in and quick perception of the political situation in the country where he was resident, and his unerring knowledge of the world." His wit appears in the definition of suzerainty which he gave Lord Lyon: "Leaving to a man the privilege of carrying the saddle and bridle after you have stolen his horse." He "combined the unflinching earnestness of the Puritan with the mellowness of a man of the great world." Few things in this volume are so interesting as Lowell's Introduction to the second series of *Biglow Papers*, which gives a personal narrative of the origin of the scheme and dwells upon the literary use of the homely Yankee dialect in which those papers are couched. He speaks of the schoolmaster starching our language and smoothing it flat with the mangle of a supposed classical authority. He ascribes Lincoln's strong, simple, masculine, and noble English to his lifelong study of Shakespeare, Milton, and the Bible. It seems possible that the *Biglow Papers* may hereafter be treasured as the most vital and ebullient, the richest, raciest, and most brilliant product of Lowell's genius. In them his faculties are all at their best, with unsurpassed vigor and delightful abandon. Discussing the shrewd wit of many homely expressions heard in uncultivated and out-of-the-way places, Lowell writes: "Prosaic as American life seems in many of its aspects to a European, bleak and bare as it is on the side of tradition, and utterly orphaned of the solemn inspiration of antiquity, I cannot help thinking that the ordinary talk of unlettered men among us is fuller of metaphor and of phrases that suggest lively images than that of any other people." He quotes some which have "a native and puckery flavor:" "Mean enough to steal acorns from a blind hog;" "Cold as the north side of a Jenooary gravestone by starlight;" "Stingy enough to skim his milk at both ends;" a neighborhood so thievish that a man "has to take in his stone wall at night;" a negro "so black that charcoal made a chalk mark on him;" a man who took so much mercury that he found a lump of quicksilver in each boot when he went home to dinner. So true is Lowell's statement about the abundance of graphic, pithy, and suggestive phrases to be heard among our native population, East, West, North,

and South, that many who will read this book notice could easily make a list longer and brighter than Lowell's of expressions used by odd and original characters, full of keen insight, homely humor, sound sense, good-natured sarcasm, and poetic imagery. Frontiersmen, guides, men of the sea, farmers, stage drivers, backwoods preachers—how many of them, being full of thoughts which must have expression, not having the language of books, minted their own speech, fresh and sharp and bright. The writer of this notice could fill a page offhand with quaint, shrewd, funny phrases which he has heard and remembers like these: "Land so poor you can't raise a disturbance on it;" "I've got my first set of store teeth, and feel as if I had a window-blind in my mouth;" describing an attack of colic and severe intestinal disturbance—"I felt as if a Tammany Hall primary meeting was going on inside of me;" disapproving a sudden and evanescent excitement—"I don't like a brush fire." This naïve and ingenious gift for descriptive expression was possessed by the mountaineer who, hearing in the Rockies the bray of a donkey reverberating among the peaks, facetiously named the animal "the Rocky Mountain canary." The *Biglow Papers* hold one of the richest deposits of homely American phrasing to be found in print. One noteworthy statement from Lowell is that, more than anyone he knew except Hawthorne, Arthur Hugh Clough impressed him with the constant presence of that indefinable thing we call genius.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Our Own Times, from 1880 to the Diamond Jubilee. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P. Crown 8vo, pp. 478. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.75.

A person of respectable ability and judgment recently called Justin McCarthy the Macaulay of our time. Certainly such praise is excessive, but it shows that his historical writings have excited admiration. The present book concludes the history of the reign of Queen Victoria. The preceding volumes followed the events of her reign down to the spring of 1880, when the Liberal party resumed control of the government under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. Now we have before us an elucidation of many events which have affected British interests during the last seventeen years. This book treats at length of some matters likely to be passed by with brief reference in more pretentious histories, such as the Bradlaugh episode, caused by the refusal of that notorious advocate of atheistic principles to repeat the customary oath on taking his seat as a member of the House of Commons, demanding the privilege of simply affirming his allegiance because the words, "So help me God," which concluded the oath were objectionable to him. Concerning the real pith of the long struggle which aimed to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh from taking his seat our author writes: "The great question really disturbing the minds of serious men was, whether a professing and proclaimed atheist ought

to be allowed to sit in the House of Commons. No one argued that an atheist ought not to be allowed to sit in the House—that is, no one contended that there ought to be a religious examination by Mr. Speaker, or by anybody else, of each elected representative in order to find how far he had gone in the way of free thought. Everyone knew that there were atheists, according to the common understanding of the term, in every House of Commons. But the question was whether a man who proclaimed himself an atheist ought to be allowed to sit in the House. There was an irritated feeling with many men that Bradlaugh had made a needless fuss about his opinions, and that, as he after a while expressed his willingness to take the oath, he ought to have taken it in the first place and said nothing at all about it. Many men pointed to the example of John Stuart Mill, who had taken the oath without protest, and they asked, angrily, if what was good enough for Stuart Mill was not quite good enough for Bradlaugh. But the cases were entirely different. Mill had never proclaimed himself an atheist, and in point of fact never was an atheist in Mr. Bradlaugh's sense of the word. *Mill was in all his sympathies a Christian, although he could not identify himself with any one form of Christian faith.* (!) [Italics ours.] He had no more conscientious objection to taking the parliamentary oath than he would have had to taking off his hat on entering St. Paul's Cathedral in London or St. Peter's in Rome. But Bradlaugh was a convinced and aggressive atheist, the organizer of a propaganda of atheism, and his followers would have been amazed, indeed, if their leader had hauled down his flag and consented to take the oath without even a word of protest." Deeming it unnecessary to follow the story through all its wearisome details, the author says: "Some of its passages were ludicrous, and even farcical. Some were grave, odious, and lamentable. Mr. Bradlaugh kept on making little rushes at the House of Commons. Every now and then he ran unexpectedly up the floor, and made for the table in front of the speaker's chair, and clutched the Testament, in the hope of being sworn in, or, with the view of swearing himself in. Then the sergeant-at-arms and the deputy-sergeant sprang after him and seized him at the table. Each caught him by either arm, and, thus seized, he consented to be led back again to the bar of the House. The moment the officials released his arms he started off again on his run to the table. Then the officials toiled after him once more, and again he was led back to the bar of the House; and again, on being released, he made for the table as before. Anything more ludicrous, anything more ignoble, anything more degrading to the character of a great parliamentary assembly could hardly be imagined. Once the struggle assumed that grimmer and more lamentable character to which we have referred. . . . An order was made that Mr. Bradlaugh should be removed from the precincts of the House. He declared his determination to resist the order, and he was actually dragged and driven out of the House by the force of ten policemen. He had presented himself in the lobby, and was about to enter the House itself, when the order was given

by the officials for his removal. He was forced down the flights of winding stone steps which led from the central lobby to the private entrance of members. He was a man of extraordinary physical strength, and he fought like one desperate. The ten policemen had all they could do. Of course they were anxious not to hurt him. At last they got him out into Palace Yard. His clothes were torn, his face was flushed, his limbs trembling; yet he bore himself with imperturbable good humor and talked civilly with the police officials when the scuffle was over. The whole scene, however, was utterly unworthy of any House of Parliament. Nothing of the kind, so far as we know, had ever been seen in the legislative assembly of the smallest South American republic. Nothing of the kind had ever been known in the Capitol at Washington, even in the stormy days just before the American civil war. . . . There must certainly have been some possible way of settling an important constitutional question without wild dances on the floor of the House of Commons and scuffles in the lobby and on the staircase. Moreover, the struggles to prevent his sitting in the House of Commons all came to nothing. He had to be allowed to sit there in the end." The Irish question and its climax are discussed in five chapters; the Venezuelan and Transvaal troubles in chapter xix. Some important matters not yet concluded are mentioned, such as the Dongola campaign, the Armenian question, and the Benin disaster. No small part of the interest of this volume is in the portraits, descriptions, and reminiscences of various historic figures who have died since 1880 and of the chief parliamentary personages, such as Darwin, Rossetti, General Gordon, Colonel Burnaby, Trollope, John Bright, Disraeli, Tennyson, Browning, Cardinal Manning, Spurgeon, Cardinal Newman, Freeman the historian, Ford Madox Brown, Robert Louis Stevenson, Parnell, Lord Rosebery, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, John Morley, Arthur James Balfour, and others. We quote some of Gladstone's words on the Franchise bill, which he introduced into the House of Commons in February, 1884: "I take my stand on the broad principle that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many—and if they be many, so much the better—is an addition to the strength of the State. The strength of a modern State lies in the representative system." Of Spurgeon Mr. McCarthy writes: "His congregation for a long time could find no place but Exeter Hall large enough for them. Even Exeter Hall would not hold the thousands who tried to hear Spurgeon. People of all ranks and classes flocked thither. It became the fashion. Great statesmen and parliamentary orators rushed to listen to him. People ran into wild extremes of opinion. Some insisted that he was the greatest pulpit orator who had ever been heard in England or anywhere else. Others as stoutly argued that he was nothing but a wind-bag and a loud-voiced charlatan. On one point all had to agree—that he had a magnificent voice, a fine dramatic gesticulation, and a style which rose from conversational simplicity to an impassioned and thrilling rhetoric. . . . Mr. Spurgeon was undoubtedly a great min-

ister of the poor as well as a great public orator. He led a noble life of self-denial; if indeed that could be fitly called a life of self-denial which was absolutely given up to the very work dearest to his own heart. Large sums of money came to him by bequest and by presentation, and he employed it all in the interest of those to whom he had devoted himself. He lived a simple, modest, quiet life, like that of any humbler worker in the cause of religious ministration. . . . Men of all faiths, and of no faith, united in regarding him as a devoted worker for religion and the interests of the poor and the lowly." Of Disraeli this is written: "He had a boundless ambition and he followed his own star. Men of thorough sincerity, and who had nothing but public purpose to inspire them—men like Gladstone and Cobden and Bright—felt shocked now and then by what seemed to them his lack of earnestness. Not many years before Lord Beaconsfield's death Mr. Bright had spoken of Disraeli's 'sated ambition.' Bright and Disraeli talked one night privately in the House of Commons, and Disraeli suddenly said, 'You know what you and I come here for. We come here for fame.' Bright could not succeed in persuading him that he, Bright, at least did not go to the House of Commons for fame. Disraeli smiled blandly, almost pityingly, and declined discussion. It was not possible to convince him that any man could waste his days and nights in the House of Commons for the mere sake of serving this or that public movement." He judged others by himself, simply believing himself to be more frank than they.

Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime. By WILLIAM P. TRENT, M.A., Professor in the University of the South, Author of *William Gilmore Simms*, etc. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Six lectures, on Washington, Jefferson, John Randolph of Roanoke, Calhoun, A. H. Stephens and Robert Toombs, and Jefferson Davis; delivered last year before the University of Wisconsin; and now published, with a dedication to Theodore Roosevelt, as the thirteenth volume of the "Library of Economics and Politics," edited by Professor Richard T. Ely. "Washington must be taken," says the author, "if only to show that to the South must belong the eternal honor of having given to the Union the greatest of all Americans." "Jefferson did not have the qualities of a great executive." "Like some whist players, he knew the theory of the game, but he was a very bad player." But "he was a profoundly influential statesman in the realm of ideas." Randolph's eccentric career "furnishes an effective foil to the lives of great and consistent statesmen like Washington and Lincoln, and an agreeable contrast to those of certain mediocrities that need not be named." "Calhoun unconsciously started with the conclusions he wanted, reasoned back to his premises, and would not, because he could not, examine them. . . . Grant him but his premises, and he leads you, willy nilly, to his conclusions." But perhaps the most interesting part of the book to us of the present day is that devoted to Alexander H. Stephens and Jefferson Davis, and is sufficient to prove that the oft-supposed solidarity of

Southern opinion before, and even during, the war never really existed. The book, indeed, is not intended for scholars, and those who desire to make an adequate study of Southern statesmanship must go to other works than this. But it shows, nevertheless, how candid and unprejudiced Southerners of to-day are coming to think for themselves in politics and on the history of politics, without regard to the old traditionary policies of any section. No one who reads it, no one who feels the tendency of our current history, can fail to realize how the old ideas that once divided North and South are passing rapidly away. State rights is not a burning issue any longer. The South is beginning to divide on questions of to-day. She is waking to the fact that what she needs is, not loyalty to bygone and worn-out institutions, but adjustment to the manifold life of a newer and better century. Old things are passing away, and all things are becoming new. What the South needs now is no blind adherence to dead constitutional interpretations, but a joyous and eager development of her multitudinous resources. Politics has hitherto been her bane; she needs now to take her place in the march of progress. This little volume, making no pretensions to thoroughness or learning, does have its use in endeavoring to bring about a better understanding between the sections, in smoothing the old asperities of the last three quarters of a century. The sooner North and South recognize one another's sincerity of opinion, however mistaken, the sooner shall they reach a ground of mutual agreement and mutual helpfulness and endeavor.

Letters from the Scenes of the Recent Massacres in Armenia. By RENDEL HARRIS and HELEN B. HARRIS. 12mo, pp. 254. New York: F. H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The title of this volume of travels tells its own sad story. In the search —which was more or less interrupted—for certain valuable Syrian manuscripts preserved in the monasteries of eastern Turkey and northern Mesopotamia, the time from March to October, 1896, was spent by Professor and Mrs. Harris among some of the scenes of recent Turkish oppression. Their route from Alexandretta eastward as far as Mardin, and then north to the Black Sea, took them through such centers of massacre as Aintab, Ourfa, Diarbekir, and Harpoot; and their pleasant archæological excursion soon took on the nature of a burdened journey by two humanitarians overwhelmed in mind and heart with the sights and tales of keenest human misery. As almoners of moneys sent them by the Friends of England they were enabled to save some from absolute starvation and to alleviate the wretchedness of a few out of the multitude who appealed to them for aid; and in the measure of success that accompanied their judicious distribution of funds the reader will heartily rejoice. Of necessity their correspondence, included in the present volume and written in collaboration, is couched in moderate words, because of the danger of its falling into the hands of the Turkish authorities. "It must not be assumed," says Professor Harris, "that we have told more than a fraction of the misery which we have seen, or reported more than a very small fraction of the horrors of which we have heard." The picture that the

writers draw is, however, painted in the dark colors of hideous tragedy. Men incapacitated for self-support, from the loss of their hands; whole villages razed to the ground; churches ruined by flames, in which vain refuge many lost their lives; widows and orphans left without means of support; entire trades obliterated; and survivors afraid to rebuild their ruined homes and sitting down in blank despair—these were some of the sad sights the travelers saw, and of which they write. The prime responsibility of the sultan in the case is suggested in the statement of Mrs. Harris, written from Constantinople, that "all the massacres have certainly been ordered from the palace." And this further led Professor Harris to say of the two Latin inscriptions, "dedicated by Nero to some officers of the third legion," and found in a little Armenian church near Hooiloo, "It seemed appropriate to find the name of Nero here! It ought to be inscribed over the whole country side and on a thousand broken walls and ruined homes." As a whole, these letters of Professor and Mrs. Harris are sadly instructive. The travelers, by their unusual culture, their wise judgment, and their marked heroism have won the most respectful hearing. And the duty which they emphasize is familiar. The measure of Turkish iniquity is full, and the Christian world should compel the immediate sheathing of the Mohammedan sword.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Longmans' English Classics. With full Notes, Introductions, Bibliographies, and other Explanatory and Illustrative Matter. Edited by GEORGE RICE CARPENTER, Professor of Rhetoric and English Composition in Columbia College. New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. We have received the following:

Shakespere's *Merchant of Venice.* By FRANCIS B. GUMMERE, Ph.D., Professor of English in Haverford College. Crown 8vo, pp. lii, 144. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

Macaulay's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, together with his *Essay on Johnson*. By HUBER GRAY BUEHLER, A.M., English Master at the Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. Crown 8vo, pp. liv, 110. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Shakespere's *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* By GEORGE PIERCE BAKER, Assistant Professor of English in Harvard University. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxiii, 111. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

Shakespere's *As You Like It.* With an Introduction by BARRETT WENDELL, Assistant Professor of English in Harvard College, and Notes by WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, Instructor in English Literature in Yale College. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxii, 103. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Books I and II. By EDWARD EVERETT HALE, JR., Ph.D., Professor of Rhetoric and Logic in Union College. Crown 8vo, pp. lxxii, 112. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The Roger de Coverley Papers, from *The Spectator*. By D. O. S. LOWELL, A.M., M.D., English Master in the Roxbury Latin School. Crown 8vo, pp. lii, 174. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield.* By MARY A. JORDAN, A.M., Professor of Rhetoric and Old English in Smith College. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxvi, 205. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Southey's *Life of Nelson.* By EDWIN L. MILLER, A.M., Instructor in English in the Englewood High School, Ill. Crown 8vo, pp. xxxviii, 302. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

"This series is designed for use in secondary schools, in accordance with the system of study recommended by the National Committee of Ten, and in direct preparation for the uniform entrance requirements in English now adopted by the principal American colleges and universi-

ties." The volumes seem well adapted to their purpose, and also for independent reading and study. We notice typographical errors for correction: in the volume on Johnson, p. 81, and twice on p. 92, "Whitfield," for "Whitefield;" same volume, p. 77, "king," for "kind;" same volume, p. 78, "James III," for "James II;" and also, in the *Life of Nelson*, Introduction, pp. x, xi, the statement, "Though hard pressed for money, the strength of his [Southey's] conscience would not, as Emerson's would not, permit him to obtain the relief which he could have secured at once by taking orders." This hardly coincides with the fact that Emerson was for three and a half years a Unitarian pastor in Boston.

The Gospel of Buddha, According to Old Records. Told by PAUL CARUS. 12mo, pp. 275. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. Price, cloth, $1.

That this volume, first published two years ago, has now reached a fourth edition, speaks well for its merits. For one who wishes to become familiar, at little cost of time or money, with what Buddhism is as shown in its original texts, we know of nothing better. It is a compilation wherein are arranged, in harmonious and systematic form, the main doctrines of Buddha. The volume is evidently prepared in the interests of Buddhism, with a view to recommend it to thoughtful men, and there is a frequent suggestion that it and Christianity stand about upon a level. The very title of the book carries this implication, which, of course, can meet with nothing but protest from every loyal follower of Jesus. Nevertheless, the author gives evidence of being a fair-minded, catholic-spirited man, and candidly acknowledges that in some respects Christianity is superior to Buddhism. It can hardly harm anyone to see what truth may be found in the teachings of the Indian sage, and to note what parallelisms there are between his words and those of Jesus. High authorities have pronounced the book "the best popular work on Buddhism in the English language."

The Modern Reader's Bible. Prophecy Series—Jeremiah. Edited by RICHARD G. MOULTON. Small 18mo, pp. 238. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, 50 cents.

The swift months bring to our table a new volume of *The Modern Reader's Bible*, the first of the "Prophecy Series." Dr. Moulton's aim is not to retranslate, nor rewrite, nor guess at authorship; he is trying to rid the English Scriptures of the uninteresting look that they sometimes have in our printed Bibles, and to set them forth as attractively as any other English classic. Without seeing and examining one of these handy volumes it would be difficult to believe that mere rearrangement of the types and banishment of the arbitrary chapter and verse divisions would so facilitate a correct understanding of what is written.

The Divine Library. Suggestions How to Read the Bible. By J. PATERSON SMYTH, B.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 128. New York: James Pott & Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

We are already indebted to Dr. Paterson Smyth for some of our most intelligent popular histories of the Bible. What he has to say here of intellectual and devotional study of the Bible is well put. The counsel given with such diffidence is certainly wise and fit to be followed.

J. H. McCauley.

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1897.

ART. I.—JAMES A. McCAULEY, D.D., LL.D.

"THE memory of the just is blessed;" and when "the just" are favored with exceptionally large opportunity for highest usefulness which they have improved with signal devotion and success, their "memory" should be perpetuated for the instruction and inspiration of succeeding generations. The subject of this paper was a striking specimen of such "just" men. Converted in his youth, he gave nearly threescore years to the service of Christ, all but one decade being spent in faithful and successful labors for the Church, about equally divided between the educational and the pastoral field. So great was his modesty, and so quiet the energy with which he did his work, that men were startled when his splendid achievements were made manifest. It is the purpose of this paper to outline the man and his work.

James Andrew McCauley was born in Cecil County, Md., October 7, 1822, his parents residing at the time on a farm adjoining what is now the village of Mechanic's Valley, some six miles southwest of the town of Elkton, the county seat. His grandfather, Barney McCauley, who was of Scotch-Irish descent, came to this country from the north of Ireland about the middle of the last century, and married Ann Miller, a Swiss. Their son Daniel, father of James Andrew, married Elizabeth Harvey, a woman of unusual force of character, of gentle disposition and earnest piety. She was a great reader, with a remarkably retentive memory, which she retained until her death at the ripe age of eighty-six years. Coming of good

Methodist stock, she grew up in the Church and trained her children in the fear of the Lord. Her husband was an industrious and intelligent farmer and miller, of strictly moral habits. In his ninth year the lad entered the country school taught by his cousin, James McCauley, afterward for many years President Judge of the Orphans' Court of the county; and, according to his teacher's testimony, "he early showed a fondness for knowledge and ability to acquire it." These traits of character "grew with his growth and strengthened with his strength," the former becoming an all-controlling passion, and so utilizing the latter as to secure for its possessor, under the stimulus of a sanctified ambition, the largest gratification in splendid achievement.

In his sixteenth year James Andrew was happily converted while a pupil in the Sunday school of Fayette Street Church, Baltimore, to which city the family had removed the year before. This experience of divine grace was clear, thorough, and abiding; and so long as he lived grateful memories were cherished of his spiritual birthplace, the very spot at which he was kneeling when light from heaven first broke upon his penitent soul being often pointed out by him in after years.

After two years in mercantile employment he applied himself to earnest study, that he might gratify his "fondness for knowledge" and secure a first-class education. Rev. Dr. John H. Dashiell, an able educator and principal of a classical academy, now an honored superannuate of the Baltimore Conference, became his teacher. Says Dr. Dashiell:

> James A. McCauley entered my school in Baltimore when about twenty years of age, to prepare for college. He was unassuming, studious, and successful. In about a year he mastered his English, Latin, and Greek grammars; read Cæsar, Virgil, and several orations of Cicero, and considerable Greek. He entered Dickinson and graduated with highest honors.

Matriculating as a freshman in September, 1844, he continued to be so "studious and successful" that he completed the entire curriculum in three years, graduating with first honors in 1847. During his first year in college it was his great privilege to be under the personal instruction and care of that master teacher

and peerless pulpit orator, John P. Durbin, the distinguished first president of Dickinson after its resuscitation under Methodist auspices in 1834. The rest of his course he was under Dr. Robert Emory, the gifted son of Bishop John Emory, who became Dr. Durbin's youthful successor in 1845. Clinton Lloyd, one of McCauley's classmates, remembers him as "a diligent, laborious, and conscientious student;" and another, Samuel C. Wingard, Supreme Court Justice, of the State of Washington, as "an earnest, industrious, and pious student, regarded as the best debater in college."

Soon after graduation he became tutor to the children of Dr. Durbin, and later was for two years tutor in the family of George H. Elder, a leading Methodist of Green Spring Valley, Baltimore County, Md. He received license to preach at a Quarterly Conference in Ward's Chapel, Baltimore Circuit, October 14, 1848. In March, 1850, he was received on trial in the Baltimore Conference, and was appointed to Summerfield Circuit, with John Maclay as his senior colleague; but during the summer he was elected principal of Wesleyan Female Institute in Staunton, Va. Accepting this position, he reorganized the school, arranged a full course of study, and prepared a diploma in Latin for graduates; and during his first year had the satisfaction of seeing a new building erected suited to the needs of the students. Although the Methodists were comparatively a "feeble folk" in Staunton, and two female seminaries were already in successful operation, Principal McCauley's enterprise was firmly established and largely patronized. It still stands a flourishing institution, monumental of the wisdom and fidelity with which its youthful principal laid its foundations.

July 8, 1851, Principal McCauley was united in marriage with Miss Rachel M. Lightner, daughter of John Lightner, a large landowner and highly respected citizen of Highland County, Va., and an elder in the Presbyterian Church. This sacred union was happily perpetuated for more than forty-five years, until the lamented death of the husband. His widow and their only child, an accomplished and beautifully dutiful daughter, survive, to cherish the memory of one of the kindest and most affectionate of husbands and fathers,

finding great comfort in the hope of a blissful and eternal reunion hereafter, albeit their hearts often sigh

> For the touch of a vanished hand,
> And the sound of a voice that is still.

At the Conference of 1852 Principal McCauley was ordained deacon by Bishop Edmund S. Janes, and two years later elder by Bishop Edward R. Ames. Having resigned his position in Staunton at the end of three years of very successful work, he resumed his place in the itinerant ranks, and for the succeeding eighteen years did grand service in the pastorate. After six years in circuit work he was appointed in succession to four of the largest and most important churches in the cities of Baltimore and Washington, being always retained as long as the law allowed, and everywhere winning the love of the people by his exemplary life, his able and instructive preaching, and his faithful pastoral service. While at Dumbarton Street, West Washington, he was honored by his *alma mater* with the degree of doctor of divinity, at the commencement of 1867; and the next year he was elected by his brethren one of their reserve delegates to the General Conference. In March, 1870, he was appointed by Bishop Ames as presiding elder of the Washington District; and in this position of difficult and delicate responsibilities he bore himself so worthily as to secure the confidence and love of all, and to exert a most salutary influence upon both churches and pastors. In 1872 he was elected to the General Conference next on the list after his friend Dr. Lyttleton F. Morgan, who led the delegation. He did valuable service on the committees on education and revisals, and the Conference showed its appreciation of his character and abilities by giving him a plurality vote for the editorship of the *Ladies' Repository*, and by selecting him as fraternal delegate to visit the English and Irish Wesleyan Conferences, with one of the bishops.

At the same General Conference Dr. Robert L. Dashiell, the eloquent and popular president of Dickinson College, was elected one of the three secretaries of the Missionary Society chosen to succeed the venerable Dr. Durbin, who retired as honorary secretary after a marvelously successful administration of twenty-two years, and his assistant, Dr. William L.

Harris, just elected bishop. At the ensuing commencement in June Dr. Dashiell resigned the college presidency, and Dr. McCauley was unanimously elected his successor. In *The Christian Advocate* of July 4, 1872, the editor, Dr. Daniel Curry, refers to the new president as "a gentleman of wide reputation as an administrator and scholar, and for many years one of the most devoted trustees of the college." His election, the notice further says, "gave the highest satisfaction to everyone; and the announcement that he had accepted the distinguished position was warmly applauded." It was indeed a "distinguished position," in view of the illustrious history of the college, the scholarship and eminence of its presidents and their associates in teaching, and the renown won by her distinguished sons for their *alma mater*—coeval with our national independence, the college having had the unique distinction of being the first college in the land that was established under the new republic.

The position, however, was not only "distinguished," but one that was attended with serious embarrassments. The buildings were greatly in need of repair; financial resources and equipments were inadequate to meet the demands for enlarged courses of study; the damaging effect of the great rebellion upon the patronage of the college was still felt, and, worse than all, a feeling of despondency as to the future of the institution began to obtain among its friends, some of whom went so far as to suggest the propriety of closing the school and selling the property. Conscious of pure motives, with loving devotion to his *alma mater*, and with firm reliance upon the promise of divine aid to those who are loyal to the call of duty, Dr. McCauley addressed himself to his great task with heroic courage, quiet energy, tireless industry, and a resolute purpose to at least deserve success. In two years by personal effort he had secured sufficient funds to repair and renovate the buildings, and in his third year graduated the largest class that had gone out from the college in fifteen years.

In the summer of 1874 President McCauley made a brief but most enjoyable tour abroad, visiting the British Isles and the Continent. In company with Bishop Harris he appeared before the English Wesleyan Conference as a fraternal dele-

gate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and was received with great cordiality and respect. His brief address was very happy in its graceful allusions to the bonds of union and affection between the mother Church and her prosperous daughter across the sea, and was frequently applauded. The great William Morley Punshon was in the chair, and William Arthur, the Nestor of English Methodism, seconded resolutions of appreciation for the visit and eloquent addresses of the American delegates. After his return home he received as a souvenir a choice edition of Wesley's works handsomely bound in fifteen volumes, the first bearing this inscription:

Presented to the Rev. J. A. McCauley, D.D., by the Wesleyan Methodist ministers, assembled at their Annual Conference at Camborne, Cornwall, August, 1874, with their fraternal regards.

W. MORLEY PUNSHON, *President.*

In 1883 the centennial of the college was celebrated, and large additions to its endowment and equipment were secured, so that President McCauley was able to say in his brief address, "The college enters upon its second century, not alone with cause for glorying in the past, but also with auspices of cheer for the future." The same year, in fraternal recognition of the venerable institution and its scholarly president, Lafayette College conferred upon Dr. McCauley the honorary degree of doctor of laws. In 1884 he was again elected to the General Conference, and did valuable service on the same committees to which he was assigned in 1872. This year two new professors were added to the faculty, the curriculum being correspondingly enlarged. In 1887 President McCauley graduated one of the two largest classes in the history of the college—the single exception being that of 1858 under Dr. Charles Collins, which exceeded these by but two members, the only other class as large as that of 1887 being that of 1792, under Dr. Charles Nisbet, the first president.

At the commencement of 1888 Dr. McCauley presented his resignation as president of the college; and in accepting the same the trustees unanimously adopted resolutions highly appreciative of the great work he had accomplished in the sixteen years of his able and most successful administration. In this minute the trustees note with thanks to God the success of his

long and judicious administration in "more than doubling the value of the college buildings, raising the endowment to more than $300,000, elevating the moral tone of the institution, enlarging the scope of its operations, and in sending out a large number of trained graduates, bearing the impress of his faithful labors." They also bear "cheerful testimony to the kindness of heart and noble Christian character" which had "so endeared him" to them all. The use of the president's house was tendered to him till needed for his successor, and his salary as president was continued until the ensuing session of his Conference.

President McCauley's term was unique in several respects, some of which are the following:

1. It was the longest in the history of the college for one hundred and five years, with the single exception of that of Dr. Nisbet, and only two years less than his.

2. Under the plastic touch of his benign influence the college sent out two hundred and seventy-five graduates, besides nearly as many other students who did not complete the full curriculum. This was a larger number of graduates than were sent out under any of his fourteen predecessors, being ninety-eight more than those under Dr. Nisbet, and one hundred and thirty-five more than those under Dr. Durbin, the annual average being seven more than those under the former, three more than under the latter, and within a fraction as high as the annual average of the preceding thirty-six years under Methodist auspices.

3. Under President McCauley, Dickinson distinguished her entrance upon the second century of her illustrious history by opening her classic portals to young women on equal terms with young men; and at the commencement of 1887 Dr. McCauley had the pleasure of conferring the college diploma upon a young woman, the first instance in its history.

4. Not only was the endowment, that had accumulated to about $150,000 in eighty-nine years, "more than doubled," and the number of buildings "doubled" also, but the three new buildings were admirable in style, quality, and adaptation. These were a well-equipped gymnasium costing $14,000, the gift of a generous layman; a model scientific building costing

over $30,000, the gift of Hon. Jacob Tome, a Cecil County banker, whose name it bears; and a splendid library hall costing over $70,000, the gift of a Presbyterian lady, the widow of James W. Bosler, in memory of her husband, whose name the library bears.

Judged by the splendid results accomplished, Dr. McCauley was indisputably a great president. The present head of the institution, Dr. George Edward Reed, bears this testimony:

As Dr. McCauley's successor in the presidency of the college he so long and faithfully served, I have had abundant opportunity of knowing the character of his work and the extent and value of his services. I have learned, too, how great were his burdens and how patiently he must have toiled, oppressed as he must have been with multitudinous cares. The monuments of his work are here, and here they will remain for generations; but a man's best memorials are not always in brick and stone. Rather are they to be found in the lives of men, living and dead, influenced by his words and example. All over the country are men who felt his molding power, and by them he can never be forgotten.

From many other spontaneous tributes by grateful alumni only a few can be given here. Dr. W. L. Gooding, class 1874, the able and successful principal of the Wilmington Conference Academy, at Dover, Del., writes:

What impressed us all was the sincerity of his character and the dignity of his manhood. He moved among us with a quiet intensity which effectively secured respect and admiration. The finest manifestation of his intellectuality was in his sermons. These were marked by richness of diction, appositeness of quotation, breadth of knowledge, fervor of faith, and intensity of delivery. A subtle, indescribable element was there, too, which made his style altogether unique and individual.

Dr. M. D. Learned, class 1880, professor in the University of Pennsylvania, writes:

Dr. McCauley's influence is indelibly engraven into my life. When as a struggling youth I was trying to work my way through college, it was he who never failed me with advice, encouragement, and even with his services, in securing me financial assistance. His interest in his students never ceased, even after he had retired from the presidency of the college. With excellent intellectual endowments and fine scholarship he linked a moral character of such loftiness and a spirit of such gentleness as gave him rare power in influencing others; and many lives are nobler because he has lived. Such a life is an indestructible force in all time to come, and the best heritage one can bequeath to those who follow.

One of his students, now a Protestant Episcopal clergyman, writes:

He led as a father, by an example worthy the imitation of everyone, while, by words of wise counsel, he sought at all times to direct us into the paths of righteousness. To such helpfulness many to-day can point with gratitude, thanking God that in the formative period of their lives they had so wise and so consecrated an instructor. I feel personally that along these very lines I received benefit that is most helpful and lasting.

Another writes:

None of us, his students at Dickinson, understood till later to what degree Dr. McCauley had formed our lives. To many of us it has been as the salt to remember his firm principles. The respect his students had for him was universal.

In an outline of salient points in the character of Dr. McCauley as president of the college, written by request, Professor Charles F. Himes, a member of the faculty and its secretary during Dr. McCauley's entire incumbency, and occupying the chair of natural science from 1865 to 1896, writes:

As professor of moral science he was a factor in the educational work of the college, and as president of the college he was interested in the success of every department; and under the multiplied demands upon him he never gave up the work of the class room. He attended to the minutest details of administration, was present at the religious exercises, was accessible to students at all times; in fact, as president of a small college he was one of a class rapidly passing away, upon whom rested to so great a degree the character of a college and its influence for good upon its students. Outside of his proper college work he was active in the local church and in his Conference. His predecessor was one of the most magnetic men and eloquent preachers in his denomination. Dr. McCauley could hardly be said to be magnetic; but, quiet, unostentatious, and reserved in his manner, he won respect and confidence and made many warmly attached friends. In the pulpits of the town he was always heard with marked attention, by reason of his thoughtful sermons rather than on account of oratorical display. He had a wonderful faculty of thinking on his feet. When called upon in an emergency his remarks were always not only happy and in good taste, but fit for type without revision. His scholarship was varied and full, without being technical. He had scholarly tastes and scholarly habits; but perhaps his strongest point as college president was his faith in scholarship as an element of broadest success in life, which expressed itself in many ways and made a college education to him more than a conventional fad. His ideals of professors were the men who controlled the college during his student

days—great and worthy men—and his ideal of a college was something like the college of that day, with its scholarly atmosphere and its inspiration to earnest study. Yet, whilst conservative of all that was good in that golden age of the college, he readily, even if sometimes reluctantly, fell in with new demands of the present day. He left the college with its high character as a literary institution fully sustained, with a body of alumni enthusiastically devoted to it, and with men of large means practically interested in it—altogether, an educational plant of such a character as to justify expectations of largest future success.

From a highly eulogistic minute adopted by the faculty, after his death, the following excerpts are given:

Elected at the age of fifty, he brought to the position ripe powers of head and heart, and for sixteen years presided over the college with rare wisdom and skill. His ideals of college life and training were lofty, and his personal influence did much to realize them here. He was preeminently the Christian scholar, exact, polished, cultured. . . . He was the personal friend of the boys who came to college. Encouragement to the despondent, advice to the hesitant, warning to the reckless and heedless, and reprimand to the persistent transgressor, wisely tempered to suit the individual case, are some of the invaluable services for which the students of his time must thank Dr. McCauley; and the loyal love of hundreds who came under the spell of his sweet and gentle nature during his long administration testifies to-day of his deep and lasting influence for good.

The remaining eight years of Dr. McCauley's life were busily employed. After two years as pastor of "Old Eutaw," in Baltimore, where he had served so acceptably for three years, two decades before, he felt obliged to retire from the effective ranks by reason of seriously impaired health. While resting and recuperating he employed his facile pen as Conference correspondent for *The Christian Advocate*, and in 1894 was elected professor of historical and systematic theology in Morgan College. In this important field he did excellent service for two years, and had just entered his third year when he was laid aside by his last illness.

His eventide was luminous and peaceful, and his characteristic patience was never more conspicuous than in the severe sufferings he endured. The faith that had been his stay all his life did not fail him now, but in holy triumph he exulted in complete victory over the last enemy. A little while before his departure, having given directions respecting his funeral, and gratefully acknowledged the attentions of those who had

ministered to him during his sickness, he said to the loved ones at his bedside, "I have always prayed that when my end came my pathway might be bright;" and, in response to a loving inquiry if he found it so now, he replied with emphasis, "O, bright as the sunlight!" Saturday, December 12, 1896, he gently "fell on sleep." He "was not, for God took him." Very impressive funeral services were held the following Monday in the Madison Avenue Church, Baltimore, under direction of Dr. D. H. Carroll, an intimate friend, in which appreciative resolutions were read from the several organizations with which the deceased had been connected, and appropriate addresses were delivered.

An analysis of Dr. McCauley's character will show a combination of admirable mental and moral qualities that are rarely found in any one person, and still more rarely in such excellence. His humble, earnest, devout, and intelligent piety, the development of the gracious spiritual change he experienced in his early conversion, was the basis of all the symmetrical virtues that so adorned his beneficently fruitful life. General James F. Rusling, of the class of 1854, one of the college trustees, says of him:

A whiter soul one seldom meets with in this world. He was the soul of honor. By his "daily walk and conversation" he convinced everyone of the fact. Every student knew and felt it.

Professor Boswell, of the class of 1848, an intimate friend from college days, writes:

His deep and unaffected piety was his crowning virtue. His reverence for God was profound, and his trust in him never admitted a doubt. As he saw the path of duty he unflinchingly trod it, satisfied if he could only have the approval of his God. His life was indeed "hid with Christ in God."

Dr. Dashiell, the preceptor of his youth, writes:

For more than fifty years we were friends. He was a man of fine ability and excellent spirit, prudent, until caution disarmed him of some of his power. No one could doubt his sincere devotion to his Lord and Master, or the lofty aim and habitual tone of his religious life.

Another friend of fifty years, Dr. John Wilson, his successor as principal of the Staunton Institute, says:

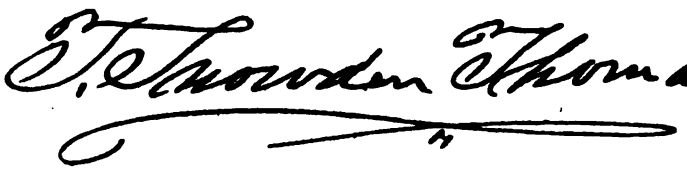
I first met Dr. McCauley when we entered the freshman class at Dickinson. The intimacy then formed, when to us both life was a hope and

not an experience, continued without interruption till his lamented death. He was one of the purest and best men I have ever known. As a pastor he was eminently faithful and successful, and into his college work he carried the spirit and accepted the obligations of the pastorate. And the same sympathetic nature which enabled him to lead the timid lambs of his flock into the fold enabled him to deal wisely and justly with immature students, secure their confidence, and bind him with them in tender personal relations. In social life he was genial, frank, and ingenuous, without assumed dignity or conscious superiority, and his conversation often marked by a pleasant humor enlivened with wit.

Says Dr. Carroll, of the class of 1868, one of his most intimate friends:

An unaffected modesty, at times approaching to diffidence, a quiet dignity, a childlike faith, a prayerful spirit, supreme confidence in the right, a broad charity, a keen sense of fairness, and abounding love for his brethren and all mankind were conspicuous traits in his beautiful life. He was a high type of the Christian gentleman, refined, polite, considerate, a delightful companion, beloved in every circle. He was one of the most methodical of men, of tireless industry, most thorough in his investigations, and tenacious in the grasp of what he had mastered. His gentleness and kindness of heart were manifested in all he did. His mind had the fineness of fiber one would look for in a gifted woman, while it was masculine in its vigor and strength. His preaching was clear, convincing, scriptural, and always edifying, often with special unction and great effectiveness. . . . He was an orthodox interpreter of the Scriptures, heartily accepting the vital doctrines of Christianity as set forth by the consensus of the Church, and had no sympathy with the destructivism of the so-called "higher critics."

As pastor in Baltimore and Washington during the war of the Rebellion he was firm and unwavering in his support of the government and the defense of the national Union. He was one of the most unselfish of men, and his consecrated life of nearly half a century was remarkable for scarcely anything more than for his self-sacrificing devotion to duty. He was a good man, great in his goodness, and as great as he was good.



ART. II.—THE LAW OF SACRIFICE OBEYED BY JESUS CHRIST IN HIS DEATH UPON THE CROSS.

THE purpose of Christ's advent into the world was his atoning death. He was a "lamb slain from the foundation of the world." He was born to die; "and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross." The full force of this passage does not appear apart from the context. The urgent appeal of the apostle is for an ideal moral condition in the church at Philippi, one only to be realized by the possession of the mind of Christ. For this he pleads, "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus;" and then he traces Christ's humiliation, step by step, in a downward scale, until he yields his body to the cross. There Christ surrenders his life, and in his death on that Roman cross his obedience is made complete.

In this obedience "even unto death, yea, the death of the cross," what law of sacrifice did he obey? He was the sent of God, and came into the world to die; but it was Jewish hate that compelled Pilate to issue his lawless decree, that cried, "Crucify him, crucify him," and that finally nailed him to the cross. Did, then, the will of God and the will of the Jews blend in the crucifixion? Were Herod and Pilate, the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, in the consummation of their purpose, simply the executors of the divine will? Were their acts "foreordained," in the Calvinistic sense of that word? If not, then did God simply permit the world's hate to reach its utmost limit and there consent that his Son should die as the most fitting altar on which to "offer himself up to God," and to put on exhibition the Father's love? In either case what law of sacrifice did he obey in his atoning death? A few settled convictions upon the atonement just here are essential to the writer's being understood, because our views of the atonement have much to do with our interpretation of Scripture.

First, then, we hold that in Christ's atoning death no debt, in the commercial sense of that word, was ever paid. If a debt is once paid justice forbids that it ever should be exacted

the second time; there is nothing left to forgive, and hence there is no place for pardon. But instead of his death and resurrection actually canceling all our sins they only made "repentance and remission of sins" possible; and this fact must forever be the burden of the Gospel message.

Second, in his atoning death the guilt of the sinner was not transferred to Christ, and therefore he did not suffer the penalty due to guilty man. Guilt is not transferable, but if it were, and if the penalty due to man was actually borne by him, then in justice that penalty can never be exacted again, and every sinner must go free. The world's hope centers in God's pardoning mercy, not in canceled sin, and this is only offered to man on condition of repentance.

Third, in his atoning death Christ did not suffer in any personal sense the wrath of God. Twice from the rifted heavens the Father said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

Fourth, in his atoning death ample provision was made for guilty man. What Christ did, as Paul says, was "apart" from the law, and was evidently "provisional," as Dr. Miley has shown. His death made it possible for man to repent and for God to forgive, but did not actually cancel the guilt of the world, for unrepentant souls everywhere are guilty still. It worked Godward in the creation of all essential and necessary possibilities, and manward in its benefits. Only, therefore, as God's provisional remedy for sin in the removal of all legal barriers to the exercise of his pardoning mercy can it be said that the Lord "laid on him the iniquity of us all," and that he "bare our sins in his own body on the tree." This is true, because our guilt and the world's guilt could not be transferred to him, and only on condition of "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," may any of us ever hope to be forgiven.

But whatever mystery there may be in the atonement, as God's remedy for sin Christ at last reached the cross and there died. But he reached that cross through human instrumentality. Did, then, the envy of the Jews and Pilate's decree enter into the law to which he became obedient in his death? Were the hate and the lawlessness that spent their fury about the cross

in any sense the expression of God's will? Was the cross essential to the atonement? Surely not, and yet Scripture is not silent. Isaiah numbered Christ with "the transgressors" in his death; and he said of himself, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." We accept it, therefore, as a fact that, not on the great brazen altar, but on the cross, Jesus was to die. This was the will of God, but it was also the will of that mob in Jerusalem. In his death upon the cross, then, did Christ become obedient to the will of God, or of the mob, or of both? Surely, the Son of man in his death never surrendered to anything but the will of God. The will of the Jews was that he should perish on the cross as a malefactor, but the will of God was that there he should lay down his life for a perishing world. This clear distinction between the will of that mob and the will of God must ever be kept in mind, and yet there is one passage of Scripture at least that seems to teach that what transpired at the time of the crucifixion was all decreed. It is found in Acts iv, 27, 28: "For of a truth in this city against thy holy Servant Jesus, whom thou didst anoint, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the peoples of Israel, were gathered together, to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass." It will be observed that the new version, from which we quote, says "foreordained to come to pass." It will be further observed that this language is a part of the prayer of the apostles for deliverance. Now, if we put into the word "foreordained" the idea of a decree, then all that was done was ordered of God; Herod and Pilate, the Gentiles and the Jews each and all only executed his will; their deeds were his deeds, and Jesus in his death bowed both to the will of God and also to the will of the mob, for they were one.

But from such conclusions there is an instinctive recoil, and Scripture declares that they are not true. The mob said that Jesus was a "malefactor," but the Father said, "This is my beloved Son;" Pilate felt his guilt, but washed his hands in vain; and Judas said, "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood." In explaining this passage Dr. Whedon quotes Limborch, who says, "It is not said that these persons gathered to do what thy hand and thy counsel decreed that they should

do, . . . but simply to be done." That is, the things done were decreed, but the wills of the doers were free in the doing. This interpretation is entirely foreign to the thought of the apostles, and must be given up. Dr. Clarke's comment here is much better. He makes the clause, "For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass," parenthetical. But, while it is not parenthetical, he expresses the fact when he says:

> It is evident that what God's hand and counsel determined before to be done was not that which Herod, Pontius Pilate, the Gentiles (Romans), and the people of Israel had done and were doing; for then their rage and vain counsel would be such as God himself had determined should take place, which is both impious and absurd; but these gathered together to hinder what God had before determined that his Christ or Anointed should perform.

This clearly expresses the force of the passage. The mob sought to "hinder," to defeat, to bring to naught the mission and work of the Son of man.

But there stands that fatal clause, "To do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel foreordained to come to pass." If the word translated "foreordained" really means that, then a decree of God predetermined the acts of the mob, and from this conclusion there is no escape. The word the apostles used in their fervent appeal was *προώρισεν*. This word is from *πρό*, "before," and *ὁρίζω*, "to limit," "to bound," and means simply to "prebound." It does not express the idea of inspiring or decreeing a thing to come to pass at all, but just the opposite. A boundary to wrath is neither a decree unto its existence nor its inspiration, but is a restraint. This word, therefore, as used by the apostles, simply meant that before it came to pass God fixed a limit to the powers of darkness that were to surge about the cross. In the wilderness, in Gethsemane, and at the cross the Son of man must confront the powers of darkness. "Against the Lord, and his anointed," they gathered together in Jerusalem. Hell, if possible, would defeat the Son of man. But God prebounded that wrath. They gave Christ a mock trial, but utterly failed to convince the world that he was an impostor. They nailed him to the cross, but did not take his life. They sealed his tomb, but did not bind

his power. The prebounded wrath that surged about the cross left the Son of man conqueror. It was just this fact that the apostles presented to the Father in their prayer. On it they based their appeal, and said: "And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal; and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus."

In taking this position we are not transcending what is written. The word *ὅσα*, translated "whatsoever," should be translated "as much as," and it is so translated by the able authors of the *Bible Commentary*. That little Greek word *ὅσος*, when numbers are referred to, means "as many as;" when magnitude is the thought, "as great as;" and when quantity is referred to, as in the passage under consideration, "as much as." The apostles' thought was this: That the enemies of Christ were gathered together in Jerusalem to do "as much as his hand [in which inhered all power] and his counsel [in which was all wisdom and knowledge] had predetermined should come to pass"—just that much and no more. The powers of darkness that raged about the cross were under restraint. They could only go so far and no farther. A bounding line had been fixed in the "counsel" of God, and right there all their fury and rage struck the right hand of God's power and came to naught, even as the fury of the wave perishes at the base of the rock which it smites in vain. God did not ordain the existence of that mob in Jerusalem; its will was not his will, and to it Jesus did not bow in his death. What law, then, did he obey? We answer, The will of the Father, and that only. "This commandment have I received of my Father." In Christ's obedience "even unto death, yea, the death of the cross," he knew no law but the will of God. The preposition "of," in the phrase, "death of the cross," only shows his relation to the cross at the moment of his death. The virtue of his death was in himself and the surrender of life, and not in the cross. They did not take his life, nor did he die of a broken heart. As to this we are not in doubt. Jesus said: "Therefore doth the Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No

one taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment received I from my Father." Even in the last moment the Son was free, and the virtue of his death lay in the fact that it was voluntary. Godet says:

> The word *οὐδείς*, "no one," includes every creature; we may include in it God himself, since if, in dying, the Son obeys the decree of the Father, he yet does it freely; God neither imposes on him death nor resurrection. The words, *ἐξουσίαν ἔχω*, "I have the power" (the competency, the authority), are repeated with a marked emphasis; Jesus had no obligation to die, not only because, not having sinned, he had the right to keep his holy life, but also because, even at the last moment, he could have asked for twelve legions of angels, who would have wrested him from the hands of his enemies.

These words are far-reaching, and all may not be willing to follow the bold thinker, but they seem to be true. In the purpose of God Jesus was born to die, but he was free. He was both high priest and the sin offering, for he "took a body for the sacrifice," and when the moment came he simply "bowed his head, and gave up his spirit."

This death took place upon the cross, right where Jewish hate had borne him. For this there was a reason. God permitted it, and the Son despised the shame and endured it all for the sake of man. The cross was the then existing emblem of the world's bitterest hate. It added nothing to the efficacy of his atoning death; but as he prayed, while pinioned to it, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and then died for man, it did serve to reveal his heart of love and to show to the world at what bloody cost he was willing to save. We can now summon the nations to gather about his cross and say with Paul, "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" On that Roman cross was the most fitting place to exhibit God's mercy and love, and there, in obedience to the Father's will, as the great law of sacrifice, Jesus gave his life for the world.

J. H. Bellards.

ART. III.—SATURDARIANISM: A BRIEF REVIEW.

Is Saturday the true and only Sabbath of the Bible and of history? The affirmative of this question is the position of all Saturdarian Christian teaching. If the subject has to do with saving men it demands a thorough study by the ministers and laity of all the Churches. Yet the great body of Christian people have not been awake to the real situation. Saturdarians have been growing in organization and influence, and are strongly antagonizing all efforts to protect the weak against their theory. No thoughtful man can question that Adventists, as a rule, have an unfeigned faith in the absolute correctness of their Sabbath teachings; and we are sorry that as much cannot be said of some of their leaders, who are loudest in denouncing the Christian Sabbath and those who keep it.*

But why assail the teachings of Adventism? Because of its relation to the demands of labor to have a Sabbath. Adventists are protected in their religious rights by the laws of the land. They stand related to other Christians in the ratio of one to six hundred and ninety-eight. But, while we concede that the one has a right we are bound to respect, we claim that the six hundred and ninety-eight have their own rights, as has also labor. Yet they ignore our rights and the rights of those who are being continually robbed of the Sabbath. They fought the Blair Sunday rest bill, and claim the honor of its defeat. There was a cooperation of Adventists, liquor dealers, greedy monopolists, and those who wanted the day made one of entertainment instead of rest and worship. Although about seven millions joined in petition for the passage of the bill, their voice was not heeded, because of the number and variety of reasons based on policy, and through lack of reasons based on the Bible and conscience. The strength of the Adventists was in their claim to scripturalness. They take the responsibility of helping to compel an estimated

* D. M. Canright, who had been for twenty-eight years a leader among the Seventh-day Adventists, thus quotes (*Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*, pp. 27, 28) from Mrs. White, their prophetess: "Satan has taken full possession of the Churches as a body.... It is the devil that answers their prayers.... Their converts are not renewed in heart or changed in character."

number of a million and a half laboring people to desecrate the Sabbath every week, that they may desecrate the Sabbath with impunity. Yet there can be no wrong in preventing any person from working on the Sabbath. It is desperately wicked to assist in compelling people to do wrong; and it is the legitimate function of governments to make it as easy as possible to do right and as difficult as possible to do wrong.

But Adventists say that it is a sin to not work on Sunday, because it was instituted by the pope in opposition to the Sabbath of the Lord. Yet the claim is absolutely without foundation in fact, for the Sunday-Sabbath existed for centuries before there was a pope. When was the papacy instituted? "Gregory VII, in a Roman council of the year 1073, formally prohibited the assumption of the title by any other than a Roman bishop." * How long has Sunday been regarded as the Sabbath? For the present we will let Enright answer, father of a $1,000 reward for Bible authority for Sunday keeping. He declares, "St. Ignatius, martyr, a disciple of St. John, says, 'Every lover of Christ celebrates the Lord's Day, consecrated to the resurrection of the Lord, as the queen and chief of all days.'" He also says, "The apostles and apostolic men decreed that Sunday must be kept holy." And again he admits that "at first . . . the converts from heathenism [Rome, Antioch, etc.] kept holy the Sunday." † But, in spite of such admissions from Enright, the Adventists have circulated "over 100,000,000 copies of Enright's reward" to prove Sunday to be the child of the papacy. "Over 500,000 copies of *Rome's Challenge* have been circulated," and a new tract from the writings of the same man, O'Keefe, has been prepared, entitled *A Challenge to Protestants*. The authors of the above challenges have been corresponded with by Protestants, their challenges accepted, and these would-be champions of Catholicism caused to retreat. Adventist leaders have been tendered the proof of the above, but still continue to push the sale of this literature. ‡ This is only a part

* *Catholic Dictionary of Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils, and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church*, article "Pope," p. 726.

† Private correspondence of Malcom and Enright concerning Enright's $1,000 reward. Enright's letter No. 2, p. 1.

‡ See article "Fraud" in *Christian Endeavorer* for June, 1897.

of one of the darkest plots in American history. Thousands of dollars are being raised, under the cloak of religious liberty, every year, and are spent in an effort to throttle the press, pervert the public mind, and capture the control of the legislative and executive branches of our national, State, and Territorial government, in order to repeal all Sabbath laws and make it impossible to enforce existing laws.*

Is it not time to wake out of sleep? These conditions have been reached largely because we are not informed of the true Sabbath doctrine of the Bible and of history. Is there any question needing the more careful consideration of Christians to-day? We will study the subject briefly as it relates to the two periods before the exodus and from the exodus to the beginning of the Christian dispensation.

I. During the first of these periods there is no Bible mention of the word "Sabbath," and none in history prior to the flood. "Seven days" are mentioned, but not in connection with Sabbath keeping. The "seventh day" is mentioned in Gen. ii, 3: "God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it." Hence we assume that rest days, or Sabbaths, were kept, and that they were properly reckoned; but there is not the slightest evidence in the Bible to prove the day to have been on Saturday, even if we hold to the theory of a regular septenary cycle during that period. We do not find the expression "the seventh day of the week" in the Bible, nor certain proof that there were no silent or uncounted days. Recent historic records have been discovered which date back about seven hundred years before the writing of the Pentateuch. These records prove that fixed weeks and Sabbaths such as we have were unknown among the ancient Accadians, Assyrians, Hindus, Chinese, and Egyptians. The Hindus all began their weeks with the Sabbath, instead of closing them with it. One portion made their Sabbaths coincide with the moon's quarters; the others divided their months of thirty days into four weeks, the first two containing seven and the last two eight days each. The

* Consult the Seventh-day Adventists' General Conference *Year Book* for 1898, containing the organization, officers, and by-laws of the "International Religious Liberty Association" of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and the report of the treasurer to the General Conference of over $12,000 raised and over $8,000 expended that year to hinder the execution of law; also the *American Sentinel* of New York.

Accadians and Assyrians also had months of thirty days each with Sabbaths occurring on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of every month. The Sabbaths of China and Egypt were usually ten days apart.

The *Catholic Dictionary*, basing an argument upon the recent discoveries of George Smith, says: "We now know that among the ancient Assyrians the first twenty-eight days of every month were divided into four weeks of seven days each, the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days being Sabbaths; and there was a general prohibition of work on those days." * Lewis says that they "were months of thirty days each." † Again he writes, "Four years ago George Smith called attention to the fact that the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month were days of *sulem*, or rest." ‡ This he claims to be the true Bible seventh day, or Saturday; and that it was called *sabbatu*, and meant "day of rest to the heart." Hirsch says of the Assyrian Sabbaths, "There are traces in the Bible of the same system." § Crafts says: "The oldest literature, especially that of the Accadians, the immediate descendants of Noah, whose pottery libraries have risen from the dead to confirm Moses and the prophets, contains the very word *sabbatu* which appears in the ancient tablets as the name of the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of every month, upon which certain works were omitted." ‖ The last two days of every month are not counted in the weekly period; hence there are nine days between the last Sabbath in one month and the first one in the next. Supposing the Sabbath dates in the first month to have fallen on Saturdays, they would have fallen on Mondays in the next, on Wednesdays in the third, and so on through the year, making twelve long weeks and twelve changes in the day of the Sabbath in every year. Yet Dr. Lewis calls them "Bible

* *Catholic Dictionary*, article "Sunday," p. 808; also the quotation from George Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 19.

† *Bible Teaching Concerning the Sabbath and Sunday*, by A. H. Lewis, D.D., the leading editor and writer of the Seventh-day Baptist Church, p. 91.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

§ Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, of Sinai Temple, Chicago, in the *Chicago Tribune* of December 29, 1896.

‖ Rev. W. F. Crafts, Ph.D., in the *Homiletic Review* of June, 1897, p. 561.

Sabbaths," and pretends to believe they were all Saturdays. He quotes Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, to prove his Saturdarian theories, by showing that "the full moon, the new moon, and the intervening quarters, which were Sabbaths," coincide with Saturday. Yet let one take his almanac, trace the moon's changes through the year, and satisfy himself if the quarters are exactly seven days long, and if the changes invariably fall on Saturdays. Dr. Lewis quotes the same author again, thus: "The first weekly period begins with a day dedicated to Anharmazd, and called after his name; and each of the other three weekly periods also begins with a day dedicated to Anharmazd." * He proceeds with the quotation, and shows that the first two weeks began with a Sabbath followed by six days, and that the last two began with a Sabbath followed by seven other days. The Hindus tried to overcome the long week of their neighbors by giving eight days to each of the last two weeks of every month. Yet the ingenious mind of Dr. Lewis enables him to name these, "Hebrew Sabbaths modified by the astronomical element." But to accommodate him we began the year in Accadia and Assyria on Sunday, in order to start his Sabbaths on Saturday; and we now begin the identical year among the Hindus on Saturday for the same reason. We succeed in keeping the first three Sabbaths on Saturday, the next one being on Sunday, the next three on Monday, and the next one on Tuesday—in four months bringing the Sabbath on every day of our week, changing the day of the Sabbath twenty-four times in every common year and twenty-six times in the long year. This he calls the "origin of the planetary naming" of the days of the week. Since he has stretched the week so as to contain seven, eight, and nine days, he ought to be willing to call the rest days of China and Egypt "Sabbaths" and the period of ten days from one to the other a "week;" but can he invariably locate their rest days on Saturdays?

Thus it is seen that the oldest Sabbaths in ancient history, reaching back from 1600 to 2200 B. C., usually, and in most of the great kingdoms always, were upon the same fixed

* *Bible Teachings Concerning the Sabbath and Sunday*, p. 107, quoting from Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. v, p. 406.

dates in every month, ranging from seven to fifteen days apart, and changing the day of our week upon which they appeared from twelve to thirty-six times every year. Therefore, as we have shown, the history of the ancient Assyrians, Accadians, Hindus, Chinese, and Egyptians, during a period of about seven hundred years just preceding the writing of the books of Moses, shows that the theory of a regular septenary cycle was unknown to all of them. Some Sabbath specialists * have recently intimated their opinion that the true interpretation of the "seventh day" in Gen. ii, and in the fourth commandment in Exod. xx, means, not the seventh day of a fixed week, but the seventh day of each month, as in the oldest history. However, it is our conviction that there was originally a fixed week, but that its seventh day was not Saturday. We will point out evidences, in the consideration of the next period, that Sunday has a better right to the title of "the Sabbath of the Lord," or the "creation Sabbath," than Saturday has.

II. We now come to the consideration of the Sabbaths of the Bible after the exodus. One month succeeding the freedom of the children of Israel we first find the word "Sabbath" mentioned in the Bible. The meaning of the original Hebrew word for Sabbath is "intermission," "rest." There is nothing about the word to determine the length of the rest period, or the length of time between two Sabbaths. The Sabbath of the fourth commandment, the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Sabbath year are all from the same Hebrew word. The length of the rest, so far as the word is concerned, may be one day or one year.† Pagan Greek influences have so crept into Christian teaching as to supplant the true Bible calendar and lead to wrong calculations on all Hebrew fasts and festivals and on the true time for Easter and Pentecost in the Christian dispensation. After making a careful word study of "months," "moons,"

* Rabbi Hirsch, of Chicago, and Dr. W. F. Crafts, of Washington.

† Over twenty years ago the writer was confused by Adventist teaching as to what day constitutes the true Sabbath. He entered into a covenant with the Lord that by divine help he would try and learn his will. If Saturday be the true Sabbath, he would keep it. If it proved not to be, he would do what he could to oppose the error. He soon saw that Saturday could not be sustained as the true and only Bible Sabbath. The longer he investigated the more thoroughly he was convinced that the assumption, because we have a regular septenary cycle, that there had been one from the exodus or the creation had led to many misconceptions and misinterpretations of the writings of Moses.

"new moons," "the Passover," "the morrow, after the Sabbath," "Pentecost," and other related expressions, the writer came to believe that there was no Bible basis for lunar calculations, and that "new moons" had no rightful place in the Bible. He arrived at a conclusion, since admitted by Rabbi Mayer May, that no existing calendar affords information regarding the Sabbath before the Christian era.* Therefore he discarded the lunar theory, accepted the Egyptian solar year of the time of the exodus, and made such alterations as the five books of Moses made necessary. The result was that, instead of a year beginning with Tisri, having twelve months of thirty days, with five supplementary days after Elul, he obtained a year of the same length—three hundred and sixty-five days—beginning with Abib, all of the months having thirty days, with the uncounted days thrown in, three after Elul, two after Adar, and seven other days also at this point, once in about twenty-eight years; and that the Passover Sabbath, Abib 15, would fall at the beginning of the harvest, so that a ripe sheaf could be waved "on the morrow," according to the law. The only argument we offer here in defense of our theory is that it brings harmony out of the Old Testament—including the Apocrypha—and the gospels on the question of the fasts, festivals, and Sabbaths.†

We will not attempt a refutation of common errors among the recognized leaders in biblical interpretation, but will present a brief summary of the history on the Sabbath question, embraced in Exodus from chapter xii to the close. Exod. xii teaches that the Passover lamb was killed in the afternoon of Abib 14, and was eaten during the following night; that after midnight the Israelites were freed, and that they started away the next morning, Abib 15. Dio Cassius says, "On their flight from Egypt the Jews, from hatred to their ancient oppressors, made Saturday the seventh day of their week." Exod. xiii, 3,

*Says Rabbi May: "Rev. Mr. Gamble claims, and justly so, that we are not in possession of any calendar that gives us information concerning the Sabbath days or other days before the time of the Christian era."

†We request that the reader do not reject our calendar until he produces one that harmonizes with the Bible. We have carefully explained our calendar and Sabbath theories to many eminent scholars, and give in brief a few of their written opinions: Rabbi Hirsch, "Fundamentally correct;" Galusha Anderson, "Entirely correct;" Samuel Ives Curtis, "Well established;" a prominent Catholic, "Mathematically, historically, and scripturally correct;" H. A. Gobin, "Surprised and gratified. I wonder that it was not made long ago."

commands, "Remember this day, in which ye came out from Egypt." We therefore have their "seventh day," or Sabbath, Abib 15, and Saturday coinciding at the time of their departure. The word "Sabbath" is not used until chapter xvi. On Tuesday morning, Iyar 16, the manna appeared; and on Friday, the "sixth day" of that week, the fourth day of the falling of manna, a double portion appeared. Moses informed them on Sabbath morning, Saturday, Iyar 20, that the day was the Sabbath, and that "therefore he giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days." God used the manna supply to furnish food during the forty years of wandering and—since he was introducing an entirely new method of Sabbath counting, which should be a sign between him and the children of Israel "forever through their generations"—to distinguish them from all the rest of the world in their manner of Sabbath counting and make it impossible to err about the day to be observed. All planetary naming of the days made Saturday the first day of the week and Friday the last. The Egyptians had such a week at the time of the exodus.

When was Pentecost? "Fifty days after Abib 16," say Fausset and others.* What other name had it? "Feast of weeks," or "Sabbath of weeks." What did Pentecost commemorate? The giving of the law on Sinai. (See Fausset and others.) Saturday, Sivan 4, was the "seventh Sabbath," and Sunday, Sivan 5, the day of the first Pentecost. The people were gathered at the base of Sinai when God uttered the commandments which Adventists admit had been known to man from the creation, and caused the people to fear and request that Moses go up into the mount and be taught of God and then return and teach them. Moses therefore went into the mount and was taught, after which he returned and taught the people. The reader will notice that the fourth commandment directed that "six days [after that Sunday] shalt thou labor." This is made more plain from the fact that at the close of that Sun-

*See the word "Pentecost" in Webster, Strong, Cruden, Watson, Smith, Robinson, and *Catholic Dictionary*. On Lev. xxiii, 15, read also McClintock and Strong, Schaff-Herzog, the *Britannica*, *International*, *People's*, *Concise*, *Religious*, and other cyclopedias. See also explanations of the above and related subjects by Josephus, Clarke, Brown, Jamison, Jacobus, Strong, Young, Calmet, Whitby, Douay, Lightfoot, Benson, Barnes, Bishop Elliott, A. J. Gordon, O'Keefe, A. T. Jones, Uriah Smith, Bailey, Akers, Vaughan, and many others, in proof that Pentecost came fifty days after Abib 16.

day-Sabbath Moses repeated the words, "Six days thou shalt do thy work" (Exod. xxiii, 12). The next morning, Monday, Sivan 6, Moses wrote all these things in the book. This thought should be well fixed in the mind, that the original, or Edenic, and universal ten commandments required Sunday to be the seventh day, or Sabbath; and that the "sixth day" should follow that Sunday in which work should be done, bringing the seventh day on the next Sunday. Also that these ten commandments were spoken by the Lord, repeated in the evening by Moses, and written in the book before Moses went into the mount for the Lord to write the modified tables which were for the Jews only. On Tuesday, Sivan 7, Moses went into the mount and tarried forty days and forty nights, returning Sunday morning, Tammuz 17. This exact date has been preserved to the present day by the first annual fast of the Jews.* Adventists admit the day was Sunday.† God commanded Moses that Sunday morning, among his parting words, that he should speak unto the people, saying, "Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep: . . . Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death." Moses approached and found them "polluting" the Sabbath, and "there fell of the people that day [that Sunday-Sabbath] about three thousand men." Moses consecrated the people anew in the evening and taught them the message he had been sent to deliver, "Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you. . . . Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath." The next morning, Monday, Tammuz 18, Moses prayed for the people and for himself, and was commanded to make two tables like unto the first, and be "ready in the morning." On Tuesday morning, Tammuz 19, he went again into the mount for forty days and forty nights, returning Sunday morning, Ab 29, when he taught the people the two tables, explaining the Sabbath in its relation to the whole ceremonial and typical system as he had been taught during the eighty days with the Lord. We follow on, and find the months readjusted so that Sunday, the weekly Sabbath, fell on Tisri 1, 15, and 22 (Lev. xxiii, 24, 39), and on to the beginning of the new year (Exod. xl, 17), and find that on the first day

* Article "Fast" in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, vol. iii, p. 428.
† *Origin of Sunday*, Second-day Adventist Publishing House, Battle Creek, Mich.

of the first month of the second year Moses put the showbread in order as the Lord had commanded—every Sabbath day—on Sunday. So we find the Sabbath on Sunday, Abib 1, 8, 15, 22, 29; on Iyar 6, 13, 20, 27; and on Sivan 4, bringing the Pentecost Sabbath on Monday and all the weekly Sabbaths for a year on Monday, the next year on Tuesday, and so on, bringing the weekly Sabbath on every day of our week in seven years.

Moses taught this system for forty years. A short time before his death he copied the tables into the second law, Deut. v, and wrote a commentary on the fourth commandment as related to the festivals and jubilees in Lev. xxiii and xxv. In Deut. v, 15, we find the reason that the seventh day, the Sabbath of the Lord, had to be so counted that Abib 15 would be the Sabbath every year, "Remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day." To show that this is a literal copy Moses adds, "These words the Lord spake . . . and he added no more. And he wrote them in two tables of stone, and delivered them unto me."

On Abib 10, every year, the Jews, after determining who would eat the Passover together—a company of from ten to twenty—went to the flock to select a lamb of the proper size, a male less than a year old, without spot or blemish. One must be found to fill every condition—it was a type of a perfect Redeemer—and if it could not be found among the sheep it must be found among the goats. On Abib 14 all the leaven must be cast out, the houses thoroughly cleaned, the Passover lamb killed, dressed, and cooked ready for the feast between sundown and midnight. On Abib 16 a sheaf of the ripe grain must be brought to the temple, that the priest might wave it before the Lord; and it must be accepted before the people were allowed to reap. Then the harvesting could begin on that day. Each of the above dates came on Saturday, once in seven years. Neither of them occurred on a Sabbath, between the exodus and the crucifixion. Therefore three years out of every seven Saturday was not the Sabbath. Abib 16 was "the

morrow after the Sabbath," or the first day of the week. Therefore once in seven years Saturday was the first day of the week instead of the seventh.

But does not the Bible say in regard to the Sabbaths on fixed dates that these are "beside the Sabbaths of the Lord?" No. The statement is an answer to the question, "If we offer the sacrifice of the Passover, the Pentecost, the Feast of Trumpets, and the Feast of Tabernacles on the proper days, are we released from the regular weekly Sabbath offering?" The answer has reference to sacrifices and nothing else, and is negative. These sacrifices are beside the regular Sabbath sacrifices, that is, in addition to them, not a substitute for them. There are eight of these fixed-date Sabbaths in succession every year, beginning with Abib 15. These dates must fall on every day of the week in succession, in the successive years. Take a year when those eight Sabbaths were Wednesdays, and suppose that Saturday is Sabbath in each of those weeks, too. The command is, "Six days shalt thou labor." Is it evident how one can work six days and keep two Sabbaths in a week? It is impossible. Therefore we justly conclude that Moses taught an irregular septenary cycle, which changed the Sabbath day each year at Pentecost to the next day of the week, making as many changes in the day as there were years in the period. The Sabbath years and jubilees are counted in the same way. A jubilee period is a perfect cycle of just fifty years. Each jubilee period begins with the first work year and ends with two Sabbath years, the forty-ninth and the fiftieth years. Rabbi Hirsch says, "I have no doubt that the old Sabbaths were in no connection with a fixed week,"* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says, "We cannot tell when the Sabbath became dissociated from the month" †—a concession that it was associated with the month instead of a fixed week.

We come to the crucifixion, and find Christ in the grave on Saturday, Abib 15, which Adventists allow. Although we agree that Abib 15 was on Saturday in the years of the exodus and the crucifixion, it never occurred to us that Abib 15

* *Christian Endeavorer*, January, 1897.
† Article "Sabbath," vol. xxi, p. 126.

must have been on Saturday in each and every year between those dates. But, since Adventists have so much to say about the example of Christ, we will briefly study the Sabbath as found in the gospels, and will show that Christ was not a Saturdarian, as many believe, and that he was not keeping the creation, but the Jewish, Sabbath.* There are three passages in which all Saturdarians get their "unanswerable arguments" for "an unchangeable Saturday-Sabbath, for man, for the whole world, for time and eternity." They say, "There never was any dispute between Christ and the Jews about the day to be kept." Hence, when we determine the day of the Sabbaths in question we will prove the day of the weekly Sabbath, and that the weekly and Passover Sabbaths are identical. We will first notice John v, 1–18. Christ went to Jerusalem to "a feast of the Jews." This is conceded by nearly every Bible scholar to be the "feast of the Passover, Abib 15, two years before the crucifixion." The record says he healed a man, and "on the same day was the Sabbath." In Luke vi, 1–5, Christ went through the cornfields with his disciples on *σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*. Whedon, Strong, Clarke, and others define the expression to mean "second-first Sabbath." It is the first of the minor series of Sabbaths between the Passover and the Pentecost, or Abib 22.† Rabbi Felsenthal, of Chicago, says, "At the time of Christ the Pharisees held that the count had to begin from the feast day, and the Pharisaic view prevailed." In Luke vi, 6–11, Christ healed the withered hand on *ἑτέρῳ σαββάτῳ*. Strong, Bailey, and others say that *ἑτέρῳ* means "other," "different," "next"—hence, the next Sabbath, Abib 29. In these three and the parallel passages the word "Sabbath" is used twenty-five times. Nearly all great Bible harmonists locate the three events above on "three successive Sabbaths," and therefore on Abib 15, 22, and 29, two years before the crucifixion.‡ Christ did not lie in the grave on Satur-

* We note the observation that, after the first year of the exodus, Sabbath keeping is not associated with creation, either in the Old Testament or the gospels, except where the prophets refer to the first year of the exodus, the creation and Jewish Sabbaths coinciding in that particular year. At the last Passover, Saturday and Abib 15 coincide; therefore Abib 22 and 29 were also on Saturday.

† See Josephus in proof that the count began at Abib 16.

‡ See Harmony of the Gospels by Lightfoot, Doddridge, Newcomb, Townsend, Greswell, Jarvis, and Robinson.

day, or else he did not do the three things above on Saturday. Which side of this issue will the Adventists take? There is no difference. Either one is death to them. If Saturday was the Sabbath at the crucifixion these other weekly Sabbaths were not Saturdays.*

The International Religious Liberty Association of the Seventh-day Adventist Church † refuses to try to prove that the three events described in John v, 1–18, Luke vi, 1–5, and Luke vi, 6–11, did occur on Saturday, or did not occur on Thursday. ‡ These were "weekly Sabbaths;" then why not accept one side or the other of the question? Because, if these three events which fell "on three successive Sabbaths" fell on three successive Thursdays, all the arguments based on Christ's example of Saturday keeping are without New Testament authority, and the Adventist cause is hopelessly lost. If they had any Bible authority for their positions they would have combated the statement, "You cannot prove by the Bible that Christ observed Saturday as the weekly Sabbath for one full year before the crucifixion." The facts of the gospels all go to prove that from the baptism of Christ to the following Pentecost the weekly Sabbaths were on Wednesday; that from the first to the second Pentecost, which time includes the three events in dispute, the Sabbath fell on Thursday and the next year on Friday; and that from the third Pentecost to the crucifixion—seven weeks less than a year—it fell on Saturday. Isaiah and David predicted the limitation of the Jewish Sabbaths. Hosea foretold (ii, 11) the complete abrogation of all their Sabbaths and the whole

* We have been trying for over three years to get "Senex"—O'Keefe and Company—to furnish us the data by which these Sabbaths can by any possibility be located on Saturdays, and he will not even try. The reason is obvious. There is no calendar, solar or lunar, that will locate the three dates on Saturday in the year of the crucifixion, and on Saturday two years before.

† A. T. Jones reedited *The Christian Sabbath*, by O'Keefe, christened it *Rome's Challenge*, and had it approved as doctrinally correct and sealed with the seal of the International Religious Liberty Association of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Hence its teachings are not only those of O'Keefe and Jones, but of the Association, and are the standard doctrinal teachings of Adventism. To quote a part: "We know these reverend howlers [all preachers who doubt Saturdarianism, or believe in the Christian Sabbath] too well to expect a solitary bark from them, . . . and they know us too well to . . . submit themselves to the mortificatio which a further dissection of this . . . question would necessarily entail. Their policy is to 'lay low,' and they are sure to adopt it."—*Rome's Challenge*, p. 30.

‡ Correspondence with the secretary of the International Religious Liberty Association in 1896.

ceremonial system. Paul tells (Col. ii, 14, 16) when they were abrogated, namely, at the crucifixion of Christ. If the Jews kept a weekly Sabbath at all it was one of their Sabbaths. Their Sabbaths could not have all been blotted out, taken out of the way, if their weekly Sabbaths were left, for the special Sabbaths constituted only a small part of their Sabbaths. The Catholic Bible with notes says, "He meaneth in regard to Jewish observations . . . of their festivals, new moons, *and Sabbaths, as being no longer obligatory*" (italics ours). So the binding obligation of the Sabbath ceased at the crucifixion.

This is confirmed by Matt. xxviii, 1, "In the end of the Sabbath." About eleven hours after the close of the last legal Jewish Sabbath is the time that Matthew gives for the close of the Jewish dispensation and the beginning of the Christian—"as it began to dawn." "Literally," says Parker's *People's Bible*, "in the end of the Sabbaths, as if they had all come to a point of termination." We think the true translation of Matt. xxviii, 1, is, "In the end of the Sabbaths [σαββάτων—Jewish Sabbaths of all kinds], as it began to dawn toward [μίαν σαββάτων, identically the same word that appears just above] one of the Sabbaths"—or, as Robert Young translates it, "the first of the Sabbaths." One, or the first creation, or Christian, Sabbath—as Sunday the creation Sabbath—here coincides with the resurrection Sabbath; as the creation and Jewish Sabbaths coincided at Mount Sinai and every seven years thereafter to the day of Pentecost. Parker says: "The Sabbath is only about to begin. . . . 'As it began to dawn.' Yes, that is just what it did. That is the very poetry of the occasion; the word written with apparent accident is the very expression of heaven."

Martin Luther, Robert Young, Beardsley, and many other fine Hebrew and Greek scholars fail to find any authority for translating σάββατον "day of the week." Uriah Smith says: "If that day [Sunday] is called Sabbath by any inspired New Testament writer it is all the evidence that is needed to show that it is a divine institution, and that its observance as such rests on moral obligation."* If it is a "divine institution" God instituted it, and not the pope.

* Uriah Smith's *Is Sunday Called the Sabbath in the New Testament?* p. 1.

We make the following observations:

1. There is nothing in the Hebrew Old Testament to justify the common interpretation of Matt. xxviii, 1, and the parallel passages.

2. If any New Testament writers had wanted to say "first day of the week" they had the exact words in the Septuagint Greek and in the current Greek with which to have expressed it, and not one of them used them.

3. The Septuagint Greek was in constant use by Christ and the apostles. It never uses the Greek word for "Sabbath" to express "week," or "day of the week."

4. The Greek word for "day" does not occur in any of the passages.

5. There is no Greek word for "week" or "day of the week" in the Greek New Testament.

6. Each of the evangelists calls the Sunday of Christ's resurrection "Sabbath," and nothing else, in the gospels.

But, says Smith, "'Σάββατον' must be translated 'week' in Luke xviii, 12, for the Pharisee said, 'I fast twice in the week.'" No; he said, "I fast twice on the Sabbath." Can a man fast twice on the same Sabbath? No. The Pharisees came into existence to revive the literal teachings of Moses. He never taught weekly fasts. There is no intimation of anything of the kind in the Old Testament or anywhere in the New, except by misinterpreting this passage of Scripture. Moses definitely taught that the tenth day of the seventh month, the day of atonement, was a Sabbath fast day (Lev. xxiii, 27, 32). All Hebrews attribute the fast in Tammuz 17 to Mosaic origin, to commemorate the sin of worshiping the golden calf and the breaking of the tables of stone by Moses. Tammuz 17 fell on the weekly Sabbath every year; but Tisri 10 fell on a fast Sabbath, two days after the weekly Sabbath every year. Every strict Jew observed these two Sabbath fasts each year. All other Sabbaths were feasts. So the literal and the only true interpretation is, "I fast twice [a year] on the Sabbath." Rev. Mr. Bailey, the finest Hebrew and Greek scholar among Saturdarians, in his *Complete Sabbath Commentary* admits:

The word "week" does not occur in the New Testament except as a constructive rendering, by metonymy, of *σάββατον*. This rendering is

misleading, as it substitutes "week" for "Sabbath," and leaves out the Sabbath idea. . . . A constructive rendering is admissible where it does not alter the sense of the inspired word. In this case it does alter the sense. "Week" and "Sabbath" are not synonymous words. . . . There is nothing in the construction or sense of this passage (Matt. xxviii, 1) that requires this change in rendering the same word.*

But, while condemning "this change in rendering the same word," he proceeds to institute another equally unscriptural. When the correct interpretation of the nine passages rendered "week" and "day of the week" are fully realized there will not be a vestige of ground left for questioning the Bible authority for Sunday keeping.

We have fully answered the claim that the Sabbath never did, and never could, change, by proving that the Sabbath of the oldest nations changed every year from twelve to thirty-six times, and that the Sabbath as taught by Moses changed once every year, or over fifteen hundred times between the exodus and the resurrection. But, if one contends for a lunar month, the Sabbath changed three times a year, making over four thousand changes in the day, while the Sabbath doubled twice a year, and two thirds of the years contained a week of only two days, one to work and one a Sabbath. We have also overthrown the "papal Sabbath" by proving that the Sunday-Sabbath existed for centuries before there was a pope, and that God made it, as he had foretold he would, by removing the changeable Jewish Sabbath at the crucifixion and instituting the Christian Sabbath at the resurrection, or by reinstating the creation, or Sunday, Sabbath.

Notwithstanding Paul plainly teaches the limiting of the Jewish Sabbaths, he certainly teaches the institution of a Christian Sabbath, not for Jews or Gentiles, but for "the people of God," the Christians, all Christians. In Heb. iv, 9, he declares, "There remaineth therefore a rest (σαββατισμὸς) to the people of God." We quote the following authorities to prove the correct meaning of σαββατισμὸς: Marginal reading of Authorized Version, "a keeping of the Sabbath;" Catholic Bible, "a day of rest;" Young's translation, "a Sabbatic rest;" Uriah Smith (Advent), "literally a keeping of the Sabbath;"

* Bailey's *Complete Sabbath Commentary*, p. 173.

Bailey (Seventh-day Baptist), "a keeping the Sabbath;" Robinson, *New Testament Greek Lexicon*, "a keeping the Sabbath;" Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, "a keeping of a Sabbath;" Schrevelius, "observance of the Sabbath;" Greene's *New Testament Greek-English Lexicon*, "a keeping of a Sabbath;" Cruden, "a keeping of the Sabbath;" Strong's *New Testament Greek-English Lexicon*, "a Sabbatism." Authors could be multiplied to prove that this passage unmistakably means that the Christian dispensation has a "Sabbath observance" remaining in it. Why? Paul answers in Heb. iv, 10: "For he [Christ] that is entered into his rest, he also [as well as the Father] hath ceased from his own works [of atoning for the sin of the world], as God did from his [of creation]." This agrees with history and tradition, which proves that, ever since the Sunday of Christ's resurrection, Christians have regarded the day as one of rest and worship to commemorate Christ's resurrection.

Christians cannot look back to the Saturday that Christ lay in the grave, in which his enemies rejoiced over their seeming victory and when the hosts of hell held high carnival, and which reminds them of the darkest, saddest day of all history, and rejoice; it would be utterly impossible. Therefore it is not surprising that all Saturdarians are always sad and continually predicting "great calamities" or "perilous times." On the resurrection Sunday morning the whole situation was changed by the rising of "the Sun of righteousness" with "healing in his wings." Hell was chagrined, and Christ's earthly enemies were disappointed, while Christians began to comprehend the divinity of Christ and a light began to dawn which enabled them more and more to say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it."

S W Gamble

ART. IV.—ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE JEWISH PASSION IN LITERATURE.

AMONG the ancient nations was one to whom the world owes its visions of God. Poor in numbers, territory, and political power, but rich in patriotism and exalted ideals of righteousness, justice, and mercy, Israel was the exponent of the power of the spirit, a nation of poets, lawgivers, and seers. A wonderful literature testifies to the intensity of their natural life, to the depths and fervor of their emotions, and to their passionate devotion to their ideals. The Greek may have had a clearer vision of the beautiful, the Roman a broader vision of conquest and empire, but the Hebrew saw the noblest vision of all, a vision of the good. "Of the trinity of ideals the good is the most important, the one without which life is impossible." And Israel's vision of righteousness was no cold morality, but a faith warm and living with love to a personal God. By a miracle of history the race whose poets and lawgivers wrote a holy book for Christendom became wanderers and outcasts among the nations. But, though the Hebrews lost their fatherland, they remained "sons of the law." And while we look in vain to the Greek of to-day for the poetry and art of his ancestors, while the proud Roman has been absorbed in modern Europe, Israel has preserved intact, through centuries of persecution, his race characteristics and emotional intensity.

When the English drama arose, in the sixteenth century, the Jew reappeared in literature—this time, however, as a subject, not as a writer. Three plays show his prominence on the Elizabethan stage—"The Jew," mentioned by Gosson in the *Schoole of Abuse*, Marlowe's "Jew of Malta," and Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." Both the earlier plays were popular, and fed the people's hatred of the race. "The Jew of Malta," said Charles Lamb, "is a mere monster, brought in with a large painted nose to please the rabble. He is just such an exhibition as a century earlier might have been played before the Londoners 'by royal command,' when a general pillage and massacre of the Hebrews had been previ-

ously resolved upon in the cabinet. Shylock in the midst of his savage purpose is a man." The play of which he is the leading character has held the stage for three centuries. It is interesting to see how far he embodies the popular conception of the Jew in the sixteenth century, how far he is a typical Hebrew of all time.

Coleridge once said, "Shakespeare is almost the only dramatic poet who by his characters represents a class and not an individual." All his great characters are regarded as typical. In Shylock we certainly recognize most of the prominent national traits. Yet the enlightened Jew naturally resents the assumption that a man so hard-hearted and merciless is a just representative of his race. Some have drawn the hasty conclusion that Shakespeare is unjust to the nation. The early stage presentation of the character seems almost to justify this conclusion. As played in the eighteenth century he was a half comic figure, "grinning with deadly malice, with the venom of his heart congealed in the expressions of his countenance, sullen, morose, gloomy, inflexible, brooding over one idea, that of his hatred, and fixed in one unalterable purpose, that of his revenge." But "Shakespeare's characters," wrote Coleridge, "like those in real life, are very commonly misunderstood. The causes are the same in either case. If you take only what the friends of the character say you may be deceived, and still more so if that which his enemies say. Take all together, not omitting a shrewd hint from the clown or the fool, and perhaps your impression will be right." Following this method, the later actors and critics have given us a new Shylock. The truth is, we have such confidence in Shakespeare's humanity that we want to think he was always on the side of the oppressed; that he was alive not only to the sense of justice of his own era, but to that of the most tolerant and enlightened age in history. But sober critics point to the hard facts of the Elizabethan stage, and with a superior smile at such "sentiment" seek to prove that the intellectual, pathetic, dignified Shylock presented by Irving was an impossible conception in Shakespeare's day.

At this point we are confronted by that much-agitated question, "Did Shakespeare write simply to please the pit?" or

did he conform to its prejudices only so far as it was necessary for the success of the play, writing mainly to please himself and a few appreciative friends, and so ministering to the finer spirits of all time that his prophetic soul must have felt would sometime hear and understand? Let those who think that such poetry as Portia's plea for mercy, Hamlet's soliloquies, and the lines,

> I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows,
> Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,

was penned for the sole pleasure of the tradesman's apprentices of Tudor London maintain that the character of Shylock was delineated expressly to please the pit. Why may we not think of the poet as sometimes sadly smiling at that side of human nature that found food for mirth in Hamlet's madness and Shylock's passion? Why may we not recognize the probability that the audience that mocked at Barabbas still made sport of Shylock, and yet believe that Shakespeare would find keen satisfaction in the interpretation of those actors who have made the immortal Jew a dignified and pathetic figure? In this way we may reconcile the facts of history with our faith in Shakespeare's humanity.

Those who deny that Shylock is a just presentation of Jewish character make their objection on the ground of his inhumanity and his lack of family affection, traits certainly not characteristic of the race. Some critics defend Shakespeare from this charge of injustice by saying that, in that day, a really humane Jew would have been hissed from the stage, and that therefore Shakespeare dared not do full justice to Jewish character. But there are artistic and dramatic reasons quite as forcible to be found in the original plot. All the inhumanity of Shylock is inherent in the story of the bond. To produce a great play Shakespeare found it necessary to make that highly improbable story of the pound of flesh appear natural. The great difficulty is to paint a character black enough for so cruel a revenge. It is only possible to conceive of such abnormal inhumanity in a Jew whose heart is quite dead. In what more effective way could this be shown than by disclosing the home that Leah's early death had left quite loveless? For, unlike most Jewish parents, Shylock had never won the love

of the little girl who might have blessed his household, but seems to have fed, or rather starved, his soul on the affairs of the Rialto and the wrongs of his race.

Having met, in this way, the difficulties imposed by the old story, Shakespeare makes some marked compensations to the Hebrew nation. He reveals his sympathy for Shylock by the impartial way in which he has depicted the injustice and cruelty which had sapped his humanity and driven him to revenge. He shows how the flight of Jessica embittered his hatred and inflamed his passion until the Jew, usually so cautious in working out his ends, overstepped the bounds of prudence and found himself in the clutches of the law. In Jessica herself Shakespeare "throws a veil of sweetness over the national features." She is in this respect his compensation to the race. Again, in a passage which certainly was not emphasized in the early conception of Shylock, Shakespeare has thrown the weight of poetic justice on the side of the Jew, almost justifying his revenge. To those eloquent words, tingling with his passionate sense of wrong,

> Hath a dog money? Is it possible
> A cur can lend three thousand ducats?

note Antonio's reply:

> I am as like to call thee so again,
> To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too.
> If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
> As to thy friends;
> . . . . . .
> But lend it rather to thine enemy.

Moreover, the poet has put into Shylock's mouth that immortal plea for the humanity of his race, "Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" which by its sublimity and pathos wins the sympathy of any audience not hardened by centuries of prejudice. And when he closes with the words, "The villainy you teach me, I will execute," many are inclined to feel that justice is on his side.

Much has been said of the immovable pitilessness of Shylock; yet his eloquence and mental vigor are fully as striking. Surely

it is no small compensation to his nation that he is the most intellectual character in the play, able to confound the duke and the learned men of his court with his masterly argument. If the poet's attitude toward the Jewish race admits of varying interpretations, the same is true of Shylock's character. "A man's character," says Professor Moulton, "is the shadow of his past life; it is the grand resultant of all the forces from within and from without that have been operating upon him since he became a conscious agent. Character is the sandy footprint of the commonplace, hardened into the stone of habit." It would be difficult to find, either in history or literature, a more striking example of the result of a strong personality warped and intensified by peculiar customs, isolation, and general outside repression than is furnished by Shylock. The more we study the man, the more amazed we become at the masterly way in which the dramatist has embodied in him the race characteristics, which are true to all time, and the results of the tragic history of Judaism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He is Jewish in his phrases, in his arguments, and in the cast of his thought. His race prejudice comes out in the first five minutes' talk with Bassanio, in which he shows himself willing to endanger his gains, rather than to hide his feelings. He possesses in an eminent degree that capacity which Emma Lazarus called the most characteristic feature of the Jew, whether considered as a race or an individual—"the faculty which enables this people, not only to perceive and make the most of every advantage of their situation and temperament, but also, with marvelous adroitness, to transform their very disabilities into new instruments of power."

It has been mentioned that the early actors presented Shylock as a man of one predominant passion, that of malice and revenge. But his is far from being the passion of one idea. His dislike for Antonio is a striking mixture of personal and national feeling, so curiously blended that critics can never agree which is the stronger. It is the more common opinion that avarice was his ruling passion. But Coleridge says, emphatically, that "Shylock was no miser. It was not the great feature of his character." Rightly to comprehend Shylock's devotion to his money bags we need to recall the position of

the Jews in the Dark Ages. "In the early centuries," wrote Emma Lazarus, "the Jews were agriculturists, merchants, soldiers, showing no tendencies to those sordid occupations which are said to be innate in their character and essential to their social institutions." The Jewish law forbade usury, and they never followed this occupation until it was forced upon them by Christian rulers. Driven from all other industries, they found in this a means of sustenance and a defense against persecution. Charlemagne and later princes protected them from the priests and the mob because of their usefulness to the State. While the Jewish money lender fitted out crusades and built cathedrals and palaces for Christian monarchs he was erecting for himself a stronghold of defense and opening an avenue to influence and prosperity. When Shylock defends interest it is not merely a personal thing, but as the castle of his race. In his hatred of Antonio for lending money gratis he is blind to the Christian merchant's humane purpose. He looks upon it simply as an insult to his nation. "What's his reason? I am a Jew," he exclaims with all the intensity of an outraged sense of justice. From this point of view the national feeling in Shylock appears more intense than his avarice. But his love of money comes out strongly and offensively in contrast to his affection for Jessica. One can easily believe that this scene was written to please the London apprentice. Yet even here we find that delicate, humanizing touch about the turquoise that reveals Shylock's love for Leah and almost redeems the hardness of his character. Throughout the play the most striking characteristic of Shylock is the strength of his passion. All the stifled affection of his heart, all the pride of an ancient race, all his religious zeal, all the force of his intellect, wit, and imagination are concentrated in the mad effort to show for once that the Jew cannot always be trampled upon. For this he was willing to sacrifice his gains and to risk his life. He is the Jew at bay.

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries no Hebrew character appeared in English literature worthy to stand beside Shylock. "The dark ages of Judaism," says Zangwill, "lie between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries."

The Jews were confined in ghettos, and in no country did they find a refuge from persecution until after the French Revolution. In England they were emancipated in 1829. Continued injustice and life in the ghetto had engendered some unlovely qualities. Cunning, covetousness, and servility had developed in the struggle with superior forces, but a love of home, a strong feeling of brotherhood, strength, tenacity of purpose, and marvelous adaptability to circumstances had been fostered as well. With the withdrawal of persecution came swift commercial success, a loosing of the bonds of ceremonial religion, and general intellectual expansion. A few decades of freedom effaced most of the traces of two thousand years of persecution. The generation following their emancipation produced a Felix Mendelssohn, a Beaconsfield, a Heine.

Of the effect upon Jewish character of a free contact with modern civilization and culture we have a notable example in that New World poet, Emma Lazarus. Bred an orthodox Jew, she found little spiritual food in the creed and ritual of her people, and early abandoned their rigid ceremonial as having no bearing upon modern life. Yet we may trace her rich Hebrew inheritance in the depth of her family affection, in a restless seeking after truth, in her precocious and spontaneous poetic gift, and especially in the melancholy of her early verse, the stamp and heritage of a race born to suffer. But, as yet, the Hebrew fire was latent, and she turned for inspiration to pagan myth and early Christian legend. As this sadness wore away nature soothed and almost satisfied her, yet without inspiring her to say, with that other "sweet singer in Israel," "The heavens declare the glory of God." This first period of her literary life illustrates the tendency of the Hebrew to identify himself with the interests of the country in which he lives. The civil war inspired her earliest verse. Later she longed to free American poetry from Old World models, and to sing the New World song of freedom and of labor. Her friendship with Emerson was a distinctly forming influence. We may be sure that, while instilling spiritual ideals and encouraging freedom of thought, his aim would be to lead her soul to expand naturally its individual gifts and race instincts. That, previous to 1881, she had

failed to discover any ideal spiritual force among the dominant characteristics of her race, and had little enthusiasm for her people, is evident from her article on Beaconsfield. At that time the brilliant, worldly, and rather materialistic politician appeared to her a typical Hebrew. But, soon after the writing of this article, two almost simultaneous events aroused the dormant race passion and made Emma Lazarus another woman. Heine's ballads of 1881 touched a vibrating cord of sympathy. But the far more potent force was the persecution of the Russian Jews. The cry of suffering that aroused the indignation of enlightened Christendom thrilled her, for the first time, with the sense of her birthright.

Her early poetry was that of an "idle dreamer" finding her delight in artistic form, in the glamour of romance, and in the beauty of nature. But true poetic fire flashed forth in such poems as "The Banner of the Jew" and the "New Ezekiel." A newborn enthusiasm for Hebrew history glows in her powerful drama, "The Dance of Death." The last stanza of her poem, "Gifts," voices a new conception of Hebrew ideals:

> O Godhead, give me truth, the Hebrew cried.
> His prayer was granted; he became the slave
> Of the idea, a pilgrim far and wide.

In a series of papers contributed to the *American Hebrew*, in 1882–83, she strove earnestly to arouse a spirit of Jewish enthusiasm which she longed to see expressing itself in a "closer study of Hebrew history and literature, in a truer recognition of the large principles of religion, liberty, and law upon which Judaism is founded." She indorsed enthusiastically the national idea of the return to Jerusalem set forth in *Daniel Deronda*, believing it to be the only real solution of the Jewish problem. In the first of these epistles she wrote:

> Every student of the Hebrew language is aware that we have in the conjugation of our verbs a mode known as the intensive voice, which, by means of an almost imperceptible modification of vowel-points, intensifies the meaning of the primitive root. A similar significance seems to attach to the Jews themselves, in connection with the people among whom they dwell. They are the intensive form of any nationality whose language and customs they adopt.

This intensity is apparent, both in the prose and verse that she poured forth in behalf of her people and in her zeal for the relief of the suffering emigrant. "The brotherhood of Israel" had asserted its power over her.

But her time of activity was short. The year from May, 1882, to May, 1883, was her most productive period. After 1883 sickness and sorrow interrupted her work, and from the time of her father's death in 1885 she never found complete and spontaneous expression. Perhaps her shrinking, womanly soul had leaned too heavily upon his sympathy and pride in her work to recover from the loss. Or, was the Jewish passion too consuming a fire for the tenderly-sheltered, beauty-loving spirit? Her long illness, and death in 1887, robbed America and the Hebrew race of a rarely gifted poet. Her *Songs of a Semite* thrill with genuine poetic passion. Had years and health been given in which to cultivate the art of song, that innate fire would have won for her a high place among the poets of her day.

The popular idea of the Hebrew has been greatly modified in our century by such conceptions as Scott's Isaac, Lessing's Nathan the Wise, and George Eliot's Mordecai and Daniel Deronda—characters which now hang in the Jewish portrait gallery side by side with Shylock and the Jew of Malta. Yet these Jews are all sketched from the outside by more or less sympathetic aliens. In the novels of Zangwill we find the life and manners of the Hebrew portrayed by one of themselves. The emotional intensity that breathes through the later poetry of Emma Lazarus is softened and modified, in this novelist, by that genial trait of his race, a sense of humor. This gift makes him alive to all the incongruities and foibles of his people; and, like Reb Shemuel, he owes to it his "kindly sense of human frailty."

In that brilliant novel, *The Children of the Ghetto*, he has not attempted a typical Jew, after the manner of Shakespeare. Indeed, his close relationship renders this difficult, for it seems to be true that as we draw near to any people the type vanishes. But he has drawn individuals illustrating racial traits, and a series of pictures representing, not merely the manners, but also the national characteristics, of a people whom he

describes as "at once the grandest and meanest of races." He is keenly sensitive to the peculiarities of his own people. In the earlier chapters the critical note impresses the casual reader as much stronger than his racial pride and sympathy. Each of the minor characters shows some Jewish trait, some aspect or result of their creed. The greed and cunning of the race is humorously portrayed in Sugarman, the lottery agent; their thrift and business methods in the sweater and in Malka; their emotional idealism in the poet who has more fire than manly independence. Their clannishness and the emotional mysticism of their religion are vividly pictured in the synagogue services of the "son of the covenant;" their "incurable love of the picturesque" in the stirring scenes of the market place, on the night before the passover. All these ghetto scenes are painted with such realism that their grotesque rudeness would be repulsive were it not for the humorous tenderness with which the author reveals the pathetic and picturesque. Some of Zangwill's coarser characters have something of that strange mixture of greed and religious fervor found in Shylock; but in Moses Ansell we have an example of true piety, a curious blending of the saint and the "schnorrer." This Polish emigrant, fresh from the land of persecution, is a typical Wandering Jew, always straying from town to town in search of better things. His whole-hearted devotion to the law and his childlike faith in God's providence sanctified for him the poverty that embittered the lives of his children and repelled them from Judaism. Reb Shemuel, the good rabbi of the ghetto, is a more refined and prosperous example of piety. But his faith, equally simple and unquestioning, seems a survival of an earlier age. While we wonder at his blindness to the drift of modern life we respect his scholarship and devotion and love him for his charity and kindly humor. His tender parental love, contrasting with the rigid formalities of his creed, helps to make his home a most attractive Jewish household. Yet this very home furnishes a striking example of the tyranny of an unbending creed in the wrecking of his daughter's happiness, and of the repelling and binding power of Judaism in the case of his wandering son.

Jewish life in the ghetto was constantly fed by emigration from Russia and Poland, where persecution still fostered the race exclusiveness and kept alive their passion and intensity. To show his readers the English Hebrew the novelist goes outside the ghetto into the heart of the conflict between Judaism and modern life. Israel has not escaped the materializing tendencies of the age. Able merchants and financiers have peculiar temptations to the worship of the Philistine god of gold. This vulgarizing tendency the novelist has recognized and illustrated in the Goldsmiths. In this family, religion, a pretended orthodoxy, a devotion to culture, art, and literature are all made the tools of worldly ambition. We seem to breathe an atmosphere of formalism and insincerity. This circle of prosperous merchants and bankers is sketched with mild satire, while the appreciative sympathy of the author is lavished upon his heroine, the child of the ghetto.

In Ester Ansell, Reb Shemuel, Raphael Leon, and Strelitzki the novelist has emphasized the poetic idealism and moral earnestness of the race. The two latter are deep in that struggle of Judaism with modern life the existence of which the good rabbi of the ghetto had never realized. In the case of the heroine the race passion is not at first so striking. But the depth of her emotional nature may be traced, not only in the religious devotion of her childhood, but in the strength of her revolt from the bondage of ceremonial law; in her repugnance for the cant which she discerned in the formalism of the vulgar rich; and especially in her craving for the true ideals which underlie the religion of her people. Yet it was not these ideals alone that drew her back to the ghetto, but the race and home instinct, and that poetic mysticism of her nature which revealed to her the beauty of the simple faith of her fathers in the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. This beauty and pathos stirred her heart, even when her intellect was persuading her that the old story was probably but a symbol. Raphael Leon, the editor of the *Flag of Judah*, is a young Oxford man whose life and fortunes are devoted to philanthropy and the cause of orthodox Judaism. He is humorously sketched with many striking eccentricities, but his earnestness and sincerity save him from ever becoming ridicu-

lous. His ideals for Israel are along conventional lines—the purification of orthodoxy, strict adherence to the ceremonial law, the emphasizing of the ethical side of the creed, and the return to Jerusalem. It is easy to see that his sacrifice for his ideals ennobled his soul and helped him in the struggle that came between his heart and his intellect, when his former attitude toward the orthodox creed became impossible. That the author thinks Raphael's position untenable is evident from the young editor's gradually shifting ground, and from his confession to Ester that he had never really comprehended orthodox Judaism until his experience on the *Flag of Judah.* Strelitzki, the young Russian preacher, is the most intense character in the novel. He is the whole-souled idealist, yet with an intellect keen enough to pierce all shams and with a courage to penetrate into the "holy of holies" and sweep away the superstitions and meaningless forms that have enveloped the essential truths of the Jewish creed. As a boy just escaped from Russian tyranny he drew in long breaths of freedom from the English air. This freedom he never bartered in all his struggling youth, until he found himself the bond servant of a rich Kensington synagogue. Here the same abhorrence of insincerity that had repelled Ester Ansell, and the growing conviction that the god of many a prosperous Jew is gold, stirred his soul to its depths. There are few more rapid and eloquent chapters in recent literature than the one in which Strelitzki discusses freely with Raphael the burning questions of Judaism, and states in impassioned words his determination to resign his pulpit and seek free utterance for his ideals in the new world. His conception of Judaism is broad and spiritual. He abandons the national ideal which looks forward to a return to Jerusalem, not from a desire of ease or lack of faith, but because he discerns a higher mission. Not Israel for Palestine, but for humanity, is his watchword:

> We have been "sons of the law." Such may our fatherland continue, with the higher life substituted for "the law," a kingdom not of space, but a great spiritual republic as devoid of national form as Israel's God, and congruous with his conception of the divine. . . . The brotherhood of Israel will be the nucleus of the brotherhood of man.

That these are Zangwill's own hopes and philosophy there is little room for doubt. Yet Strelitzki is in no sense a portrait. He lacks the humor of the novelist, and it is not easy to believe that his spiritual history is the same. The many-sided picture which this writer has given of Jewish life suggests a shifting point of view, and gives the impression that he has sometime felt that same repulsion for Judaism which impelled Ester to write Mordecai Jacobs. Perhaps he has felt, as well as seen, the tyranny of a literal interpretation of the law. He is held, too, no doubt, by that irresistible affinity for the traditions of his race which kept Hannah Jacobs from joining her lover on Seder night. Certainly he has illustrated, again and again, what one of his characters has called the centrifugal and centripetal force of Judaism, that sometimes repels and sometimes attracts her sons and daughters, but never allows them to remain neutral. Zangwill's attitude toward the Jewish ceremonial is interesting. He is never blind to its incongruities, to the hollowness of its formalism, or to its tendency to petrify. Yet he feels the emotional power of its ritual, all the poetry and picturesque beauty of its mysticism, as he says:

> It was a wonderful liturgy, as grotesque as it was beautiful—like an old cathedral in all styles of architecture, stored with shabby antiquities and side shows, and overgrown with moss and lichens—a heterogeneous blending of historic strata of all periods, in which gems of poetry and pathos and spiritual fervor glittered, and pitiful records of ancient persecution lay petrified. . . . If the service had been more intelligible it would have been less emotional and edifying.

Despite his keen sense of the grotesque and absurd, he sees, perhaps as few have done, what a power for good ceremonial Judaism has been in fostering a sense of brotherhood and love of home and in keeping alive the Jewish ideals through ages of persecution. Hence his reverence for what to an outsider is merely hollow ceremony. He regards it all with something of the half-reverent, half-amused tenderness which one feels for the quaint furnishings of the old homestead that he loved in childhood.

With all his warm appreciation for the poetic and picturesque in the life and creed of his people, all his reverence for

the dignity and moral beauty of their history and religious ideals, Zangwill is thoroughly modern. He sees the necessity of absorbing the culture of the day, if Israel is to fulfill the prophecy that in it "shall all the nations of the earth be blest." He claims, moreover, that "there is more in Judaism akin to the modern spirit than there is in any other religion;" that the "Mosaic code aims at all that is best in socialism, without interfering with the free play of individual activity." The artistic sense which restrains him in the novel, helping him to present a true picture of his people, gives way somewhat in his magazine articles to his race enthusiasm. His claims for Judaism, past, present, and future, breathe something of that pride and passionate assertion found in Shylock's plea for humanity. The very strength of his faith in Judaism renders him unjust to Christianity. But of this we have no right to complain until we are sure that we have been just to Judaism. We need not, however, be misled by his statements. His attempts to contrast the tendencies of Christianity and Hebrewism, in his article in the *North American Review*, are far less discriminating and satisfactory than most of his work. The faults he mentions—such as the divorce of religion and secular life, the crude conception that makes Christianity a religion of death and pessimism—have been deprecated by our greatest Christian teachers, and are no more inherent in the Christian than in the Jewish creed. If Zangwill pictures Judaism faithfully there is little significance in the phrase, "Judaism aims at influencing character through conduct, Christianity at influencing conduct through emotion." Indeed, few Christians emphasize the value and power of emotion in the religious life as Zangwill has done in *The Children of the Ghetto*. But some of his thoughts are full of inspiring suggestion for the thinking soul of both Jew and Christian, in these days of religious unrest:

> Sociology will never gain a footing in the modern world until it is touched with emotion, so that obedience is rendered, not to cold hygienic laws, but to warm religious feeling.... Religions are not true in the sense in which scientific facts are true. They live by what is true in the appeal of their ideals, and by the organization which they provide to link the generations.... When we think how the earliest of theistic

creeds, this original Catholic, democratic Church of humanity, has persisted through the ages, . . . when we remember how he has agonized—the great misunderstood of history—and how, despite all and after all, he is living to see the world turning slowly back to the vision of life, then one seems to see "the finger of God," the hand of the Master-artist, behind the comedy-tragedy of existence.

After all, the most inspiring thing about Zangwill is his belief in the power of an ideal, in the ennobling influence which the sacrifice of material and selfish interests for the sake of our ideals exerts upon the soul. This he believes to be the great and sufficient reward for keeping the Sabbath and placing religion before worldly advantage.

It would be scarcely possible or fair to attempt a parallel between a tragic specimen of a hunted race, which has at last turned in self-defense, and the free aspiring idealists of the nineteenth century. Yet they stand before us with the same intensity of feeling. Shylock, his race characteristics as conspicuous as his Jewish gabardine, is a striking example of the hardening, maddening process of the tragedy of Judaism in the dark ages of its history. Emma Lazarus belongs to that period of transition when renewed persecution was needed to arouse the racial pride and instinct and to arrest the threatened dissolution of the nation. Zangwill represents the Judaism that has rediscovered its ideals and is determined to fulfill its mission to the whole world. In all three there is the zeal, the imagination, the tenacity of purpose, the warmth and glow of a people famed in history for the depth and fervor of their sensibilities, a race that has been called "the heart of the world."

Ellen A. Fenton

ART. V.—OUR DISJOINTED EPISCOPACY.

THE rights, duties, powers, and privileges of a Methodist general superintendent are clearly defined in the book of Discipline. The organic law guards and guarantees the *status* and some of the prerogatives of a bishop, while the statutes make his functions plain. He is a very high officer, clothed with inalienable rights and protected by all the authority of fundamental ecclesiastical sanctions. He cannot be done away. It were as easy to destroy the Church as to destroy him. He is established in the constitution, and the constitution is antecedent to government. The constitution is the supreme law.

Attempts have been made to show that missionary bishops are equal in rank, permanency, and authority to general superintendents. It were as easy to prove them superior as to prove them equal. There they stand, two grades of bishops, historically, constitutionally, legally, theoretically, and practically different. It is true that a missionary bishop has a *status* fixed by the constitution, but so he has a limitation fixed by the same document. The constitution nowhere prescribes that the missionary episcopacy shall not be done away, nor that the plan of it shall be kept inviolate, nor that it shall have a share in the presidency of the lawmaking body or a voice in the calling of an extra session. So distinct are the limitations of authority, the methods of administration, and the sources of support betwixt the regular and the missionary episcopacy that those of the latter are formulated and published in a separate disciplinary chapter. In this chapter it is specifically declared that a missionary bishop is not, in the meaning of the Discipline, a general superintendent, cannot be made such except by distinct election, and that, while not subordinate to the general superintendents, he is not coordinate with them in authority save in the field to which he is appointed. He is *de facto* a separate officer consecrated by a specific formula, receives support from a different treasury, and is subject to the decisions of the general superintendents in all differences of judgment which may arise betwixt himself and the bishop

having coordinate authority with him under the quadrennial appointment.

The purpose of this article is to show that these two grades in our Methodist episcopacy are unnecessary and embarrassing. We have no alarming facts to cite, no aggravating official acts to bring into condemnation, no disloyal or unholy schemes to expose; our desire is simply and solely to point out certain unhappy tendencies, and to indicate how our noble Church polity can be somewhat simplified, our episcopal administration better harmonized and solidified, and some of our most prominent and promising Church interests brought into more intimate and helpful relation to our general economy.

Like some other anomalous things, the missionary episcopacy had its origin in slavery times. It was instituted to serve a purpose in the fatherland of slaves and to accommodate the important demands of an aggressive Church to the whims and prejudices of proslavery leaders. Ever since this office was opened to white incumbents its course has been marked by agitation, controversy, and more or less of heart-burning and rivalry. Few questions have given rise to so much misapprehension, discussion, and recent legislation. All this might have been averted by slight modifications of the rules governing the general superintendency, or possibly by modification of their practice alone. No missionary bishop has been more constantly in his field, nor more efficient in his labors, nor more instructive and inspiring in his official reports than the same individual might have been as a general superintendent, appointed year by year continuously as the demands of his field might have required. Our missionary bishops have made their tours of inspection, their rounds of visitation, and their returns to the home land in very much the same manner as have the regular bishops. Their episcopal work has been that of superintendency pure and simple, and as "general," too, as the limitations of their office have permitted. Meantime the general superintendents have practically been excluded from these specially superintended fields; and the variety of observation, study, and conclusion which might have attended the same work by general superintendents has been denied to the Church. For ten years the prestige of our general superin-

tendency has not been felt in India, nor for fourteen years in Africa, while the only or chief official knowledge the Church has of either of these vast missionary regions has come through the medium of one episcopal officer. This is a serious disadvantage, and it is not strange that the order of the Church which has brought about these restrictions and defective operations should have been characterized, as it has been on the floor of the Central India Conference, as "a vicious system." This is not a personal attack upon the missionary bishop, but upon his office. It is a pernicious system. It is in effect a districted episcopacy, without the limitations and conditions essential to harmony and popularity under such a system. It has too much power, and has no balance wheel. The technical claims of the office encourage the assumption of impossible knowledge, and leave the Church without adequate intelligence, save as it trickles through this one-man episcopal sieve. The missionaries who ought to know the peculiar needs of their own special fields better than anyone else stand in awe of a higher local power that assumes to provide both policy and direction. Thus the missionary episcopacy is weakest where it boasts of greatest strength. It is jealous of any encroachment upon its prerogatives; and, wherever the Church has planted it, provision for harmonious and the most effective superintendency is shut out. Even the order of the last General Conference, providing that once in every quadrennium a general superintendent shall conjointly with the missionary bishop administer the affairs of the mission, has not been favorably regarded in the fields to which the rule will apply. The *Indian Witness*, of Calcutta, in a long editorial under date of August 8, 1896, expressed regret that the General Conference had made any such provisions, and designated it as "a reflection upon the adequacy of the provision made by the Church for the mission fields affected." It expressed the belief that the General Conference should have ordered the missionary secretaries to pay these desired quadrennial visits, and thus have kept the general superintendents out.

Being challenged as to the loyalty of its spirit toward the regular episcopacy, the *Witness* of November 7, of the same year, said:

We expressed the opinion that the measure adopted at Cleveland reflected upon the adequacy of the present provision made by the Church for the supervision of our work, and we did so for the very good reason that this was practically avowed by the brother who first introduced the resolution. This brother said distinctly that in no other way could they get satisfactory reports of the work in this mission field. Not a single fact was adduced to show that there was any foundation for such a statement, but certainly it *seemed* to reflect upon the administration in India, for Africa had been distinctly excepted. . . . With the profoundest respect for our general superintendents and the highest appreciation of their commanding abilities, we avow our deep conviction that, on the existing principles on which the general superintendency over foreign fields is exercised, it is simply impossible for them to accomplish the work and render the service in really foreign fields, such as India, China, and Africa, which missionary bishops are in a position to accomplish and render. And we actually are disposed to think that men in the field, with from twenty to forty years' experience of the needs and difficulties and possibilities of the work, are in as favorable a position for forming a correct judgment on this point as any of our esteemed brethren on the other side of the globe.

The trend of the foregoing remarks is unmistakable. The arguments all make one way. They mean a disposition to magnify the office of a missionary bishop and to discredit the efficiency, in mission fields, of the general superintendency. Their logical sequence would be either the establishment in the Church of a districted episcopacy or the disintegration of our Indian work, or both. How does this suit the convictions of those who hold that a general superintendency in every field is essential to universal connectionalism?

A recent utterance by Bishop Thoburn also serves to indicate that in the minds of missionaries there is a vast difference betwixt the functions of a regular bishop and those of a missionary superintendent. He says:

A missionary bishop in the nature of the case cannot be the exact counterpart of the general superintendent as he is now known in America. The missionary superintendent must be a leader. He must be as active in the work as Bishop Asbury was in the days when he visited every circuit in the connection and preached at nearly every camp meeting. The chief functions of a bishop in America, so far as the general public are concerned, consist in presiding at Conferences, making out the appointments, and in a quiet way exercising a more or less active supervision over the general interests of the work. He has to deal frequently with difficult judicial questions, and probably has many other cares and

labors with which, very naturally, I am only partially acquainted. In the mission field it is very different. When I close the last of our six Annual Conferences I usually think that the work for the year is just beginning. I have less labor and much less anxiety in holding the session of an Annual Conference than that of an ordinary District Conference. In addition to the twenty-four District Conferences I must also go out among the people, attending special meetings, supervising schools, orphanages, mission presses, theological seminaries, and in the meantime keep up a constant series of evangelistic meetings. No general superintendent in America is expected to do this kind of work, and when these able brethren come to India they usually find all their time occupied in merely inspecting work. They could not in the nature of the case do much else. What is true of the bishops would be true of any other Methodist ministers who should attempt to do the work which devolves upon myself when in southern Asia. They would be absolutely helpless in the presence of a hundred schoolboys, not one of whom could speak a word of English, and all of whom are familiar with school methods which are wholly unknown in the United States.*

From the foregoing it appears:

1. That our Church work in India is subject to a supervision which is not "the exact counterpart" of the home superintendency.

2. That a missionary bishop "must be a leader" in a sense differing from the leadership of a regular overseer.

3. That the episcopal visitations from America, upon which our Church has so long placed reliance, are nothing more than mere inspections, and, under the present double system of supervision, probably more and more so.

4. That a regular bishop would be "absolutely helpless" in undertaking the work which the Bishop of India feels himself called to perform.

That the Bishop of India and Malaysia regards his office as practically independent of, and separate from, the general superintendency may be seen by the following paragraph from an article contributed by him to the *Indian Witness* a few weeks after the adjournment of the Cleveland General Conference. He says:

A measure was enacted which defines more clearly the relation of the missionary bishop to the general superintendents. As first proposed, this measure would undoubtedly have amounted to the practical supersession of the missionary bishop by the general superintendent from

* *Michigan Christian Advocate*, October 2, 1896.

America; but after a prolonged struggle in committee the earlier proposals were abandoned, and by general consent a measure was adopted which, while it practically gives the general superintendent more authority in a foreign field than he before possessed, in reality limits his action by reducing the number of visits which he can make to one in every four years, and also by limiting his official action by making the two bishops act "conjointly" in administering the affairs of a Conference.

May not the point of this argument be stated as follows?—A missionary bishop is supreme in his field three years out of four, and a peer with the general superintendent appointed to his field one year out of four; therefore the arrangement which makes the missionary bishop "a leader" in his domain, and renders a general superintendent "absolutely helpless in the presence of a hundred schoolboys" when he does arrive, is the arrangement fit for the Methodist Episcopal Church to perpetuate.

Far be it from us to intimate that one of our missionary bishops is actuated by disloyal, sinister, or even selfish motives in his plans of work or in its inevitable results, or in his reports of progress. We yield to no man in admiration for his heroic and self-sacrificing zeal, confidence in his high character, gratitude for his noble achievements, and hope for his future success. The officer is all right, it is the office which is at fault. As another has said:

The missionary episcopacy must struggle hard to ennoble itself. The office humiliates the officer. It was never intended originally that it should be large enough for white men. It was ordered in fear and bestowed without favor. Its imposition, like the grief of Chryses when he walked in his sorrow and prayed to his god by the sounding sea, "was as the night when it cometh over the sky."*

The above sets forth a fact. The office not only "humiliates the officer"—the least of its evils—but it is the occasion of a hateful ecclesiastical caste spirit and of unnecessary controversy, the inevitable producer of friction which should never have gotten a hold in Methodism. Think of a Methodist "office struggling hard to ennoble itself" when there is no earthly use for such a struggle! The office should be untrammeled, that the officer may be free for duty and unburdened by conscious disabilities or humiliation. Were the

* *Christian Educator.*

Bishop of India and Malaysia a general superintendent he would be just as capable "in the presence of a hundred schoolboys" as he is now; he could be as much of "a leader," "as active in the work as Bishop Asbury," and as efficient in all the details which, according to his ideas, differentiate missionary supervision from the American superintendency. Moreover, he would be quite as likely to welcome the visitations of his episcopal colaborers, and to feel that their character is his character, their *status* his *status*, their report his report, their experience his experience—a unity of aim, effort, understanding, responsibility, and success.

But to criticise a system without suggesting a remedy would be worse than folly. We therefore propose the following course of procedure:

1. Amend the third restrictive rule by striking out the words, "but may appoint a missionary bishop or superintendent for any of our foreign missions, limiting his episcopal jurisdiction to the same respectively," and substituting, "but may provide for the appointment of a general superintendent for a term of years successively to any of our foreign missions."

2. Rescind the entire chapter on missionary bishops.

3. Elect our present effective missionary bishops to the general superintendency, and elect any other experienced missionaries to the same office when the exigencies of the work require it.

Such a modification of our polity and practice would restore unity and harmony to our episcopal system, eliminate some unhappy factors and tendencies, relieve friction, allay feeling, promote peace and good will, bring the prestige and form of our general superintendency to bear upon all mission fields alike, and help to knit together the vast and complicated interests of our world-wide Methodism.

Art. VI.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

The late John Miley, D.D., whose writings now constitute probably the most prominent and accepted authority in Methodist circles upon the atonement and related subjects, almost, if not definitely, proclaims the unsatisfactoriness of the statements of the past and present, including his own, when he disclaims identity of doctrine and fact. He assumes, or affirms, that the fact is that the vicarious sufferings of Jesus Christ are the grounds of forgiveness and salvation, thus putting a doctrine for a fact and making the benefits of that affirmed fact available, although the explanations may differ, which explanations he calls doctrines. The doctrine of the atonement must be a statement of the facts, or it is false. The three formulated explanations—the satisfaction, moral influence, and governmental—have each by skilled hands been held up to, if not against, the Scriptures and Methodist or Arminian discoveries in revealed religion. In Methodism they have been tried, and at least the two former have been found wanting. They have each successively permeated the thought of the Church. Watson was the elaborator of the satisfaction explanation, and his *Institutes* were the authorized study of the ministry for a long time. Bushnell and Raymond had the attention of a later generation, with the moral influence theory in systematic statement and writings. Now Miley has the right of way and the tacit consent of the Church, with his governmental idea. Will it stand the test?

But a still more important question is, Why should the world have been, or now be, perplexed with statements that are exclusive of each other, and which upon test need to be substituted for some other? Is the doctrine of the atonement so obscure? The satisfaction theory was manifestly a legal reason for continued abounding sin, and Antinomianism was, and is, thereby logically inevitable. The moral influence explanation was inoperative, for the subjects to be influenced were too bad to be affected, except perhaps to be hardened. The governmental is as certainly lacking in comprehensiveness of the great theme and of satisfactory results.

Its stock illustrative incident has very few, if indeed any, facts that are like the real facts. The story of a monarch whose son was the only criminal and who, for his own transgression, lost only one eye, but did lose one—the sovereign father losing one eye instead of the son's other eye—does not match the universal sinfulness of the world, the only sinless one being the Son, and he slain because they, the criminals, hated him for being from above, while they were from beneath. An illustrative incident true to the facts would be the story of a monarch every one of whose subjects were in revolt, his own son being the only loyal one, who, being sent to recover the withheld rights of the sovereign, was killed. Such is the story of the parable of the vineyard, and it must not be narrowed to apply only to the Jews. It was as comprehensive as the incident of Cain and Abel. That was world-wide, and so was the later conflict between righteousness and unrighteousness—Jesus Christ instead of Abel, the whole world instead of Cain, the different dispensations only making the difference as to effects. The blood of Abel cried for vengeance; the blood of Jesus speaks of pardon, as each is authoritatively interpreted by God himself.

Now, if there can be no satisfactory statement, even by skilled thinkers, from a given standpoint, is it not proof that the standpoint is wrong? The effort has been to formulate the unscriptural idea of a plan to reconcile God to man. The scriptural statement always is the reconciliation of man—who against instruction, warning, and prohibition sinned and thereby became estranged or separated from God—to God. There was a time when God and man were at one, and conversed as friend to friend. Sin entered by disobedience, and immediately man, not God, was estranged. His death was immediately assured. Not physical death, for that was always his portion except for the tree of life, from the fruit of which he was excluded, after sin entered, "lest he put forth his hand . . . and live forever;" the death was separateness from God. The problem has always been how to reestablish that severed relationship, and that is atonement. The Scripture statement is, "That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in

us;" for the restored privilege is, when it is fulfilled which the Master taught, "I say not unto you, that I will pray the Father for you: for the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me." The general import of the records makes a plain story and true to all the facts. God created man in his own image, which is a large image. He charged him that to know good and evil was instant death. Man committed, if not the unpardonable sin, the fatal one. His seed by nature separated from God must wage a pitiful contest with the adversary. The triumph of evil was soon so manifestly appalling that Jehovah affirmed, "It repenteth me that I have made them." He found one man and his family through whom there was promise, and sent a deluge of waters and drowned all the rest, which was the most far-reaching and not-to-be-repeated method of the extermination of evil to make way for good that characterized the old dispensation. It was a failure, for the spared ones and their descendants were not one with God. The blunder with the best of them was that they always excused themselves from participating in the privileges and responsibilities of the reinstatement, though God over and over again proclaimed his power and willingness to forgive and make a new heart and life.

How sacrifices came to be instituted as a transaction between God and man there is no information in Holy Writ. That it was a method of worship is historical. When they became a substitute for obedience it was an offense to God, and he forbade them. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit;" the "conclusion of the whole matter" is, "Fear God and keep his commandments." Jesus Christ was a necessity, if indeed by him could come the atonement. "The darkness comprehended it not." He explained that all divine ideas were presented in him, not of go-betweens or sacrifices —these were human ideas—but of life. He demanded repentance and a new birth. He reaffirmed redemption by the compassion and power of God, the Father Almighty—he, Jesus Christ, being set forth as the embodiment of that compassion and power. He did not, for he could not, bring in the kingdom by machinery. It was at hand, but could only come in as there was the radical change to righteousness from

unrighteousness. It all depended upon the still alienated and unreconciled man. The aggregate alien man made a revolted world which was not of God's kingdom. Why talk of God being the Sovereign and Governor of the world, whose condition was the exclusion of his kingdom and whose inhabitants, instead of loving the heavenly visitor, rallied the best elements to choose a murderer in his stead, and in the savageness of depravity killed him? Why talk of redemption by machinery, when he who came from the Father and in oneness with him raised the question whether, when he should come again, he would find faith in the earth? It is and ever will be an open question, Will man be one with God?

Unitarians have seemed to desire to answer, but their faith has not been so much in God as in man, who is not altogether bad and only needs to be properly cultivated to be right and in such rightness appropriately and acceptably to worship God. They have no recognized need of being born again, and hence their rightness is not wise, being of the order that results from comparing man with man. They have no way to climb to the perfectness that is possible, because, being really born of God, one is like him in that practical law that like begets like and in which reborn man is even as his Father which is in heaven; in which life, and only in which, can there be oneness with God. If the communion was when man was in the likeness of God, and the separation was when that image was lost, the communion can be again, and when that likeness has been regained. That is possible. God makes, and he only can make, it possible. He who created has the power, and offers upon conditions, to recreate after himself, as a pattern to work to, "in righteousness and true holiness." In such recreated life only is the cause of estrangement removed. It is a matter of common knowledge, and a part of the simple story that "whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." We have a right to be shy of Unitarians, Socinians, Pelagians, and Universalists, chiefly because they deny the facts, first, as to man's condition by nature—that is, in sin—and, second, as to man's possibilities in grace, which last involves the great doctrine of atonement.

Other men have seemed earnestly to desire to answer the

question by teaching a trinity of persons in the oneness and unity of the Godhead. Among these have been the contentions regarding sin, redemption, and regeneration with which we are more or less familiar—which contentions have always centered in theories of the atonement. The larger numbers of parties have practically accepted the doctrine of one person of the Trinity demanding, and all the persons of the Trinity consenting to, the foreordained death of another person of the Trinity, in order that the other might thereby be appeased. Now, no true doctrine of the atonement can be founded upon the theory of God reconciling God. He was "in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," not himself unto himself. The adjustment was and is not needed within the divine life. It was and is needed between God and man, and the necessitated adjustment is a readjustment of man. How?

First, man must be convinced of his sinfulness. The darkness does not comprehend the darkness. He does not realize how depraved he is. There was no necessity for the death of Christ on the divine side. It was necessary to prove to mankind how bad sin made them. His death was the deliberate murder that Peter charged them with, and the men who did it were no worse than every other sinner. They could not fasten the guilt upon their children by their proposed brutal covenant. But, alas! their children by nature would be as bad as they, and so as guilty. Repentance is the inevitable result of recognizing the exceeding sinfulness of sin. If men will know how bad they are they cannot help repenting. It is a great privilege granted to men. John, the forerunner, preached it. Jesus Christ's first recorded preaching is, "Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." His closing instruction is that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." The death of Jesus Christ is related to the atonement only as it is the indisputable evidence of the depravity of the race. It was permitted to convict men, not to appease God. The manifested hateful rage of the world was impotent, for—though he was not taken out of their hands, or they were not destroyed, and in that sense they were permitted to go to the length of their impulses and put to death

the flesh—he, God incarnated, was not subject to death, much less "holden of it." They did not, for they could not, kill him, but it went far enough to show to all intelligences what a sinner is. He took again the body they had killed, and triumphed openly over them and all sinners. Lost, blind, ignorant sinners made an atonement, themselves for themselves, by murder, if atonement be by the death of Jesus Christ.

Second, man must be convinced of the possibilities for him in divine grace, and St. Paul rightly says, "If, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." The "if" expresses the great contingent whether man thereby will concede the awful facts of man's total depravity so incontrovertibly demonstrated in the death of Jesus, thus surrendering the controversy against the righteousness of God if he turn off into hell every sinner. But the salvation is not in this reconciliation or consent of the human to the righteousness of the divine in the condemnation of such beings, for the salvation is by the life of Jesus Christ. "What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." The doctrine of the atonement is the teaching which, if accepted and obeyed, restores man to oneness with God, both in consciousness and fact. Its theme and symbolic phraseology are concerning the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. The death of Christ proved how utterly estranged from God man is. His life proves how perfectly one with God he may become.

The mistaken idea of atonement in the old dispensation was "to cover." The new dispensation idea is correct, being "to thoroughly change." The apostolic effort to enforce the spiritual lesson must not be crowded to putting this new wine in old bottles. The symbolisms of blood and body must not be literalized in sacrament or doctrine. Cleansing by the blood comes only to those who by spiritual interpretation and apprehension have the channels of life renovated by Christ's life, as symbolized by his blood. The blood "shed for you, and for many, for

the remission of sins" might be misunderstood to be the condition of forgiveness, had not God forgiven sins time and again without it. Witness the stories of Nineveh and the prodigal son. But this being an undisputed truth leaves the meaning to be sought for elsewhere than as the immediate condition. As reaching remission of sins, and indeed necessary on the human side, it must be the convincing proof of necessity of repentance and how thorough it must be.

The atonement is by Jesus Christ, not to cover by his death, but to thoroughly change by conformity to his life. Great care must be taken lest the only and invariable condition of remission of sin be made void through faith. Faith must not be substituted for repentance, when true faith inevitably leads to godly sorrow for sin, and repentance of that kind makes available for any sinner all mercy and power. The ministry of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost to sinners is to convince of sin, righteousness, and judgment. The prerogative of God, the Father Almighty, is and always has been to forgive and make new truly repentant sinners. This being true, the atonement is not an initial, but an ultimate, fact in redemption. The steps are faith, conviction of sin, repentance, forgiveness, and regeneration. All which, being as real as the Scriptures portray, reaches the great fact, at-one-ment. It is by Jesus Christ, not as he is for us as a substitute, go-between, or intercessor, but as he is in us, which makes one with the Father, and is a well-founded hope of glory.

A specimen of hymnology that voices this unity is Paget's beautiful hymn that ought to be in all collections of hymns, while more of like doctrine ought to be written and used, instead of very much that is. We quote one stanza:

> Near, so very near to God,
> Nearer I cannot be,
> For in the image of his Son
> I am as near as he.

W. S. H. Hymns

Art. VII.—A LETTER FROM GEORGE WHITEFIELD TO COUNT ZINZENDORF.

Three years ago, while spending some time in Herrnhut, in order to read John Wesley's correspondence with the Moravians, we found in the same portfolio a long letter from George Whitefield to Count Zinzendorf, carefully written on large paper. We made only a few notes from it at the time, not doubting that it had been published in full in Whitefield's letters or biography; on returning to America, however, we were surprised to find that the letter seemed to be entirely unknown, both to English and German authorities. Last January we wrote to Herr Glistch, who is in charge of the archives at Herrnhut, requesting that the letter might be forwarded to us for use in the royal library in Berlin, as is usually done with manuscripts in the great German libraries; he replied that the archives contained but one letter from Whitefield to Zinzendorf, and that that was one of four pages written in Latin. He also said that the rules did not permit the sending away of manuscripts. We then sent a fuller description of the letter we had seen in 1894, when Herr Glitsch wrote that he had found it, and later that he had had it exactly copied, and had himself collated the original. Two unimportant passages which could not be clearly read are indicated in the letter as given; we do not doubt that a further study of the original would elucidate them.

Honrd S^{r}

I received your letter from Gravesend dated March 27th and thank you for it with all my heart: Our Saviour gave me to read it in much calmness and simplicity of soul, and I trust in the same spirit I now sit down to answer it. The contents shew me that matters are come to this Crisis, that I must wholly give myself up to Your Church, or that Your Church will have nothing at all to do with me, no not so much as to help me by Your advice—but on the contrary directly oppose me. Whether this be agreeable to the gentle Spirit of the Lamb of God, or that Unfeigned simplicity which the Brethren outwardly profess I leave Yourself Honrd S^{r} and the Brethren to Judge.

I think it is not, and so it w^d^ appear in the eyes of every *Impartial Hearer.* Not that I can say I am very sollicitous about it, since I know in whom I have believed and who has led me hitherto in and out before his people, and conducted me safe and comfortably thro' the many fiery furnaces of affliction which I have been in since I have been sent out to preach the Everlasting Gospel. He will be my Guide and Counsellor unto death. I call him to witness I have done to my very Uttermost to promote a Union of the Churches, . . . and in respect to Your Church in particular have done all I could with a *clear conscience* to be United to her. Indeed Your Lordship is pleased to say, "*This is the fourth Change my d^r^ M^r^ Whitefield since Your latin letter to me.*" But what change do You mean, Hon^rd^ S^r^? Why? Your Lordship says, "I got a letter from Philadelphia the day before Yesterday from a Brother whom one may depend upon. The same had read a letter of Your own hand, wherein You have recanted again what You had said concerning our ways." Indeed Hon^rd^ S^r^ this is a *wrong information.* I have copies of all the letters I sent abroad, and if I live to see London You shall see them too and then Judge, for Yourself. But You say I refused You my great meeting-house again, I know not that I ever refused it before. . . . Hon^rd^ S^r^ be pleased to give me leave simply to relate the whole matter. Many months agoe Brother Nobel sent me word "that You had been asked to preach in the New-houses, but did not care to do it till *You had my leave.*" I answered "I was willing if the *Other Trustees* were, but thought it w^d^ be best to defer preaching in it till I came over." Sometime after this I heard that one of the Calvinistical Ministers had been denied subscribing the Articles, and that the Brethren had made *too strong a push* to preach in that place—I finding what confusion it w^d^ still occasion for two different schemes of doctrine to be taught in one house, and with all thinking it unjust to have the Articles altered which I believed were founded on the word of God, I wrote to the Trustees a letter which I will show Your Lordship, and thought it best for the Glory of God that the Brethren should preach elsewhere as we did in London, and yet continue to act friendly to those that differed from them. In the mean while as I found after-

wards our Saviour was leading the Brethren this way. For the next letters informed me that they had declined striving any more about that house and preached elsewhere—or had left Philadelphia till the door should be more open. This pleased me because I thought it w^d^ make for peace, was acting like Yourself and w^d^ do service to the Common Cause. This I think is the whole matter. But as for recanting again what I had said concerning your ways indeed Hon^rd^ S^r^ it is no such thing. I never did yet approve of all Your ways or all Your doctrines, because according to my judgement some of both were contrary to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This perhaps I might say but no more. However the letters will speak for themselves. I have recommended You and the Brethren Hon^rd^ S^r^ in the strongest terms, tho' I was in danger thereby of losing almost all my former friends and Fellow-Labourers, and if the *threatened breach between us* be brought about, I think I can call our Glorious High-Priest to witness that it lies at the Brethren's door not mine. When I went first to Georgia, I entertained a most favourable opinion of them. I thought to be wholly governed by them. But then a bar was put in our way—a Brother called Doctor John w^d^ not shake hands or converse with me because *He suspected* I held election. This conduct Brother Boehler disaproved of and yet afterwards revived the Dispute for which He afterwards confessed himself a Sinner. Brother Hagan was received into my family with all love in my Absence. When I returned they were in such a condition as almost broke my heart. I before this had the Brethren to Nazareth, but when I found we were likely to disagree so very much, I thought it best to separate. Since that we have been sweetly United again. But now since *I cant come into all things You say or to renounce my principles*, a greater separation than ever perhaps is likely to ensue. I know not what the world will say if it should hear of it. But I say Father thy will be done. Hon^rd^ S^r^ I cannot part with what I believe to be truth, nor say that is true which is entirely false. This is the reason (and not out of a *spirit of contradiction*) why I desired You to recant the Parenthesis wherein You called me a *Son of Your Church, because Peter*

Boehler brought the blood of Christ to me. Glad should I be to have confessed it publickly had it been so. But I dare not let a falsehood be propagated in the world. Indeed Your Lordship seems to hint *that the thing may be indisputably proved*, and P. Mr. Spanenburgh insinuates that our Saviour has been *humbly asked and that You have been faithfully directed.* But if our Saviour was consulted by lot or otherwise in this matter, and the lot came out *that Peter Boehler brought the Blood of Christ to me or that I was properly a Son of Your Church*, for *once* I am sure He has *suffered* You to err. For He himself by his blessed and eternal spirit sealed me to the day of redemption in my little study at Oxford, about nine Years agoe, before ever I heard any mention made of Your Honrd Self or Brethren. When at Oxford Mr. Gambol said He wonder'd I had more success than the other methodists tho' I was the only one that was so wrong, because I held *Justification by faith alone.* This is likewise to be proved by my first sermons and journal—all which plainly shew that I was acquainted with the Lamb of God and walked in the abiding comforts of the Holy Ghost long before I conversed with any of the Brethren. And I remember near two Years before I saw Brother Boehler I wrote him a letter telling him how glad I was to find, upon my Arrival at London that He had been preaching the doctrine of Justification by Faith in London and how the Lord had shewed me that some time agoe. Indeed I cannot say I was so clear as I am now. I hope dayly to grow in light and heat. But I was as *really* acquainted with the blood of the Lamb as I am now at this present writing. This is my reason Honrd S^{r} for desiring that paragraph to be altered, because my Friends know it to be false and therefore if it be not recanted publickly now You have better Evidence it will do hurt to the Common Cause. But I am easy *upon my own account* and leave it to Your judgement to act as You shall think best. *As for owning my ignorance Honrd S^{r} in Church-matters, and in that publick Church affair of our Saviours*, I freely do it, as well as in many other respects. But then I cannot *immediately and implicitly* follow Your *whole plan* because I have not yet sufficient proof that it is in all respects *entirely apostolical.* To

require me to do this, or to break with me because I cannot do this is using me too like the Seceders in Scotland, whose conduct I have heard Your Lordship more than once condemn. I thought the Brethren were of a *Catholick spirit* but if this be the Genuine effect of a Catholick spirit I know not what it means. But indeed Hon^rd^ S^r^ I see the Brethren are men of like Passions with other believers and I fear an overweening fondness for Your own Plan and ways sometimes diverts You and them from the simplicity of the Gospel. I trust Your Lordship will not be Offended at this plainness of speech. I hope I write with some degree of humility, as a younger Brother, but yet as one employed in the same Embassage, and who according to Your Lordship's own publick confession *have made way for You to preach the Gospel through the world.* I am become a Fool in boasting. Your Lordship has compelled me—as for altering my principles, or *coming over to the Universal* scheme I cannot bear the thought of it. If I do that, I must make shipwreck of my *faith*, and deny what *I think* the *Lord* hath taught me. If because I cannot believe "*Universal Salvation and that the whole world is really justified by Jesus Christ*," if I say because of this, *Your Church* (to use Your Lordship's own words) *cannot help looking upon me as a Laodicean and are resolved to oppose me directly*—then indeed Hon^rd^ S^r^ You must have no more to do with me and hereafter I shall give You no further trouble, but love You as a flock of sinful, fallible yet redeemed sinners, pray that You may be guided into all truth, prospered in all that is good; and stopped in every step You take contrary to the Artless Guiless spirit of the *truly Simple and ever blessed Jesus.* Whether I am a Laodicean, the last day shall discover, when You and I Hon^rd^ S^r^ appear before his dreadful tribunal. Tho' I abhor the scheme of Universal redemption and own *particular Election and redemption*, yet I offer Jesus as freely and promiscuously to all as You Hon^rd^ S^s^ can do, and give Sinners as much encouragement and that too very consistently with my principles. But I am sorry the Spirit of Disputation is likely to arise from a Quarter where it is most exclaimed against, and that a *true Catholick spirit* is not found where it is *most professed.*

Such conduct I never expected to meet with. But all is well and all shall work for good. I thank You Honrd S^{r} for any councel You or the Brethren have at any time given me. Our Saviour will reward You. If I can serve the Brethren I shall rejoice to do it. But since matters are likely to be as they are, I think it advisable that You should not enter any more into my labours, or that any Brethren should go to Scotland lest the souls be brought into Confusion. For if the trumpet give an Uncertain sound who shall prepare for the Battle? Thus Honrd S^{r} I have written You my whole heart. I hope all the while I have had it in my Eye that I have been writing to a Count and what is greater a Bishop of the Church of Christ. I love and greatly Honour You, but cannot think in all things as You do, or believe all You say and do is absolutely right. I am persuaded to the contrary and therefore desire to follow You as You do Jesus Christ but no further. But I fear I detain You too Long. But as it is the last letter Your Lordship may desire to receive from me I hope Your Lordship will excuse it. I wish this letter may be read in Conference, and weighed before our Saviour. I commit this and my whole concerns to Him upon whose shoulders the Government of the Church lies, and am for his great names sake Hon^{d} S.

Your most Affec: tho' most Unworthy Younger Brother and Fellow Labourer and willing servant

WHITEFIELD.

It will be noted that this letter does not contain the date or place of writing, or any direct mention of Zinzendorf's name. Its time may be inferred from two allusions, namely, to Whitefield's conversion "about nine years agoe," in Oxford, and to a letter written by the Count on March 27. Whitefield was a student in Oxford from 1732 to 1736; Tyerman puts the time of his conversion at about 1735. In the earlier half of 1743 Count Zinzendorf, who was in London from the 11th to the 24th of March of that year, wrote to Whitefield calling upon him in the following words to renounce his Calvinistic doctrines: "You must first formally recant, and preach openly free grace in the blood of the Lamb, and an election of grace as

taught in the Scriptures, which is quite different from the doctrine of predestination which you teach; and if not, our Church must necessarily be opposed to you." * The above letter is manifestly in answer to this demand. It was written at a time when Whitefield was absent from London, and later than March 27—probably during April, 1743, when Whitefield was engaged in very successful evangelistic work in the region of Gloucester. He returned to London in May of the same year.

The temperate, though eloquent, tone of the reply; the light which it casts upon Whitefield's standpoint toward the preaching of doctrine; the declarations as to the priority of his conversion to his acquaintance with Moravian influences, as well as the allusions which it contains to the relations between the Methodists and Moravians in England and America, make the letter one of general interest.

* D. Benham, *Memoirs of James Hutton*, 1856, p. 112.

James Taft Hatfield

Art. VIII.—THE ANCIENT AND THE MODERN FEELING FOR NATURE.

One of the most striking features of modern art is the universal interest which it manifests in nature. Whereas the early Italian masters introduced only the most meager details of natural phenomena, the artist of to-day spends his life among the mountains, or on the ocean shore, or in travel over distant lands, in the endeavor to render a complete picture of the multitudinous forms of the world about him. Literature, likewise, has felt the impulse, and the romantic movement which marks especially the advent of the nineteenth century—with its religious revival, its new interest in man, its subjectivity, and melancholy—shows itself in nothing so different from its classic predecessor as in its passionate love for all nature. The causes of this new love are many and varied. Science with its scrutinizing glance, its indefatigable curiosity, the breaking down of natural barriers and the opening up of the whole globe by means of steam and electricity, the modern love for travel, the interest in foreign lands that comes from increased education—these and many other things have undoubtedly exerted great influence. Here, as elsewhere, the great poets are only the exponents of the spirit of the times, and yet they too have helped to modify, strengthen, and expand that spirit.

In speaking of the modern love for nature, however, we must remember that it is by no means universal or always the same. To say nothing of the difference between the narrowness and monotony of Lamartine's eternal descriptions of melancholy autumn scenes and the deep yet sane feeling and wide sympathy of Wordsworth, we find at the present time a vast difference in the attitude toward nature of civilized and uncivilized nations of the North and the South, of the Latin and the Teutonic races. Even in England and America the representatives of this so-called modern nature worship are comparatively few. In the ever-increasing struggle for the material things of life the multitude hurries on with no eyes for the

charm of nature. It is of such people that one of the most recent of English poets * writes in the following lines:

> Above, the bland day smiles benign,
> Birds carol free,
> In thunderous throes of life divine
> Leaps the glad sea.
> But they—their days and nights are one.
> What is 't to them that rivulets run,
> Or what concern of theirs the sun?

While it is not necessary here to go into details, yet for purposes of comparison we must briefly mention some of the characteristic features of the modern love for nature as seen in its highest development. In the first place it shows a wide and deep sympathy for all phases of the world in which we live, for all manifestations of life, and for all varieties of scenery. The grassy lawn and the limpid stream are scarcely more attractive to the poet and the painter than the snowy Alps or the sandy deserts of Africa. In the second place it is essentially self-conscious. The poet realizes the power and influence of nature; he knows its immense importance in art, and devotes himself to the careful and earnest observation of it. Thirdly, the impressions made are not mere states of sensation, but the mind and soul as well as the senses are deeply stirred. "Tears, idle tears," rise in the eyes of Tennyson,

> In looking on the happy autumn fields,
> And thinking of the days that are no more.

The steady light of the stars seems to have the power to quiet and calm the mind; and the silent mountains and the ocean with its tumbling billows affect the heart with that deep feeling which we call sublime. Lastly, to the modern lover of nature she is not a dead, inert mass of matter composed of chemical elements, but a spirit of light and holiness pervading all we see. It is not easy to separate this from pantheism, yet with Wordsworth, at least, the spirit of nature is not God, but the medium of communication between him and the soul of man.

There are three ways in which nature may arouse the interest and gain the affection of man: first, by appealing to the

* William Watson.

physical or purely animal part of his being; secondly, by awakening a scientific or intellectual curiosity; and, thirdly, by stirring the deeper and more personal emotions. These three phases are more or less represented at the present day by childhood, by the scientist, and by the poet. There is no innate contradiction between them, but it is not often that all three are found together in the same person. The third, or emotional, phase is almost entirely characteristic of modern times, and especially of the nineteenth century. The so-called "soul of nature" was practically unknown to the ancient world. They had not learned to know her power to calm and elevate; the spiritual element had not yet been revealed, and they had not caught a glimpse of that "light that never was, on sea or land."

It is not our purpose here to discuss the vexed question as to whether the ancient feeling for nature was purely naïve or—in germ at least—more or less sentimental. Be this as it may, the most casual reading of the *Iliad* or the *Æneid* will reveal a wide difference from modern poets in this respect. Homer's joy in the world about him is to some extent like that of a child—utterly unconscious; it is the delight produced by blue sky, fresh breezes, and sweet odors affecting the senses of a race of men developed in all physical strength and health. The more healthy the body, the sounder the senses, the deeper and purer will be this physical pleasure, which modern nations, by the increase of sedentary occupations, by the excessive cultivation of intellect and soul at the expense of the body, have undoubtedly lost to a large extent. The view of nature among the Greeks and Romans was largely influenced by mythology. Of course this changed with the times. In Homer's day, although the formative period of religion was past, men still believed in the existence of the gods. In the days of Virgil the old faith was dead; all the stories told by mythology were but fables, good for decoration, for illustration and allusion, but no more stirring the heart of the Roman than Grimm's *Fairy Tales* or the northern mythology stir our hearts to-day. We must bear in mind, in speaking of the ancient feeling for nature, that a wide difference existed between the Greek of the days of Homer and the Roman contemporary of Virgil. In

Homer we see the direct intercourse with nature; what he describes is the result of his own observation. Virgil was steeped in Greek literature, and the *Æneid* was composed in direct imitation of the *Iliad;* hence there is a learned atmosphere about it which seems to stand between the reader and nature herself.

But in the Greek and Roman alike the love for nature was narrow. Only certain phases appealed to them; it was the plowed field, the meadow good for pasture that they admired. The wild and sublime did not exist for them. The elements of usefulness and ease and comfort are very prominent in the landscapes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and in nearly every metaphor we catch a glimpse of the practical affairs of life—agriculture, pastoral life, commerce, hunting, war, religious ceremonies. Homer's descriptions are general, and more plastic than picturesque; the colors are few in number, and there is none of that arrangement of minute details producing an harmonious whole which is so marked a feature of modern times. The phenomena that are alluded to in metaphor and figure are those which the poet must have seen hundreds of times himself, and which were retained by no especial effort of memory. These phases of nature are constantly repeated, and later merged into the common stock of literary property, many of them passing through Virgil and Ovid and the Middle Ages down even to the present day.* Mr. Shairp tells us that Virgil was the first great poet to show anything like the modern love for nature; and yet it is a far cry from the elegant writer of the "Eclogues" and "Bucolics" to Wordsworth. The "Eclogues" are plainly an imitation of Theocritus, and the country scenes they describe are rather those in the neighborhood of Syracuse than of Mantua. Hence there is a certain artificiality about them. The "Georgics," however, are entirely original, and here we seem to catch a glimpse of nature studied and loved for herself—only a glimpse, however, for we look on nature through the eyes of the farmer, and the elements of usefulness

*Such are the frequently occurring metaphors drawn from the pine or oak on the mountain top, cut down by the woodman's ax or uprooted by the storm; such also is the description of sunrise and sunset expressed in terms of mythology, the moon outshining the stars, the lion and wolf leaping upon the sheep, the boar crashing through the wood, the fire in the forest, and the various phases of storm.

and comfort meet us again here. The stars, the clouds, the days and seasons are referred to from the standpoint of their probable effect on the crops, and we are told the best way to plow, to sow the grain, and to raise horses and cattle and bees.

Indeed, the idea of nature for and by herself * was practically unknown to the ancients. She was a background, a stage upon which man moved about. The business of the poet was to tell of the actions of his heroes; hence we see only so much of nature as was necessary to show those actions in their proper setting. Ancient literature was thoroughly objective; it flourished chiefly in the epic and drama. Stories of adventure, a representation upon the stage of life in action—this is what the poet and public sought, the one to compose and the other to see and hear. To-day a great change has taken place; drama and epic are out of date. All literature is subjective, and this subjectivity finds its expression in lyrical poetry and the novel. The mind of the ancients was simple, that of moderns is complex. The world of religion, politics, society, nature, man produces deep and complicated emotions. Poet and painter, while they strive to reproduce every phase of nature and life, strive likewise to express the feelings which these things produce in their souls. The personal feeling for nature is one of the most intimate that the heart can possess; hence we need not wonder if we find but little trace of it in an age when deep feeling rarely showed itself in literature.

* This expression is so constantly used that we retain it here. In reality, however, nature without man has no existence. With Homer she is the stage for heroic adventure; in the Middle Ages she was the probation place for man, who saw in her the handiwork of God. In our own day, wherever nature is described man is there too, not objectively, as in the past, but subjectively; and nature is seen reflecting the soul of the poet.

> What we call nature, all outside ourselves,
> Is but our own conceit of what we see,
> Our own reaction upon what we feel.—*Lowell.*

L. Oscar Kuhns.

Art. IX.—IS THE MILLENNIUM AN EVOLUTION?

It is astonishing to behold the narrow and hazy views not unfrequently met with on the subject of the millennium. The doctrine pervades all the Bible, as does that of salvation, but perhaps the Old Testament more than the New; and yet many never seem to discover it until they find it specifically mentioned in a single passage in the Revelation of St. John. The millennium is as much a part of the plan of God for man as was the call of Abraham, or the giving of the law, or the preaching of the Gospel; indeed, all these are preparatory to that grander event. It is the ulterior and consummating purpose of all previous divine operations, the end aimed at from the beginning of time, in God's plan for the race.

No one may describe the millennium before it comes to pass. In general, however, it may be represented as a time when great changes will take place, not as natural sequences, but from the immediate action of God, like that which took place on the day of Pentecost. It will be a time when there will be a more immediate government of God than has ever been known, even surpassing the theocracy of the Jews. It will witness Jerusalem restored and enlarged and glorified as never before. It will mark the time of the fullness of the Gentiles and the return of the Jews from all lands to the home given them of old. It will be a time when all nations, some wholly and some partially, shall become submissive to the faith "once for all delivered unto the saints." Most beneficent conditions will prevail, rendering a state of happiness possible on a scale never before known. The physical creation will undergo a change as radical as it did at the fall of man. Man's physical and intellectual nature and his moral powers will also be correspondingly changed. It will be a time of the "restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." It will be a time of the immediate personal presence and reign of Christ, "whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things." It will be a time of immense, universal, and rapid progress by the human family back again

to its Edenic state. The grand realization of the Lord's Prayer will appear, and the will of God will "be done in earth, as it is in heaven." Then Christ will say, "Behold, I make all things new." The time of Solomon, which was one of splendor after the warlike period of David, cannot be compared to this, though it may be a type of it; for Solomon's grandeur was on a narrow scale, while this will be universal. And, still further, it will be a time of the fulfillment of all the greater prophecies concerning Christ and his kingdom. Many will find here their last and complete realization. Joel's prophecy, quoted by St. Peter on the day of Pentecost and partly fulfilled at that time, will here find final fulfillment and will be one of the forces that shall help inaugurate this great period. The promise made to Abraham, "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed," will here be completely fulfilled; and, if the patriarch is then present, as we believe he will be, he will rejoice more than ever to see this day of Christ by immediate vision. And the great promise made to Moses under such circumstances, "As truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord," will then—and not till then does it seem possible—be fulfilled; and the lawgiver, we must think, will be present and behold the "glory" he so prayed for when on earth.

It is one of the most mysterious features of the millennial time that, at its close, Satan is to be let loose again. But it is no more mysterious than is the fact that he was permitted to enter the earthly paradise in the beginning. Explanation in part may also be found in the fact that God in the human race is creating character, under the law of free will, sometimes under the supremest tests, and that in the continuance of the race he is giving to millions the opportunity to win the prizes of eternal life. After the last dread conflict, compared with which no other in the annals of the universe is to be likened, the planet is to be left to the undisturbed reign of Christ and the growth of his kingdom, which is to continue "as long as the sun and moon endure."

The question before us is, Will all this tremendous consummation be brought about by evolution? By evolution in this connection is meant the currently received notion of that

natural progress in things by which they proceed from incipient stages to their perfection, such as is found in the case of the leaven and the mustard seed. By such a law it is maintained that there is to be a gradual development of Christianity until the whole mass of humanity is reached and the whole world converted to Christ and "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ." This is the view that has always been held, and is now held, by all the Protestant Christian Churches of the world. We are not aware that any single Christian organization antagonizes this view, though many devout and learned men in all the Churches dissent from it and, we think with large reason, stoutly maintain the opposite belief. Indeed, we sorrowfully concede that this evolutionary view underlies all the missionary operations now carried on from Europe and America.

We shall venture to call this view in question. We believe it is radically erroneous. Moreover, we believe the whole cause of God in missionary matters would possess new life and power and rapidity of movement if the false view could be eliminated and the right one put in its place. We think the evolutionary view of Christianity is as great a mistake, even greater than was the Ptolemaic view of the constitution of the universe, which for over a thousand years held the human mind in bondage until Copernicus presented the true view. Or, it is like Judaism which, at the very beginning, would have smothered out Christianity and prevented a knowledge of the true plan of salvation. Or, it is like the doctrine of fatalism in theology that for a thousand years opposed the doctrine of the free grace of God and the free will of man, until Arminius arose and set forth a truer view of biblical doctrine as to man's salvation. What kind of a condition the world would have been in to-day, if any of these systems had succeeded in holding sway, it is impossible to tell. That there has been an immense progress in science and religion, as a result of their overthrow, there can be no kind of doubt. Until the true view of the place of the millennium in God's plan is brought to the front, Christianity will not achieve her greatest triumphs, nor move forward with the acceleration that should characterize her in these "last days."

That the evolutionary view here considered is not the true view is evident, we think, from many considerations. Our limits will allow the presentation of only a few of these:

1. If we look at the system of Christianity we see at once that it has not an evolutionary character. It is not a part of the course of nature. It is a power of God introduced into the world in the interests of mankind as against all other interests. Its ultimate aim is the regulation of all things. The incarnation of Christ was no nature process, and in no sense was his resurrection or ascension. Nor was Pentecost an evolution, in any of the senses that may be attached to that term. Nor did the conversion of St. Paul have in it a single element of evolution; on the contrary, it was accomplished in opposition to all the forces of evolution. The power that came upon the first band of Christian believers and that remained upon the apostles and preachers of the Gospel was a power which uniquely belonged to Christianity, which came down from on high, and which was above all nature. The Old Testament is a part of the Christian system, as well as the New. Here, all the characters are utter strangers to the principle of evolution. The call that came to Abraham was no nature call. The burning bush, before which Moses stood and from whose lambent flames he received his commission, was no nature process. The whole line of leaders under this dispensation are such by a special call of grace, and the principle of evolution nowhere touches their sublime lives.

But some one will say, Does not grace, after it has once been deposited in the soul, in its spread there have the nature of evolution? By no means. Such an inference is a strained one, and comes of a misapprehension of the teaching. And it leads to "necessitating grace," and to the doctrine of "once in grace, always in grace," both of which have long since been driven from the arena. When grace is introduced into the soul, if permitted to remain there, it will soon reach all the powers. Grace demands universality, as well as the outward kingdom of God. It tends also to development rather than evolution, and, like the mustard seed, will proceed from the smallest to the greatest development in every nature, determined only by the richness of the soil. But, that the

leaven deposited in one measure will by evolution work its results in other disconnected measures, or that the mustard seed will produce an indefinite number of great trees, is beyond the meaning of these parables, and the interpretation evolutionists would place upon them is preposterous.

2. If the millennium, which must be regarded as one of the greatest of God's works on earth, is an evolution, then it is out of harmony with all previous methods of divine working in conserving and forwarding the interests of the human race. The beautiful scene at the beginning of human life on our planet had none of the features of a formative process of nature. On the contrary, it had all the appearance of an immediate divine creative work. If God's plan in the universe is evolution, there is a signal departure from it here. Man and paradise are not parts of long processes; they are immediate divine works, not unworthy the Maker of the world.

3. And then, the great dispensations in their origin and development do not seem to have any of the traits of evolution about them. The one with which our world commenced possessed no such trait, unless evolution is something that works backward as well as forward. Man started gloriously, with an endowment only less than angelic; yet from this state he lapsed, whereas, if evolution be the law of development, he should have gone forward. After sixteen centuries the whole race was swept away by a dispensation of the Creator that made the world. The confusion of tongues at Babel, which so largely affected all subsequent human history, was an immediate divine judgment with not the remotest trait of evolution. In the overthrow of the Egyptian empire, one of the greatest events of all ancient history, there is something stupendously unique, with reference to which evolutionists must perforce be skeptical. The rise to power of the emancipated people, so that they became a dominant force in the world, is beyond explanation on the principle of evolution. And, in all the long history of this people from Abraham to John the Baptist there is to be observed only an extraordinary divine providence as the key to their history.

4. We next direct attention to the thought that, if we are to depend upon evolution for the millennium, we must fix the

event at a hopelessly distant period in the future—at a point, indeed, where it is utterly useless as a motive power to present action. To reason and faith this great event in matter of time is hazy enough now; but, on the theory of evolution, its occurrence tasks all belief in itself as a coming event. The gist of evolution is slowness of movement. In *Vestiges of Creation* the thought is that practically the universe has been in eternal process of formation. And all the evolutionists tell us that man, as a part of universal nature, is under the same law. If so, no estimate can be formed as to the period of the millennium. From the operation of all forces yet seen no approach to it is apparent, and no basis of reckoning is possible. The natural law of progress does not indicate that we are approaching a state of human blessedness.

5. For we come to a still graver consideration. The general aspect of present conditions, especially of things more immediately about us in Christian lands after nineteen centuries of Christianity, does not favor the supposition that we are coming, by the operation of evolution in human life, to a universal happy state of any kind. The aggregate wickedness of mankind and the aggregate wretchedness were never more widespread or intense than at the present time. They seem to be on the increase, with the multiplied population of the globe. Adherence to facts compels this observation and makes its statement a necessity in any full discussion. We grant that these are the grandest centuries which have ever passed over our planet. They include the rise and growth of influences that have changed the face of society, and exhibit the perennial power of laws which show no signs of exhaustion. We quote the words of a profound thinker:

> These centuries tell the solemnizing story of vicissitudes of pitiless revolutions overthrowing the greatest consolidations of strength, of conquest, of statesmanship. They have witnessed the fall of Rome after a decade of centuries of dominion, and the survival of human society, notwithstanding the widespread faith of her best minds that the fall of the empire would bring the end of all things. These centuries, too, have witnessed the often recasting of the map of Europe. They have witnessed the discovery of the New World, vast in areas, vigorous in life. These centuries have witnessed vast achievements in literature, in science, in invention, in enterprise. What further enterprises, what

larger discoveries, what still mightier achievements, what still vaster vicissitudes remain, or shall burst upon us in the remnant of the present one, who may tell? We know that in the latest one there is no lineal descendant of the first. One society which began then exists now, and but one. One kingdom alone can claim to have unbroken historic and vital continuity. This is the kingdom of Christ. It is the new and divine society which had its appointment of God in the bosom of the great empire. These two, the one an evolution and the other a creation, represented the opposites of majesty and meanness, of splendor and sorrow. The giant shadow of imperial Rome was cast over the cradle of European nationalities. It fell forward upon the tenantless spaces of ill-known regions. But the other has a vaster shadow. It belongs to a still more colossal and enduring creation. It is the shadow of the Church of Christ. It has fallen upon the kingdoms of Europe, upon the teeming masses and millions of Asia, upon the tribes and countries of Africa, upon the unknown population of the New World, upon the savages of the islands of every sea.

And yet, after these many and splendid centuries of Christianity, where is the sign that society is graduating into the millennium? After the long duration, the protracted conflict, the splendid march, there ought now to be—if the theory of gradual development be true—somewhere, on some island, on some of the great continents, in some of the great cities of the globe, some harbingers of the millennial dawn. But can evolution point to a sprig, a floating weed, a flower from any quarter that tells of an embosomed Eden on the earth? Or, to put it differently to our Christian friend who is a devotee of the theory of gradual development, where is there one Christian nation upon the earth? Surely, if this theory be correct, there ought to be by this time, somewhere, a leopard and a kid lying down together, and a wolf and a lamb living peaceably in some fold. There ought to be, somewhere, a land where they do not hurt or destroy. On the bosom of this great globe there ought to be one land by this time that is full of "the knowledge of the glory of the Lord." In the heavens above, in all the wide world beneath, not one sign of such a State can be found. In our own country, the best the nineteen centuries have looked upon, nine hundred millions of dollars are expended annually for intoxicants from which our government receives an immense revenue. In this best government—the light of the nations, the star of mankind—

there is bold and open violation of the great principles of righteousness and the divinely established institutions of religion which Christianity in vain seeks to correct. The country to-day is far worse morally than when she commenced her career, and the wisest fear we cannot stand the ever-increasing strain of unrighteousness. And is there a country on this planet where the Gospel has had a fairer chance?

6. The Scriptures all converge at the point that the millennium is to be a consummation of the kingdom of heaven, under the immediate and extraordinary act of Jehovah. It will not, therefore, come to pass by evolution of any kind. Then the handful of corn upon the top of the mountains "shall shake like Lebanon," and "they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." Then idols shall be utterly abolished, and their devotees shall "go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of his majesty, when he ariseth to shake terribly the earth." Then, "on the seacoast"—undoubtedly the Mediterranean is here referred to—shall be "dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks. And the coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah; they shall feed thereupon: in the houses of Ashkelon shall they lie down in the evening: for the Lord their God shall visit them, and turn away their captivity." And then shall be fulfilled the promise, "I will shake all nations, and the Desire of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of hosts." This is also the time our Lord describes when, "after the tribulation of those days," the sun shall "be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven;" when, upon the earth, there shall be "distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth;" and when "the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." "And then," he continues, "shall appear the sign of the Son of man . . . coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory."* Now, no evolution is traceable in

* Further corresponding Old Testament views are: Joel iii, 15; Ezek. xxxii, 7, 8; Joel ii, 10; Zech. xiv, 13. Further New Testament views are: Acts ii, 19, 20; 2 Peter iii, 13, 14; 1 Thess. i, 10; ii, 19; iii, 13; iv, 16; Mark xiv, 62; Luke xxii, 69; Jude 14; Matt. xvi, 27; Rev. i, 7; xiv, 14; Acts i, 9–11; 2 Thess. i, 7–10; Mark viii, 38; Luke ix, 26; Matt. xxv, 31.

these tremendous and extraordinary proceedings. The power that created the world, that originated all the dispensations, that promised eternal life to mankind before the foundation of the world, originates and presides over the millennium.

It is curious to note the genesis of the kingly idea in the Scriptures: (1) The first government ever organized on the earth was a government by Jehovah. (2) This was not related to the world, but to Israel. (3) After the deliverance Moses calls the ruler who guided him a king "forever and ever" (Exod. xv, 18). (4) The real beginning of the kingly rule was after the giving of the law (Deut. xxxiii, 5). (5) The king was the one who was the creator of Israel (Isa. xliii, 15). (6) This king will not be king over the nations until a yet further time, when he comes in the times of the final consummation (Zech. xiv, 9–16; Isa. xxiv, 23; Psalm xciii; xcvi, 10; and xcvii, 1; Obad. 21). (7) The references in all these cases is to one and the same king. (8) In prophetic diction there is a time that marks the consummation of redemption.* (9) The king referred to in these passages is the same as the one referred to in the New Testament (Matt. ii, 6; Luke i, 31–33; and many other places). (10) In prophetic diction, also, a David sits upon the throne in the last times, ordering all things and securing the triumph of the kingdom. The divine kingship abides in the house of David forever (2 Sam. vii, 16–25; Ezek. xxxiv, 24). Oehler says that 2 Sam. vii forms in two respects the starting point for the more definite form of the Messianic idea: first, because the consummation of the kingdom of God for which Israel was chosen is from that time forward connected with a king who, as the Son of God, is the representative of Jehovah and—fitted by him to be the depositary of the divine sovereignty on earth—stands in the relation of most intimate connection with God; and, secondly, in that it is established for all time that this king is to be the son of David. In a note on the above Oehler says that "the continued right of the race of David to the throne is never called in question by prophecy, though it often passes sentence of rejection upon individual kings of Judah." (11) This king in

*In addition to the above references see the following: Isa. xi, entire; Micah iv, 1–7; Jer. xlviii, 47; Ezek. xxxviii, 16.

person sits upon the throne in the millennial period. This is a crucial point. Let the reader who is anxious to reach correct conclusions judge whether this is David—Solomon's predecessor and the son of Jesse—or Jesus Christ. One or the other is to sit upon the future throne of the world forever. The Scriptures alone can settle the matter.* And, from them is it not evident beyond possible doubt that it is the Lord Jesus, the creator of all the dispensations, who is at last to be manifested in transcendent glory? If so, how far away are we from all ideas of evolution, in this advance of the human race?

7. We hear much about the preaching of the Gospel in all the world "for a witness," as if that were the key-point determining the coming of the kingdom of God. This is a splendid half truth. The other half is the conversion of the Jews. In the order of providence they are connected with each other, and will attain completion in the same great consummation. Isaiah, after picturing the happy effects of the preaching of the Gospel in chapter xxxv, immediately adds: "And the ransomed of the Lord"—the Jewish nation—"shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away." When the apostles asked the question, "Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" the Master replied, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." This was all the reply, and the last reply the Saviour gave to this ever-recurring inquiry. Before this he had spoken of the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews to the uttermost parts of the earth. He knew the greatness and duration of that dispersion. He could give no other answer to the anxious apostles. His thought seems to be: "No, not at this time. Not till the hour strikes for the return of the scattered and rebellious people. The Gospel world, in the

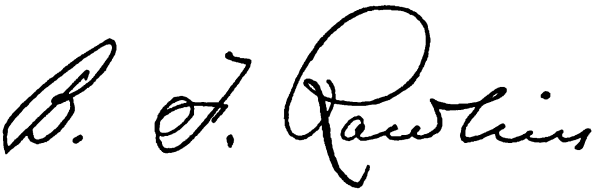
* See the following: Amos ix, 11-15; Micah v, 2; Hosea iii, 4, 5; Jer. xxx, 9; Ezek. xxxiv, 23, 24, and xxxvii, 24, 25; Rev. v, 5; Gen. xlix, 9, 10; Isa. xi, 1-10; Rom. xv, 12; Rev. xxii, 16; Psalm cx, 1, and Rev. xi, 15, should be read together.

meantime, shall be a witness for me—at length a powerful and overwhelming witness to the obdurate Jew. Then the kingdom shall be restored, and not till then."

The preaching of the Gospel is to have its direct and its reflexive effects upon the Gentiles and upon the Jew. But the conversion of the Jew is the key to the final consummation. It is not until both events are effected that the Lord makes a feast unto all peoples, "a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined;" destroys "the face of the covering cast over all people, and the veil that is spread over all nations;" swallows up "death in victory;" and wipes away "tears from off all faces," and "the rebuke of his people . . . from off all the earth." The happiness of all the kingdoms of the earth is connected with the regathering of the Jew. God's purpose in the human family is bound up in this race. His benediction upon all cannot be pronounced until his purpose in the Jew is fulfilled. The Jew is forever first in God's thoughts, and his gifts and callings to them are irrevocable forever. Can they, then, be cast aside by the Christian Church with the same cold feeling with which the world discards them? The last question the apostles asked our Lord, as we have seen, was, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" In our hurried study of the Scriptures we fail to note that this was a most natural question. Their prophets had given them the hope of restoration. Isaiah had said, "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counselors as at the beginning: afterward thou shall be called, The city of righteousness, the faithful city." Amos, one of their earlier seers, had said, "In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old." Daniel, one of their latest prophets, had said, "The kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." There was a deathless animation in their hopes, gathered from the fascination of the prophetic diction. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the plowman

shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled up out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord thy God."

The kingdom is to be restored. If the Scriptures do not teach this truth—both the Old and the New Testament—then they teach nothing that can be relied upon. And it is to come as a consummation of the divine plan and purpose in mankind upon the earth, and not as a capricious evolution. How the eye of the Church ever lost sight of so conspicuous and stupendous a teaching is passing strange. How it is there are no large organizations in Christendom devoted to the conversion of the Jews is also strange. No grander work before the kingdom comes in its full splendor remains to be done. And it is "high time to awake out of sleep." For now is the salvation of the world not only nearer in time, but nearer in purpose, than when it was undertaken by the preaching of the apostles. If preached now with due intelligence and intensity the Church may soon sing as never before, "The morning light is breaking."



ART. X.—A VITAL THEOLOGY AND ITS COGNATES.

To some physicists the atom is a storm center, and the storms their mind's eye can see arising therefrom are amazing. Similarly, some good people see in theology a species of storm center peculiarly liable to give rise to storms of moral disaster and religious unsettling. Prejudice sleeps lightly and wakes bristling with apprehension if theological doctrines do but thunder in the distance never so low. During a series of years of examination of undergraduates the writer has found among students not a few who seem to regard the study of systematic theology with a sort of *cui bono* air, or that it is meagerly, if at all, beneficial.

Yet we are all theologians in some degree. Cosmic forces exist, act, and produce results just the same, whether we have or have not a cosmology. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the humblest thinker is a cosmogonist, whether conscious or unconscious of the fact. In like manner men are all theologians, whether consciously so or not. Intuitively some concept will be had and will be more or less formulated. Imperfect it will be, no doubt, but, nevertheless, theological. It is important that a wholesome, vital theology be taught and studied, as the exponent of a necessary factor in God's economy of grace to man, and because it is worth while to be able to guard against the unbaptized logic of magazine and newspaper theology, the speculative vanity of small philosophers, and the nondescript vaporings of novelists of the Elsmerean type.

All kinds of knowledge are interesting, and some kinds are fascinating. The theology of the Bible invites us to a kind of knowledge which is peculiarly fascinating. But when we are commended to this study under the titles of "systematic theology," "dogmatics," and other formidable terminology there is danger of losing ourselves in preliminaries, in devoting too much time and thought to that part of the house made with hands and never reaching that part of the house not made with hands, in going in pursuit of an impossible perfection by beginning so laboriously. Just as a student in Greek

may be kept so long in the philological vestibule that he may never reach Greek literature at all, so the student of theology may be put to the hazard of never getting out of the shop-made vestibule of theology into the great living temple itself. To revert to the figure of a storm center, the theologue begins with a vigorous shower of terminology. There are exegetics, hermeneutics, isagogics, irenics, patristics, symbolics, ethics, dogmatics, apologetics, catechetics, polemics, Christocentrics, cyclopedics, anthropomorphics, anthropology, soteriology, Christology, eschatology, and methodology, and more in sight—a very tornado of terminology indeed! It is not strange that the student asks, If the virtuoso in these things scarcely be saved where shall the novice and the amateur appear?

Besides this downpour of nomenclature there blows a strong gale of empirics, together with cross winds of strongly asserted opinions—only opinions—some of which come to us across the chasm of centuries from councils fatherly, and others but recently let loose from lairs of rationalism, agnosticism, and bald materialism, all mingled with the keen claps of polemic thunder born mainly of the pugnacious element in human nature. It is not surprising that the young student of theology looks askance and entertains something akin to doubt of the utility of the study. And, if he be not firmly fixed on that foundation other than which no man can lay, his house may fall. How happy that student who finds his feet on the solid rock when the rains cease and the winds lay and the thunder moans away into silence, and from the theological sky there shines into his soul, bright and beautiful, the one sweet Star, Christ, "the power of God, and the wisdom of God!"

It will be remembered that the text-books which teach theology must, in the nature of the case, do so in the academic terminology. Terminologies do not make systems and laws, but we must be content to regard them as the necessary exponents of the already existing systems, laws, and truths which have been discovered and which are ever larger than language can express. It will be remembered, also, while modern thought makes merry over what it is pleased to call "dogma," that it is not the peculiar property of theology. There is no science known to man but has "dogma," for it is

only another name for reliable certainty in any science, and theology is no exception to be twitted for established truth. Moreover, every science expresses itself in the peculiar cult and terminology of its school. He who charges theology with dogma, in any derisive sense, seriously impairs his standing for intelligence.

All science has broadened and developed by the discovery of great fundamentals which already existed. Astronomy has reached the value it has by the revelations of the telescope. Biology has led us on with the microscope, from the time we did not know the circulation of the blood to this hour when we are sitting at the gateway of that mysterious thing called life and expecting every day to solve the mystery. So the Bible has been both telescopic and microscopic in the enlargement of our vision, the revelation of the great outlines of theology, and the discernment of fundamental truth, its relations, system, order, methods. Thus the study of Christian truth has developed into systematic arrangement, and its name is "theology." Its fundamentals are born of God, its nomenclature of man.

Theology is a science, and as such posits the attributes of God, his eternity of being, and the methods of his grace from revelation that is from without the known, and not from data within the known, as is the method of what we know as pure science; yet theology is a science none the less. A vital theology is one in which the revelation of what has been will never be at war with the revelation of what ought to be. What God has been to men he still is and will be. And the right relation of man to God and of man to man is what ought to be. This is the religion of a vital theology.

The book without which all other books would lose standing and influence is charged, as no other book can be, with the first principles of a vital theology. Instance that magnificent utterance in the first sentence of the book, "In the beginning God created." It is not too much to say that every hue, every fragrance, every possibility of the divinely unfolded Gospel lies capsulate in that wonderful sentence, as the oak lies locked up in the acorn. Here is the prophetic credential of a vital theology. Joseph Parker interprets beautifully thus: "To

create is to protect; to protect is to redeem; to redeem is to prize; to prize is to complete; to complete is to glorify. This is the protoplasm of revelation; what comes after this will be attenuation of itself, God going into detail to meet our ignorance." Is it any wonder that theology gets its right to be? Its fundamentals of blood and life are the postulates of the Bible and none other.

To this perennial fountain of peace and kindness we go for God's deepest thought of man. We are not going to the Thames for rationalism, we are not going to the Rhine for agnosticism, we are not going to the Seine for bald materialism, we are not going to the Tiber for infallibility; but we are going to the "river, the streams whereof shall make glad" the whole earth, to be "the city of God"—the eternal word of salvation. This is theology so vital, so select, so holy, so beautiful that no other can live in its presence. It is the theology of God in Christ, "reconciling the world unto himself," fitting human society on earth to become his eternal society in heaven. We shall learn much else, but if we learn not this we shall have learned nothing.

Never in the world's history has Christian theology had a literature so rich, so clear, so strong. It is also true that never in the world's history have there been such crucial tests made and such facilities offered for getting astray. This is an age of things new—the "new education," the "new conscience," the "new faith," the "new orthodoxy." The new everything has been attempted, except the "new heavens and the new earth," and perhaps some are only waiting for a little more data to attempt that. This age is nothing if not ambitious.

Knowledge to-day must be technical; it must speak in fitting terminology of the new and glow with the sunlight of the old—the faith "once delivered unto the saints." It can have too much abstract intellectualism, but never too much intelligence. Intellectuality must be set on fire. Its torch must be lighted at the altar by the Holy Spirit; the natural man must be transformed into the spiritual man, to discern the things of the Spirit. Then theology will lead the great volunteer army of the Church, will become the interpreter of our aspirations, and be as a chariot in which the soul may mount

upward to God. This is inspiration, the first cognate of a vital theology.

Theology based on revelation is the truth of God. If he chooses God may reveal without inspiration, but man must discern spiritually. "There is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." It is not the inspiration that writes a Bible revelation as holy men of old, but the quickening that "helpeth our infirmities," that leads into the way of "all truth," that guides into right construction of history, into a right grouping of the facts of revelation and coloring of the facts of life and experience, into the right use of the moral sense, and into all true knowledge of the culture of the soul. Inspiration is not a mechanical term, any more than theology is a metaphysical cobweb. It touches the highest and lowest grades of faculty. God speaks, and the inspiration of his speech giveth understanding. We get the inspiration where we get the fundamentals of theology.

Actualization is another cognate of vital theology. Not a scriptural term, you say? No; but it is a scriptural ideal. Not in the accredited books of the schools? No; but it is the highest ideal of theology. Ideals are better when transmuted into thought; they are best when transmuted into action. Rosencrance wrote, "The student must not only learn to think, he must learn to actualize his thought," to transmute it into action. Knowledge, like corn, may be cribbed, and never be let out broadcast. Creed must become deed. Hearing the sayings of Christ and not doing them are so vastly different as to foreshadow overthrow of an unspeakable kind. The science of theology is not only to be learned, but must be made to glow with the deeds of actualization. Mozart and Handel climbed up close to the heart of the Infinite through the beautiful art of music. The actualizations of these masters makes the music of the world. Raphael and Angelo nestled close to God in the creation of their great paintings. If, like a Raphael, an Angelo, a Rembrandt, a Mozart, a Handel, we actualize the love of the Father, the genius of the Gospel; if the Church of God put on its strength and its beautiful garments, and show forth the mind that was in Christ, which is the fundamental of our

theology, how the pace of the poor old world would be quickened! The Church would make a path of light for herself broader and more splendid than she has ever known.

In the highest actualization of Christianity, Christlikeness of life and intellectual culture go together. Who so fine an illustration of this fact as Paul? In whom did Paul glory so much as in Jesus? Who has ever said, with so much force as Paul, concerning his daily life, "Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me?" And yet, with an intellectual eminence second to none, Paul is easily the greatest theologian in Christian annals, and the first to elaborate the great capsulate truths of Bible theology.

We must not underrate the forces that antagonize the Bible and Christian theology to-day. It is necessary that the theologian have the highest possible equipment intellectually; for, what with certain "higher critics" within the Church and agnostics without the Church, he will be brought in contact with men of the highest intellectual eminence. To rely upon pious self-complacency without the keen blade of intellectual culture is to invite defeat.

On the other hand, to defend Christianity by intellectual culture alone is to afford opportunity for unbelief and moral aversion to make merry and grow fat. The Christian theologian must see to it that he is able to meet the skepticism and spiritual aversion of even the highest names of civilization and shout them on to the limit of investigation, and at the same time be an incarnation of spiritual beauty and power in daily life.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

No man is of much use to the Lord until he learns that he himself is of no account, but that his God-given work is the all-important thing, and buries himself in it. Then he begins to be of value.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY, commenting on the fact that Dr. Temple, the present Primate of all England, was seventy-five years old when Lord Salisbury made him Archbishop of Canterbury, says that in the case of great functionaries like an archbishop, or a lord chancellor, or a commander in chief, it is simply ridiculous to fix an age limit and enforce retirement by a universal rule. He thinks Dr. Temple eminently qualified for all the work of his position, and adds: "If Count von Moltke had been withdrawn from active service according to the rule that is now favored in England the world would never have known that he was the greatest continental soldier since the first Napoleon. If Marshal Radetski had been withdrawn from public service at seventy-five the world would never have known what a splendid soldier he was. . . . If the ordinary rule had been applied to Lord Palmerston we should never have known that he was one of the greatest parliamentary debaters of his time."

THE NORMAL AGE FOR CONVERSION.

MAN'S spiritual constitution is scientifically ascertained to be as real as his bodily frame. Ethnologists and anthropologists report that religion is included in the cosmic order, having undeniably an essential place in sane and normal human nature; and Christianity itself is perceived to have a large and demonstrable basis in universal law, being an integral and indispensable part of the system of things.

Attention is at present specially drawn to the nature and significance of adolescence, and many facts testified to by experience are collated, the most valuable results of which research belong

to the spiritual side of life. Those facts require to be freshly impressed upon the Church, which sometimes in past periods has manifested woeful ignorance thereof or guilty indifference thereto. Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children" for pity, justice, and help rose into England's ear; up into our Zion comes the cry of adolescence for comprehension and due attention to its spiritual needs. Even primitive savages condemn us by their example for our failure to appreciate the sacred significance of adolescence; an epoch regarded among rude barbarians with a kind of awe, marked by rites of the most solemn import, and surrounded with ceremonies distinctly religious, the object of which is to prepare the mind of the boy or girl for the wider life on which they are entering. Among the native tribes of South Australia and the Indians of South America and parts of North America the boy was sent away into the woods to remain there alone, exposed to all weathers, and enduring hunger and thirst, to spend solitary days and nights in expectant meditation, awaiting "the divine revelation which entitles him to call himself a man." The girl was subjected to similar severely impressive discipline, being sent on the incipiency of womanhood into long seclusion in the hills or forests, to commune alone with her guardian spirit, who might be expected to make known to her in visions something of the meaning of life; which revelations she sometimes recorded by symbols on the rocks, where traces of them still remain for us to study. Even the dull barbarian has, it seems, the spiritual discernment to surmise and signalize the special nearness of God to the young life at its crossing of the line which marks the beginning of adulthood. Perceiving in the world and feeling in himself signs of a mysterious divine Presence, he believes that a sacred threshold is under the tender feet where the vestibule of childhood opens into the great temple of mature life, and that the divinity of that temple meets the entering novice with some secret token of welcome and some impartation of wisdom. A shameful and humiliating contrast it is, that, under the very shadow of church spires in centers of Christian civilization, parents often fall behind the aboriginal savage by their failure to reverence the sanctity of adolescence, to recognize the presence and power of God at work in it, and to give attention to its deepest, intensest, and most critical needs. Frequently this period is regarded chiefly with admiration and pride in its developing beauty and

strength, and filled only with thoughtless play, frivolous gayety, ornamental accomplishments, or, at best, with merely secular instruction. The crisis which God makes great with meaning, and holy with intimate spiritual visitations, is minified, desecrated, perverted, ignored by parents and friends, too shallow, sensual, sordid, or uninstructed to realize the sacred nature of the time, with its momentous and far-reaching issues.

The moral nature is found to have its times and seasons as distinctly marked as any physical stages or states. It is commonly well understood that, in general, adolescence is the time of most acute spiritual as well as physical sensitiveness and impressibility. It is also fairly well ascertained that within the general period of adolescence, extending from the twelfth to the twenty-fifth year, we are able to specify more definitely certain probable times of special religious susceptibility, earlier in females than in males, as might be expected, the age of maximum spiritual manifestation and receptivity for girls being first at twelve and again at sixteen, and for boys first at fifteen and again at eighteen.

That this psychical awakening is simultaneous with similar epochal physical developments neither accounts for it nor detracts from its divine quality and spiritual implications, but is in various respects clearly appropriate and beneficent. A provision that moral adolescence shall keep step, *pari passu*, with physical adolescence is promotive of symmetric balance and a rhythmic movement of part with part in the unfolding of man's complex nature. That the soul should be awakened to its universe and have developed in it perception and power for the relationships and responsibilities thereof just when the body is unfolding into fitness for its world with the relations, duties, and tasks thereof, seems a wise, orderly, and natural arrangement, and, moreover, for the safety of the individual and of society, a quite necessary provision. The physical powers and propensities alone by themselves are a senseless and conscienceless mob. When they receive sudden and startling development into strength there is instant need for raising to superior power the moral sense, the reason, and the will, by whose firm and solemn dominance impetuous blind impulse may be controlled and the baptismal prayer have a chance of being answered, that youth "may never run into folly nor into the evils of an unbridled appetite." Heaven does not leave man's nobler nature

in its most perilous emergency to fall a victim to rampant and ungoverned passions, as Gladstone's government left Gordon at Khartoum to be slain by savages. The good God has arranged for punctual support with a sufficient force, so that the young life may be able to fight the good fight and lay hold on eternal life. In adolescence as at Dothan a supernatural Power masses horses and chariots on the heights above the soul when the citadel of its life is menaced from below. In that seething and else anarchic time of agitation and transition the Holy Spirit actively befriends the human individual by seeking to empower the conscience and put it on the throne, so that reason and the will of God may prevail by the subduing of turbulence and insubordination and the ruling of the realm legitimately into order, peace, and safety perpetual.

At the vivid crisis which opens adolescence—a time of confused desires, fluttering alternations of hope and fear, premonitory reverberations from unknown heights and depths, when the inexperienced, undecided, exquisitely susceptible nature is like a sensitive needle whirled about in the stress of a magnetic storm, moved by conflicting impulses the nature and source of which it does not understand—then it is ineffably important that the quivering and wavering spirit shall be settled decisively without delay, by the interaction of divine and human power, in the right direction, securing thus the punctual, normal, and permanent polarization of the soul through its own preference upon that revealed, discerned, and reverenced Right which it is typographically proper to capitalize because it is divine, because behind it, in it, and inseparable from it is God, its eternal substance, support, and revealer, so that loyalty to it is fealty to him. The maiden

> Standing with reluctant feet
> Where the brook and river meet,
> Womanhood and childhood fleet,

is entitled to tender, earnest, intelligent, and godly guidance, that those pathetically inexperienced feet may immediately find the path of purity, pleasantness, and peace to walk therein lifelong, mounting to "those high table-lands to which the Lord our God is moon and sun," and on to being's splendid final goal in the consummate likeness of the Lord. The Church of Christ exists upon the earth for nothing more certainly than for befriending the lad when he stands bewildered at startling revelations of unsuspected contents in his own nature, dazed with sudden light,

filled with troubled wonder at life's enlarging and unmeasured meanings, newly conscious of being involved in wide relationships, regarded by exacting expectations, and beset by many dangers, all as yet dimly realized or vaguely understood; disturbed and mystified by strange goings on within and without; visited by visions and dreams and unable to distinguish dream from reality; ignorant how far his subjective states are caused by or point to objective reality in earth or heaven:

> In that first onrush of life's chariot wheels
> We know not if the forests move or we.

He then, that expanding, uprising, adolescent, intellectual and moral being, is entitled to have the sublime and awful new universe he is becoming aware of, with heaven at the top and hell at the bottom of it, explained to him; to have the meaning of his inward crisis and commotion interpreted for him in the right spiritual way; to be shown how he may relate himself prosperously and happily to all things in spiritual, intellectual, and physical realms by a right self-adjustment with Him who is the supreme ruler and center of all, making peace and forming an alliance with the system of things in which he finds himself by signing a prepared and proffered treaty with the Lord of all, seeing that for him the central subjective facts are conscience, free agency, accountability, while his supreme obligations are pointed out in the great twofold commandment of Christ on which hang all the law and the prophets.

Most obviously the divine intention is that when the young life at its transition time sees curtains rising on many new perspectives of earthly reality and temporal option there should also open for its clear beholding the vista of life everlasting and all veils be drawn back from the face of the heavenly Father whom we must love and obey. As it is plainly provided for that spiritual facts shall be revealed to the soul as soon as faculty for apprehension is developed, so also it is manifestly expected that so soon as those facts make themselves known to the awakening individual he will adjust himself thereto in heart, and will, and conduct, in accordance with their august nature and legitimate demands.

It is as certain that he who would win souls must be wise as that he who does win them proves himself wise and will shine as the stars forever. Cherishing a respectful sense of the sanctity of each individual soul, and of the inviolable prerogatives of the

divine Spirit working therein, the intelligent and tactful Christian shepherd will, and any pastor who wishes to succeed must, discern the times and seasons, discriminate cases, and deal delicately with sensitive young souls with a firm purpose to be faithful to them for their salvation. From the before-mentioned earliest times of probable spiritual awakening for girls and boys no risk is run of being premature in urging them gently but earnestly toward conversion. We may assume in almost every case that the Holy Spirit, undelinquent and undilatory, antedates us in its initial operations, as it surpasses us in its infinite solicitude, expecting us who by superior age or relationship are the responsible guardians of youth to render punctually that outward assistance of instruction, encouragement, and direction which is our share in the divinely initiated work. Just now it is being pointed out with increased positiveness, and from unexpected quarters, that we best cooperate with the manifest intention and push of the divine Spirit present and active in humanity for its sanafication and sanctification, by making a determined effort to bring girls of about twelve, and boys of about fifteen, to an intelligent consent to God's requirements and a decided religious life. Parents, pastors, and teachers must see to it that this first marked epoch of spiritual sensibility does not pass unnoticed or unimproved; all possible means should be used to foster the work of the Spirit in the heart and guide to the right decision. Sadie's mother held her back when at the age of thirteen, being inwardly moved, she besought permission to make a public profession of her faith and purpose by joining the church as other girls of her age were doing. "Wait till you are sixteen," said the sadly blundering mother, a woman of social ambitions but deplorable ignorance of spiritual things. Sadie, being checked, discouraged, discredited, denied, fell into indifference or worse, and before she was sixteen met sudden death.

If for any cause the first epochal opportunity unfortunately passes by without such decision and action as commits the life to God's control, a probable recurrence of maximum sensibility and interest in spiritual things may be looked for when the girl is nearing sixteen, and the boy approaching eighteen, at which times an immensely urgent emergency is on. We are summoned then to a supreme effort, that with all skill and power we may help to crowd and steer the young soul safely over the bar on

the high tide that is lifting it. God makes it his time, and if with holy anxiety, prayer, entreaty, and endeavor we make it ours the great work will in almost every case be done.

Anywhere within the period of adolescence, from twelve to twenty-five, a word may easily save a soul, if the word be made so fit and timely as to seem like an authentic call from Heaven. Such a word was spoken to the young cadet, O. O. Howard, when in a spirit of banter he was making light of religion: "If I were you I would stop ridiculing religion. I would just begin and be a Christian." That unexpected friendly word opportunely spoken gave the United States army its Havelock. Such a word was spoken by a college president in time of special religious interest and activity to a student who was impressed but reluctant: "Make one honest effort for your soul's sake;" and that word, added to the Spirit's inward work, sufficed to push the young man hard up against the heavenly Father, who closed his arms of power and love around the no longer unwilling but penitent and consenting boy.

While conversion should be confidently and insistently expected within the period of adolescence, and its failure to occur regarded with sorrowful concern as a delay unnatural, unhealthy, and alarming—like the failure of some physiological function to make its appearance at the divinely appointed time—it is yet needful to say that the emphasis here laid upon that period by no means implies the impossibility of conversion after or before what is correctly termed the normal age. There are instances, on the one hand, of earlier spiritual sensibility and capability—as there are of precocious physical developments and manifestations—and a genuine religious life is sometimes observed as early as the eighth or seventh, or even the sixth, year, "at which time," says a materialistic teacher, "the child begins to have a soul;" which we deny, holding with Lotze that the child has a soul as soon as it has a body; but as early as six there is sometimes unmistakable religiousness. Bishop Wiley, one of the saints and heroes of modern Methodism, could not remember the time when he did not love God and his people. There are also, on the other hand, belated religious awakenings, reactions to some extraordinary stimulus, and recurrences of spiritual sensibility beyond adolescence, and we are bound to labor, undiscouraged, for men and women of all ages, even for the old, in the hope that so long as life lasts there may be a possibility of the moral magneti-

zation of man's spiritual nature by the divine Spirit into such sensitiveness and holy affinity that it may answer the call of the true Center of attraction and acquiesce in its divine authority. From his study window a minister watched through the spring and the summer a rusty weathervane, which paid no attention to the winds of heaven. It lived a stolid, dogged lie, and only by accident ever pointed true. But in the late autumn, one gloomy and threatening day, there blew across the scowling sky a mighty wind which wrenched the old vane loose from its false position, and from that time it was responsive to the breath of heaven, moving obediently as it was moved upon from above.

Without doubt we are harping on familiar truths and repeating platitudes, but they are holy truths, tremendous platitudes; and the forcible reiteration of a pile-driver would not be excessive to send some slighted lessons in as deep as they need to go. While all who hold any responsible relation to youth should be admonished to watch for the smallest signs of religious concern or appetency, and to aid by sympathetic encouragement, interpretation, and advice, instead of neglecting, dismissing, or repressing those manifestations as immature, imitative, or superficial; and while, because a spiritual leaven indubitably works in the ferment of adolescence, all Christians may be bold to say always in the presence of youthful sensibility, disquietude, and craving, "This is your day of grace and the time of your visitation. It is God that worketh in you," yet the particular burden of this present writing is to emphasize the admitted fact that the minister's most distinctly marked and imperative duty is to make the most of the inviting opportunity which adolescence gives. In his book or in his mind every pastor should keep a list of the names and ages of all young people within his reach. Toward them his soul should yearn, over them he should brood, for them he should pray, near to them he should manage to be—inside the circle of their respect, confidence, and love, as near as possible to the center of it. Before the coming of the periods of special susceptibility and probable awakening he should have established himself in genial friendship with them, so that they may be willing to be guided by him, believing themselves to have no sincerer, nobler, kindlier friend outside the home circle.

In the Sabbath school, besides seeing to it that the superintendent is a man of genuine piety as well as blameless life, and

the teachers earnest-minded and devout persons, he should, by his regular presence and stimulating leadership, by his prayers, expositions, exhortations, and appeals, do all in his power to make the session impressively and persuasively religious. He should urge upon officers and teachers in their meetings a prayerful effort for the immediate conversion of all pupils of sufficient age and intelligence. In the Epworth League he should be one with the young people, influence quietly and wisely the selection of leaders and the adoption of methods, develop a true, intelligent, and ardent religious life, and infuse an aggressive evangelistic spirit. In the Church at large he should prevent or extinguish divisions which promote unfriendly rivalries and contests between old and young or which set the official board and the Epworth League or the Sabbath school in disagreement and opposition.

The weekly prayer meeting should not be weakly, but be made alive, profitable, and attractive to the adolescent. One of several reasons why Friday evening is the best time for it is that school is then over for the week, and the young people, having no lessons to prepare for to-morrow, are free to attend. In his study every morning he should have his mind's eye on them, studiously adapting the sermon he is preparing to their needs. In house-to-house visits parents should be impressed with the spiritual significance of the period of adolescence, and their instructed attention turned to this crisis in the children God has given them, especially urging the importance of bringing up children to habits of church attendance from a very early age. Gross ignorance abounds. One woman told the pastor that her daughter, aged seventeen, a Sabbath school scholar for a dozen years, was not old enough to understand properly what she would be doing in confessing Christ and uniting with the Church. In a certain church one man, an official member, refrained from requiring his boy to attend church on the notion that it was better to leave him free to choose for himself, so that he could not complain of being constrained or overinfluenced. The adversary of souls approved the father's policy of noninterference and made the most of the opportunity thereby given him. Not being himself deterred by any delicate scruples, he appropriated that boy and twisted him the other way, where he remains warped to the evil one's will. To leave a child to select his own associates, without counsel or supervision, or to refrain

from requiring him to go to school lest he be unduly influenced toward education, would be less fatuous and fatal. In addition to making the Church profoundly and tenderly anxious for all children and youth, this solicitude should be brought to the notice of those toward whom it yearns by such services as shall manifest the Church's anxiety and readiness to help—services adapted to surround with friendly atmosphere and favorable opportunity for expression and relief the adolescent soul, sure to be frequently, however secretly, visited and admonished by the Father of Spirits, moved by spiritual unrest, compunction, and wistfulness, and possibly by vague and infinite alarms. In his intercourse with the young the minister should, in fit time, place, and manner, make each one aware of his concern for their spiritual well-being, and his prayers for their speedy conversion; seeking also to discover their condition, attitude, and tendency of mind, in order that he may successfully influence them to heed those inward motions and monitions which are known to proceed from the Holy Spirit by their urging only to holy things.

Possibly these pages in the autumn issue of the *Review* could not find better use under the gray skies of coming winter than in a plain and practical reiteration of such sacred truths, stupendous platitudes, solemn duties.

THE WHITMAN CRAZE IN ENGLAND.

The special envoy of the United States to the Queen's Jubilee Festival, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, in his speech at the Cordwainers' banquet in London last July, referred to "the quite extraordinary appreciation" given to the writings of Walt Whitman on that side of the water. It was there that his fame first arose, and the rage for him now amounts to a craze. The London *Bookman*, publishing a list of the best-selling books in a recent month, reported that in the metropolis of the world Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* led the list. At Whitman's death the London *Times* said that his work "is bound to exercise considerable effect on the future of American literature;" the *Standard* called him "a great and original genius," and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, "the poet of democracy." There is, or was, in Birmingham, England, an association calling itself "The Labor Church," and holding services in a music hall, in which hymns, readings from Walt Whitman, and the Lord's Prayer were mixed together. Visiting

English clergymen in American pulpits frequently quote from Whitman with evident appreciation.

Dr. Robert F. Horton, in his Yale Lectures to the Divinity School, speaking of "The Word of God Outside the Bible," held up Whitman as inspired, and said part of the word of God is in him.* Whitman's works have a wide vogue in respectable circles in Great Britain, and praise is lavished on him as on no other American author. We have called it a craze in agreement with Brander Matthews, who says that a British critic capable of estimating Whitman with sanity is rare. Of the author of a recent volume of essays a reviewer wrote, "As a matter of course, being an Englishman, he regards Walt Whitman as a great and typical American poet." Colonel Higginson says that no Englishman, except perhaps Hughes and Bryce, has been able to appreciate or even to understand "Lowell's magnificent 'Commemoration Ode,' which is the high-water mark of American poetry." Swinburne, who has personal reasons for praising Whitman's daring insolence, led off the chorus of British adulation by calling him "a strong-winged soul, with prophetic lips hot with the blood-beats of song," though afterward in an unguarded moment Swinburne lapsed from loyalty by comparing Whitman to a drunken apple woman rolling in the gutter. Close after comes Robert Buchanan, who invites the wrath of his contemporaries by consigning most of his acquaintances to the madhouse with the statement, "I have known only two really sane men in my life—Walt Whitman and Herbert Spencer." To Robert Buchanan Whitman is "the greatest of Americans in his day," though his day was also Lowell's and Emerson's and Whittier's, Bancroft's and Motley's, Lincoln's and Stanton's and Grant's. It begins to dawn upon us why a judicious London critic spoke of some one as happy in not having had the misfortune to incur Mr. Buchanan's praise.

Even such acute and accomplished critics as Dr. Edward Dowden and Mr. Rosetti are Whitman's panegyrists, hailing him as the typical American poet, the latter writing a commendatory preface for a selection of his poems. It is reported that Tenny-

*If Whitman is affirmed to be one of the modern seers and prophets through whom up-to-date inspiration is making authoritative new revelations, we take to our heels in alarm and make a breathless run for shelter to the old-fashioned doctrine that the canon was closed some time ago, and that *Leaves of Grass* cannot lawfully be added either to the New Testament or to the Old; and in that ancient citadel we purpose remaining, at least until all such frightful dangers shall be overpast.

son, having a desire to see him, once sent the shaggy barbarian an invitation to spend a month in summer at the laureate's country home. We believe Edmund Gosse, having seen him, never invited him. When Mr. Gosse traveled hundreds of miles to call on Whitman in Camden the "good gray poet" came down stairs to see what the stranger wanted. Learning who he was, he led the way up to his bedroom, sat promptly down in the only chair, coolly leaving Gosse to make a seat for himself by clearing some papers off a box. Mr. Gosse, going there "a stiff-necked and froward unbeliever" in the greatness of Walt—yet willing to be convinced—came away with mind unchanged. There is a newspaper report of an evening company in London where the author of *The Idylls of the King* read aloud from *Leaves of Grass*, taking care, doubtless, to be extremely cautious in making his selections. If such men as these, with R. F. Horton, Alfred W. Momerie, William Clarke, and others like them, go on thinking Whitman the representative American poet, his bust may yet be substituted for Longfellow's in Westminster Abbey. Even Edmund Gosse once trembled for a moment on the brink in the following manner: "I am inclined to admit that in Walt Whitman we have just missed receiving from the New World one of the greatest of modern poets." Happily he quickly steadied back again on the solid ground of literary sanity with the clear conviction that he and his brother Englishmen have certainly missed that boon, and in further evidence that he still retains his senses proceeds to notice Whitman's brutality, toleration of the ugly and the forbidden, terrible laxity of thought, fatuity of judgment, and the squalor which drips from some of his lines. A few other sane English critics might find a useful mission in moderating the extravagance of their infatuated fellow-countrymen whose praise of Whitman asserts that he "belongs with Diderot, Heine, Ibsen, and Tolstoï;" he "is the true successor of Shelley," only his poetry "is more absolute in expression, more real in its content, and burns brighter in the nearness of sunrise than Shelley's;" as a poet of democracy he is "brother to Victor Hugo;" he is "the greatest of American voices;" he is one of the world's "eternal peaks;" his works are "unparalleled and deathless writings," a "new gospel to the world." We think it is high time word should be sent to our kin beyond the sea that Whitman appointed himself minister plenipotentiary without any credentials from the American

people; and there are grave reasons why we do not wish it supposed that he represents us, some of which may be intimated.

T. W. Higginson having mentioned Whitman in one of his letters to her, Emily Dickinson replied, "You speak of Mr. Whitman. I never read his book, but was told it is disgraceful." Robert Louis Stevenson tells of a big Frenchman who was proud of his prowess in having halted with his gun a misbehaving marquis: "Marquis, if you take another step I fire upon you. You have committed a dirtiness, marquis." Walt Whitman would have run a dangerous chance of being shot on sight if that Frenchman had met him after reading his books, which contain the most indecent things ever put in type. Boccaccio and Rabelais are almost gentlemen in comparison, and a barroom blackguard would hardly dare insult "Hell's Kitchen" with vulgarity so wanton and outrageous. Part of the writings of this "good gray poet," as his admirers fondly name him, would have been popular in Pompeii when it was a purulent pustule on the face of the earth, and when old Vesuvius was so nauseated with the stench of its filthiness that he made a new Gehenna to burn its prurience up. The proper place for some of Whitman's "Grass" is with the relics hid in secret cabinets in the Museo Borbonico, at Naples, at sight of which civilization blushes and averts its face. Our friends across the water would not think well of us if we should speak of Oscar Wilde as their representative poet; yet the bald fact is that Wilde did nothing more shameful than Whitman wrote, though for his acts the just verdict of an English jury condemned the sunflower æsthete to two years of prison fare, a plank bed, and the treadmill. Let Frederick Greenwood apply to Whitman the true words he wrote in the *Contemporary Review:* "The violation of public decency is a certain sign of a coarse brain and a brutish character; while by all who are witnesses of the deed or hearers of the word it is felt like a blow." Whitman smote common decency publicly and brutally in the face if ever anybody did. In 1873 Richard Grant White called Fitzedward Hall "a yahoo of literature" and "a man born without a sense of decency." Hall might easily have been a misprint for Whitman. Ludwig Büchner says that savages have so little modesty that they "do not shun publicity any more than animals even for their most private acts." He would be compelled to class Whitman with savages. Even Professor

Dowden, of Trinity College, Dublin, is obliged to say that in some passages Whitman "falls below humanity—falls below even the modesty of brutes." How much eulogy of that sort does it take to establish a man in the European mind as "the typical American poet?" In one of his poems the Camden bard gives his preference to animals because, he says, they "do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins," and "do not make him sick discussing their duty to God." For such reasons he felt like turning to live with the beasts. For once he came near having a perception of propriety. If he had only yielded to that impulse early in life one advantage for mankind would have been that there are no printing presses in brutedom. But he would have been disappointed in the brutes. If he had read his manuscripts to them, and they had caught the meaning and perceived the wanton, deliberate, and flagrant indecency in them, they would have turned their sweet breath from his poisonous "Grass;" they might have tossed him and his filthy, shapeless stuff upon their clean and shapely horns and trampled both into the manure of the barnyard. No one of them was ever guilty of such self-degradation as his.

Robert Buchanan was grieved because in this country, when the body which was Whitman's chief object of worship was laid in its New Jersey grave, in Harleigh Cemetery, "only one man, an atheist by profession, had the courage to speak the funeral oration." But that man had a special, almost an exclusive right to be the spokesman of that hour. Later he lectured to raise money for a statue of Heinrich Heine. Felix Dahn and his colleagues object to the erection of a monument to Heine in Germany on the ground that "he fouled German literature with licentious poems." Efforts are being made for two monuments to Heine, one in Africa and one in New York city. What more fitting than that the advocate of the use of United States mails for transmitting obscene literature should raise a statue to Heine and stand over Whitman's body to say, "The most eminent citizen of the republic lies dead before us." What Dr. Dowden admits of Whitman's infrabestial immodesty no other panegyrist can possibly deny, not even she who wrote "A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman." This essay which sounds like a diatribe is founded on and justified by facts so undeniable that they are conceded by his worshipers. If he may pass uncensured, then no line of prose or verse penned by

any son of Belial can ever be condemned. It is a shame to name him for praise as even a few Americans do on the same page with such high-souled and stainless men of genius as Lowell, Whittier, and Emerson, ending by setting him above them all. Hamlin Garland puts him at the head of American poets. Mr. E. C. Townshend expresses in the *Westminster Review* his surprise that Walt Whitman when he described the sort of literature he hoped would come in the future did not know that Zola was already initiating exactly what Whitman wanted—the rank, gross sensualism for a whiff of which he was eagerly snuffing the morning air of each new day. Charcot, the French physician, used to prescribe certain chapters of Zola as the surest emetic known to him. (Science is clean, and all great physicians are noble.) Zola spreads a buzzard's banquet so putrescent that the Melbourne postal authorities refused its passage through the mails, but Mr. Townshend thinks it the kind of feast Whitman was calling for.

Marion Crawford complains that the American public will tolerate nothing that is not fit for schoolgirls. James Russell Lowell spoke for his country when he wrote that the literature it would approve must be pure enough to be fit *virginibus puerisque*. Indignation and disgust at Whitman are widespread and intense. George H. Boker showed consciousness of this when he wrote to a friend, "Print anything I have ever written about Walt Whitman, and I shall stand by it, rescue or no rescue." We see him bracing himself against the storm of contempt which he expected, and he doubted if there could be any rescue for him. Our ruling literary sentiment consigns to the depths of Tartarus whatever is profane, debauching, inflammatory. Our poetry especially has been so noble and cleanly that it is impossible to forgive the first big offender who insolently fouls it. Against his rabid eulogists it is a public duty to protest and in the name of the American people to declare that Swinburne's favorite and John Burroughs's idol does not represent them. Our indictment is framed in the spirit which prompted Milton's words: "It is of great concernment in the Church and commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves as well as men, and therefore to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors."

We are fallen on a day when by many persons audacity, impudence, hatred of all restraints, disrespect toward authority and

sanctity, are praised and practiced. The defiant spirit of the red socialist and furious anarchist runs riot through many realms. The most pestiferous plague of our time is a class of men and women writers, in prose and verse, who say of all delicacy, modesty, dignity, and purity, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us." Whitman for himself, and his idolaters for him, glory in lawless and reckless audacity. On things accepted and established he declares open war in defiant manifestoes like the following: "I confront peace, security, and all the settled laws to unsettle them; I am more resolute because all have denied me than I could ever have been had all accepted me; I heed not, and never have heeded, either experience, cautions, majorities, or ridicule; and the threat of what is called hell is little or nothing to me; and the lure of what is called heaven is little or nothing to me." An admiring Georgian says, "He galloped through our literature like an untamed stallion—unharnessed Walt." He seems to have been a sort of centaur. One of the things Whitman is thanked for by Symonds is that he cured him of daintiness by shocks of coarseness. Gabriel Sarrazin wrote of Whitman under the title of "The Renaissance of English Poesy." A manuscript translation of it was submitted to Whitman for modification or comment. When the huge egotist reached the following sentence he underscored it as our types indicate: "Walt Whitman is *not* an artist, HE IS ABOVE ART." The natural next sentence in eulogy of such a striding and overstepping colossus would be, "He is *not* a moralist, HE IS ABOVE MORALS." He also supposed himself above law, but in Massachusetts there was a statute tall enough to tackle the stalwart culprit, and his works were suppressed by action of the attorney-general. A back-country versifier, in the double capacity of poet and funeral director, rhymed his admiration thus:

> Then bear, with dead hands on his breast,
> This shaggy old man to his rest.
> A strong audacious soul has fled,
> Now Walt is dead.'

Audacity like Whitman's is very taking with those who have his disposition without his courage. Gilbert Harrison, the actor, wrote a life of Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," and sent Whitman a copy with this inscription: "To my dear old friend, Walt Whitman, who dared to show his naked soul in heroic utterance of guileless truths." The actor admired Whit-

man's nudity because it is worse than the public will tolerate on the modern stage; one must go back to Nero's circus to find anything equal to it. The tragedian also knew full well that Whitman's most daring exposure was not of the soul; it was the sort of daring which fanatical policemen interfere with on the streets and Puritanic laws treat as a felony. The writer who, in answer to complaints against his lewd license, vociferates that he "will not hold his pen with handcuffs on," is conceivably a citizen whose wrists may ere long properly feel the "nippers."

Whitman's startling braggadocio has imposed upon many of our British cousins. "No other man," says Maurice Thompson, "ever had such a reservoir of unfiltered, unsterilized, and altogether amazing egotism upon which to draw for floods of resonant and high-rolling absurdities." Whitman calls himself a new type, the latest great original, and thinks it would be fine for the great masters of the past if they were eligible to come back and study him. He writes of himself as if he were a god: "Divine am I, inside and out; if I worship one thing more than another it shall be the spread of my own body, . . . plumb in the uprights, braced in the beams, stout as a horse, haughty, electrical." He says he "takes the exact dimensions of Jehovah —him and the other gods—for what they are worth, and not a cent more." Whitman's proclamation reminds us of the Mexican Nagualist who, when he has wrought himself into a frenzy, fancies himself a god and shouts: "Lo! I myself am here! I am most furious! I make the loudest noise! I respect no one! What god or demon dares face me?" The alienist is familiar with talk resembling this in the asylum wards. These modest claims seem to have been conceded by John A. Symonds as completely as the Mormons accepted Joseph Smith and his revelation. Of Whitman, Symonds wrote: "He is an immense tree, a kind of Ygdrasil, stretching its roots deep down into the bowels of the world, and unfolding its magic boughs through all the spaces of the heavens. . . . He is the circumambient air, in which float shadowy shapes, rise mirage towers and palm groves. He is the globe itself; all seas, lands, forests, climates, storms, snows, sunshines, rains of universal earth. He is all nations, cities, languages, religions, arts, creeds, thoughts, emotions." Truly a remarkable being, if he himself and Symonds are to be believed. Hear how the world's most flatulent and bombastic egotist

announced himself to the public. "Self-reliant, with haughty eyes, assuming to himself all the attributes of his country, steps Walt Whitman into literature. . . . Every word that falls from his mouth shows silent disdain and defiance of the old theories and forms." And further: "An American bard at last! One of the roughs, large, proud, affectionate, eating, drinking, and breeding, his costume manly and free, his face sunburnt and bearded, his postures strong and erect, his voice bringing hope and prophecy to the generous races of young and old. We shall cease shamming, and be what we really are. We shall start an athletic and defiant literature." Then, in lines entitled "To Foreign Lands," he wrote: "I heard that you asked for something to prove this puzzle, the New World, and to define America, her athletic democracy. Therefore I send you my poems that you may behold in them that you wanted." After that he wrote to a friend: "I am selling a few copies of my volumes from time to time. Most of them go to the British Islands." He was his own voucher, and "Foreign Lands" took him at his own valuation. Hearing the raucous, audacious voice, they cried, "Listen! That is the voice of the New World. The native genius of America is singing now." Up in Maine one day a man very hard of hearing was walking near the railway with his back toward the track. A passing locomotive whistled for a crossing—a shrill, piercing scream. A smile passed over the man's face, pleased at a sound which he could hear, and he said, "That is the first robin I have heard this spring." When Whitman announced himself to foreign lands as the laureate of democracy, embodying and comprising the New World in himself, many were ready to believe him. And why not? This man, shameless as a savage, snorting defiance, and tearing up the earth like a ramping buffalo on the prairie, falling like a Modoc with tomahawk and scalping knife on the customary decencies of civilization—Europe heard him bellowing, looked at him and said, "That is the typical American, no mistake." But if to the lands east of the Atlantic this Buffalo Bill of literature is the representative American poet, how does it not occur to them that George Francis Train is the representative American statesman? The most recent expression of the notion that the American spirit, ideas, and institutions have had but one adequate exponent is from Zangwill, writing of the Chicago World's Fair:

It is perhaps a pity that Whitman did not live to see the spectacle—he whose inspiration came so often from synthesis, from a vision of the All. The cosmopolitan cataloguer, the man who made inventories almost epical, is the one to whom the Fair would have been a magnificent stimulus. Judging by the Fair, Whitman would seem justified in claiming to be the voice of America. The Fair was like him both in its moral broadness [this is a glance at the Midway Plaisance] and its material all-inclusiveness. In his absence no poet has risen to the height of this great argument, so that now the insubstantial pageant has faded, now that the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples have dissolved like the baseless fabric of a vision, they have left not a rack of real literature behind.

An article of twenty pages in the *Contemporary Review* on "The Development of English Metres" refers to the work of no American poet except Whitman, who as to meter and music was a cretin or a mutineer. He defied all accepted canons of poetic art. His spirit and style have been called Greek, but he "exhausted the resources of formlessness," concerning which W. D. Howells says: "In formlessness everything spills and wastes away. This is the fatal defect of our American Ossian, Walt Whitman, whose way is where artistic madness lies." Artistic sanity characterized the Greeks, and formlessness was offensive to them. Some of Whitman's "poems" are the most amorphous agglomeration of words ever shoveled together, and much of his work is grotesque and monstrous in form. In a few of his verses there is a sort of swimming majesticalness as of a walrus sporting, rolling, wallowing in the waves, but for the most part his movement is as ungainly as that same sea beast flopping and bumping and thumping about on the shore. His unwieldy gracelessness suggests the megalosaurus or the iguanodon, and his species may well disappear like them, so that future generations brushing the dust from a copy of his works in some library belonging to the legal heirs of our present-day Whitmaniacs shall remark, "This seems to be the spoor of an extinct monster." Verlaine, who, writing of the "Renaissance of English Poesy," declares that the poetry of the future will be calm, simple, grand, "when it emerges from the orgie of rhythm" which has long prevailed, should dote upon Whitman as a case of early emergence and harbinger of poetry's emancipation, for he had little to do with rhythm; his thought was seldom rocked in that cradle of the deep. His verses were jangle, not jingle, with hardly as much rhyme and meter as cowbells beat out in flytime. In spite of all this J. A. Symonds thought Whitman the most Greek of modern poets; John Burroughs praises him for being like the

Greeks in making much of the body—"The body," wrote Whitman, "is the main concern;" and Mrs. E. C. Monck finds the Hellenic nature in him—she thinks Apollo loves him more than Milton, Keats, or Tennyson. But can the apostle of the rough and the uncouth be a Greek? It is a slander on people unable to defend themselves through being many centuries dead. The old Greeks would simply have abhorred him, and he certainly despised the things most dear to them. If he had taken some lessons from them it would have been well. There is no reason why we moderns should try to be Greeks or Romans, but no man is more American for despising certain great lessons which those ancients taught, certain principles they tested and approved, certain inestimable works they left as models and inspirations for all time. Reverence for their perfect literary and artistic ideals and for the fine, refined, and finished results of those ideals is one of the best ways of defending literature from such lounging and swaggering literary slouches as Whitman.

The Greeks would have shunned the author of *Leaves of Grass* also for the reason which made Charles Lamb wish no fellowship with the soul of Byron—"he was not respectable." The Whitmanists might profitably hark back to the Phædrus which declares the visions of true poetry to be those in which "beauty is beheld dwelling with modesty in a holy place as in a shrine;" and again, "The divine is beauty, wisdom, goodness, and the like; by these the wing of the soul is nourished and grows apace, but, when fed upon evil and foulness and the like, wastes and falls away." Possibly *Fliegende Blätter* had those words in mind when it printed its three-story cartoon entitled "The Metamorphoses of Pegasus"—in the upper panel "The Ancient Pegasus," a winged horse standing eager on the keen hilltop with stamping hoof and swelling nostrils and an eye of fire, pluming his great wings for flight into the empyrean; in the next panel "The Modern Pegasus," a winged ox half way down the hillslope, a spiritless drudge harnessed as a beast of labor and stupidly chewing the cud, the wings diminished into a mere inconvenience and manifestly incapable of lifting off the ground the wide, flat hoofs that hold up the heavy hulk; in the lowest panel "The *Fin-de-siècle* Pegasus," a fat hog waddling about in the hollow at the foot of the hill, the dwindling wings nothing now but reminiscential stubs, nosing with swinish satisfaction in a mud puddle. Whitman was no more Greek than he was the

typical American. The notion is absurd enough to go with Horton's idea that he is an inspired prophet speaking the latest word from God; with Savage's idea that some of his passages need not fear comparison with the finest in the Old Testament, one passage in particular being as sublime as the opening of Genesis; with John Burroughs's opinion that he must be classed with Job and Isaiah; and with the New York Unitarian preacher's belief that Whitman was, as he claimed to be, more profoundly a disciple of the Man of Nazareth than are most of the Churches which require men to say, "My Lord and my God." Whitman said his mission was to bestow upon any man or woman the entrance to all the gifts of the universe, and that he understood Christ better than they who name his name and profess his religion. Surely the orgiastic absurdities of Whitmanolatry justify us in calling it a craze; they have culminated in a perfect triumph of inanity, insanity, asininity, in the assertion of one mad devotee that the author of "Children of Adam" is "the Christ of the Nineteenth Century." We must not be understood as implying that all literary England is Whitmanized. To prevent such an impression we present herewith the protest of British sanity which is voiced by none better than by Mr. Bayne:

Nature in America is different from nature in Europe, but we do not in crossing the Atlantic pass from cosmos into chaos; and Mr. Carlyle's expression, "winnowings of chaos," would be a candidly scientific description of Whitman's poetry if only it were possible to associate with it the idea of any winnowing process whatever. Street sweepings of lumberland—disjointed fragments of truth, tossed in wild whirl with disjointed fragments of falsehood—gleams of beauty that have lost their way in a waste of ugliness—such are the contents of what he calls his poems. If here and there we have tints of healthful beauty, and tones of right and manly feeling, they but suffice to prove that he can write sanely and sufferably when he pleases; that his monstrosities and solecisms are sheer affectation; that he is not mad, but only counterfeits madness. He is in no sense a superlatively able man, and it was beyond his powers to make for himself a legitimate poetical reputation. No man of high capacity could be so tumid and tautological as he—could talk, for instance, of the "fluid wet" of the sea, or speak of the aroma of his armpits and say that it is finer than prayer, or make the crass and vile mistake of bringing into light what nature veils, and of confounding liberty with dissolute anarchy. The poet of democracy he is not; but his books may serve to buoy for the democracy of America those shallows and sunken rocks on which, if it is cast, it must inevitably, amid the hootings of mankind, be wrecked. Always, unless he chooses to contradict himself for the sake of paradox, his political doctrine is the consecration of mutinous independence and rabid egotism and impudent conceit. In his ideal city "the men and women think lightly of the laws." His advice is to resist much and to obey little. This is the political

philosophy of Bedlam, unchained in these ages chiefly through the influence of Rousseau, which has blasted the hopes of freedom wherever it has had the chance, and which must be chained up again with ineffable contempt if the self-government of nations is to mean anything else than the death and putrescence of civilization. Incapable of true poetical originality, Whitman had the cleverness to invent a literary trick and the shrewdness to stick to it. As a Yankee phenomenon, to be good-humoredly laughed at, and to receive that moderate pecuniary remuneration which nature allows to vivacious quacks, he would have been in his place; but when influential critics introduce him to the English public as a great poet the thing becomes too serious for a joke.

The judgment of Mr. Bayne, charging Whitman with "sheer affectation" and lack of originality, tallies closely with that of Edward Livingston Youmans, rightly called "the interpreter of science for the people," who knew Whitman well in early days, when he dressed like other folks and did not think it necessary to go in his shirt sleeves and without a necktie. When Youmans was twenty-one, struggling with poverty and partial blindness, he lodged with Whitman in humble quarters at the house of a Mrs. Chipman, in Chambers Street, New York, Youmans writing occasionally for a newspaper called *The Aurora*, which Whitman was trying to edit. Having watched Whitman's literary development from the first, Youmans maintained, to the end of his life, that "Walt" was an arrant humbug, and that his barbaric yawp and obtrusive filthiness were assumed purely for pelf, after he found that such polite and decent writing as he was able to do would not pay his bills.

This remonstrance against a pestilent delusion is, once for all, recorded here because the American people dislike to be misunderstood by their transatlantic neighbors, and because it is not desirable that Whitmanism shall be encouraged among us through extravagant laudations of it by loud choruses of European *literati;* and also because even in our own land a few devotees proclaim the matchless greatness which we deny. A Harvard professor writes of "Our dear old Walt Whitman;" and a Chicago professor says, "No one was ever awarded the title of greatness on more universal grounds;" while our most rabid Whitmaniac, a fit patient for Pasteur, rages with fierce intolerance at all who refuse to fall down and worship before his grotesque barbaric totempole, and flies savagely at a scholarly English critic who expresses dislike of Whitman's poetry and personality, calling the critic a cur and "a dirty, thick-witted, cockney blackguard."

THE ARENA.

"THE FUNCTION OF DOUBT"—A CRITIQUE.

In a recent *Review* Rev. J. H. Willey, Ph.D., of Akron, O., seeks to elucidate a more than ordinarily important problem. His task is ingeniously wrought out, but it is unfortunate that a really able article should be marred by many defects. In the interest of clearness and truth the writer calls attention to what he deems unwarranted, loose, and exaggerated statements.

1. In speaking of the struggle for existence in the animal world the fact is noted that the results of that struggle are not the product of sin. The author then says, "But the same problem meets us when we consider humanity." Is it the same problem? Not if the scriptural account of the origin of sin be correct. According to that account all the evil and suffering and hardship and misrule and pain that men suffer come from sin. In dealing with this problem Paul always kept this fact to the fore. Witness this: "Therefore, as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned." It is not the same problem for the reason that in the one case the highest factor at work was animal instinct, while in the other the highest factor in the universe, the divine excepted—man's will—was operative. Now, instinct is not reason, nor is it founded on personality. Back of the will is a personality. Indeed, the will is the agent of that personality. How could one who had sat as a student at the sainted Miley's feet so readily forget this fact? Verily the human problem is different, and hence its treatment should proceed with this radical difference in mind. This distinction lost sight of there will be both confusion and doubt; but who will assert that if man never yielded to sin's seductive lure there would have been "sad lives," "misrule," and "heart-breaking experiences?" "The government of God" is "a consternation" and an "impeachment" of his goodness only when we lose sight of the human will as a factor in the problem. Nature is diseased and perverted through sin's agency, and hence it is sometimes rapacious and cruel. But neither God nor his government have entailed this suffering on the race. Sin is the vandal, and it came in through a perfect being's sovereign choice. And, ever since its advent, the divine government has sought by every possible means to nullify and overcome the results of that sovereign act; but at every turn it has confronted a sovereign, independent personality. It is a manifest error to even associate "the government of God" with the results of human evil, and much graver the blunder which charges that government with those results. If doubt there be it lies far back of the phenomena of evil, and is voiced in the oft-repeated question, "Why was evil permitted?" And yet we

do not stand helpless nor hopeless in the presence of this problem. For, as we gaze on the mad riot and revel of sin, we hear above its din and clamor, clear and triumphant, an anthem of deliverance: "The creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

2. "The very existence and nature of God are surrounded by much uncertainty." Now, while it is true that the existence and nature of God are surrounded by mystery, it is a blunder to substitute uncertainty for mystery. The terms are not synonymous. The divine Being is enveloped in mystery as a "thick cloud," but that there is uncertainty as to his very existence scarcely follows. If the assertion criticised is to hold, then we must revise Paul's triumphant exclamation, "I know whom I have believed." And it will be necessary to explain his confident deliverance to the Athenian philosophers, "Him declare I unto you," as rhetorical license; for how could he set forth a being whose "very existence" is "surrounded by much uncertainty?" And we will be at a loss how to construe the Master's assurance to Philip, when he said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." And it weakens, rather than strengthens, the assertion under discussion to add, "It has never been proved that God is. There is no attempt at such proof in the Bible. His existence is assumed, not demonstrated." But how and why assumed? Is it bare, bald assumption unsupported by facts? By no means. The Bible thus assumes because the divine existence is self-evidencing. Assumption for the sake of argument is one thing; assumption of reality that is too real to admit of successful dispute is quite another. For example, what book on physiology attempts to prove that there is such a thing as the human body? The treatise presupposes the existence of the thing treated, without which the book could not have had existence. The case under consideration is a perfect parallel. To the reverent and devout believer God's existence is in no sense a matter of doubt. As to its nature and modes of being it may be imperfectly understood and vaguely comprehended. But the subject of uncertainty and doubt? No. Herbert Spencer may prate loftily of the "unknown" and the "unknowable." Matthew Arnold may discourse of the stream of tendency, "the power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." Frederick Harrison may tell us of the God in humanity, the divine in men. We listen undismayed, for a greater than they all has said, "I know whom I have believed." He knew but in part, but he did know. And this is the surest kind of knowledge, the knowledge of personality. Paul knew a person, not something about him; and that knowledge involved personal, spiritual contact. "There is a power in personality that is greater than all powers, and the knowledge of personality is the most certain kind of knowledge." It does not depend on the seeing of the eye or the hearing of the ear; it is the conscious contact of one soul with another. If any fact in the universe is certain this fact is. It is true that the author of the article criticised later admits that

to deny the divine existence involves us in grave difficulties; but that has no direct bearing on the loose, unqualified assertions just noticed.

8. "Why does he allow war to tramp through the land and leave the print of an iron hoof in so many desolated homes? Why are the prayers of mothers and wives unheeded, while evil men and a mercenary government go on setting traps for son and husband, and blighting their lives with alcoholic poison? What earthly king could be a party to such measures without being branded as a Borgia or a Chosroes II." Further quotation is not needed, the entire paragraph is in like vein. A more irreverent, confused, pessimistic wail we never remember to have read. It may be startling rhetoric, but it is execrable logic and a mass of indiscriminate assertions. Can God in any sense, however limited or remote, be held responsible for any of the evils here catalogued? Has he not employed every expedient known to the infinite mind to curtail and abolish those evils? Has he left anything undone? All means have been tried save one, that is, force. But the abolition of evil by the application of force would reduce men to the level of puppets, who move but in obedience to him who pulls the string. Evil is against God, contrary to his law, an offense against his government, a heartless disregard of his love. It exists in spite of all his efforts to destroy it. But is he responsible for its existence? Because it is permitted to exist is he a party to it? Such is the legitimate inference from the author's assertions. As to the "prayers of mothers and wives" being "unheeded," that is horrible. Is God, the Almighty Father, deaf or heartless? We have not so learned. It is repugnant to, and out of keeping with, the history of his providence and love. No sincere, submissive, believing prayer, offered in the name of his Son, ever leaped from pallid lips into the ear of God unheeded. Unanswered for a time; unheeded, no! If the language of our heart be unheeded of God, then a truce to prayer. "What profit should we have if we pray unto him?" And is God a party to war and tyranny and oppression? So it would seem. This is strange doctrine indeed. Permissive providence is made to mean participation in the evils permitted and responsibility for those evils. In this view all God permits he is a party to, and hence responsible for. This is utterly absurd; if true, inexpressibly horrible. But its absurdity is seen in the fact that it completely ignores the relation of the human to the divine, and leaves no margin for the operation of the human will. Thus judged the doctrine will scarcely be insisted on.

4. "There are difficulties in accepting the sacred Scriptures as the sure word of God. They have come to us from a remote past. We cannot trace an unbroken line of succession from the original manuscripts; the earlier links of the chain are lost," etc. This is neither a full nor a fair statement of the case. It makes no exceptions, but groups all the books in the sacred volume together and dismisses them with the above sweeping assertion. It thus makes the difficulties far greater than they actually are. Let us look at the facts as they exist, and see. First of all,

there is a class of evidence as conclusive as a mathematical demonstration which sustains the high claims of the Bible as being the "sure word of God." No book has been so continuously and severely tested as the Bible. It has passed through fire and flood. The merciless gaze of an infidel-wielded science has been turned upon it to discover defects and vitiate the record, but in vain. In the estimation of the world's best thinking it stands unimpeached. Not only so, but the phenomena attending the spread of this book have been uniformly the same. In lands where art and culture had reached their acme, as among the vicious, the degraded, and the barbarous, the story is the same. Wherever the Bible has gone light, peace, hope, regeneration, redemption, and civilization have appeared. This is true of the Bible alone; no other book enjoys such distinction. And this is justly regarded as the most indubitable evidence of its inspiration. And, in the next place, there is a very considerable portion of the Bible concerning which there is not a *scintilla* of doubt. So far as that portion is concerned there is an "unbroken line;" the "earlier links of the chain" are not lost. Take, for example, the four letters of Paul: the Epistle to the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Romans. "The opinion of scholars, Christian and infidel, that these are authentic, and that we possess the genuine copies, is unanimous." Concerning their acceptance as the "sure word of God" there would seem to be an utter absence of difficulty. Almost as much may be said of nearly the entire New Testament. Respecting a large part of the sacred Scriptures, then, and a most important part, too, we do not "depend upon fragments gathered here and there in tradition and in patristic literature to supply the deficiency and prove the genuineness of that which we have." In the light of these facts do not the "difficulties in accepting the sacred Scriptures as the sure word of God" seem a little antiquated?

5. The following deliverances sound a little too Ingersollian to pass unchallenged: "These Scriptures are full of strange, unprovable things, . . . unnatural situations. . . . The Bible is not a reasonable book. It does not attempt to convince, nor even to conciliate." More misleading, indiscriminate, unfair statements it would be difficult to find. Let us look at them in detail. The Bible is "full of strange, unprovable things." That there are some strange things in the Bible no one questions; but that it teems with "unprovable things" and "unnatural situations" is a gross exaggeration. Presumably some of the many strange and unprovable things which the author had in mind are mentioned by him as follows: "The new birth of the soul," "three persons in one God," "fire in a furnace which did not burn," "a man who walked the waves and did not sink," and "the dead coming to life." One is a little puzzled to know on what principle of classification the above list is based. But to the facts. What fact known to human experience is more thoroughly established than the new birth of the soul? Is not every soul that is redeemed and recreated by contact with the Christ a proof of the doctrine?

And it is the most powerful sort of proof. Is a furnace of literal fire that did not burn more wonderful than the hotter fire of human passion and appetite and temptation through which thousands pass unharmed? And is not the rising of a soul from the death of sin to a new life in Christ Jesus more wonderful than the coming to life of a dead body? Yet these are matters of common experience and are familiar to countless thousands. If they present no difficulty in relation to human experience, why should they create any difficulty in relation to the word of God? But is the Bible full of "unnatural situations?" The one virtue always claimed for, and almost universally conceded to, the Bible is its naturalness. It is preeminently natural. Whence then come the numberless instances of unnatural situations? The writer recalls but one effort of recent date to overthrow this claim. The champion blasphemer of this age has held up the Bible to ridicule as an unnatural book. But so coarse and clumsy is his attempt that it has served but to tickle "the ears of the groundlings;" reputable thinkers have given scant attention to his tirades. The Bible is supernatural if it is anything; but we will hardly make supernatural synonymous with the term unnatural. Once more, it is asserted that the Bible is "not a reasonable book." In what sense is it unreasonable? It transcends reason, it goes beyond it; but it is never contrary to it, it does not contradict reason. It refuses to submit its claims to reason as the ultimate court of appeal. But why? Because reason is not a competent judge of revealed truth. "The Bible is its own best commentary and corrective." But its teachings, its claims, its experiences, its injunctions, its nature are thoroughly rational. It is the grossest rationalism to insist that the Bible is an irrational book.

Aside from such defects as we have mentioned the article is to be commended. If the writer has through mental obtuseness or stupidity done Dr. Willey an injustice he will gladly stand corrected.

Laurel, Del. ROBERT WATT.

THE MORAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER.

WE need to recognize that there are moral issues and conditions now demanding our attention as American citizens, the right meeting of which must sooner or later prove to be as important as the life of the nation. Of individuals and nations alike it is true that indifference to moral issues and irresponsiveness to the demands of conscience are the most serious and sad of the effects of sin. These symptoms locate the disease at the vital center. They indicate a "fatty degeneration" of the moral heart, which, "when it is finished, bringeth forth death." It is the alarming feature of this disease that it sounds no alarm. It is rather a passive adjustment to the processes of death.

The most formidable foes at once to integrity of individual character, to social order, and to the spiritual health and vitality of the Church are the insidious influences that are often largely unsuspected, but are nevertheless slowly and surely undermining all moral foundations. The

moral responsibility and culpability for the existence of such conditions have their only alleviation in the ignorance of those who, if better informed, might have prevented them. This alleviation, however, is but slight. Where the issues of life and death are involved, whether they relate to the moral trend of an individual or to the destiny of a nation, ignorance is inexcusable. "Evil is wrought for want of thought as well as want of heart," it has been said; but to neglect to think on moral lines is a negligence that cannot be less than criminal. Yet how few are "giving all diligence" to be sure that they are not "destroyed for lack of knowledge!" Long ago God's word called for our thought by the question, "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?" But most of us have been unmindful of this implied warning. Indeed, many of us have never once asked ourselves the question what these "foundations" are—these moral foundations of social order.

It has been said by Dr. T. L. Cuyler that "underneath the foundations of both Church and State lies the household." So great a truth will only grow truer and greater to our thought the longer we study it. In the family we first come to a recognition of governmental relations and of ourselves as subjects of a government of blended law and love. It is God's training school, to prepare the child, not only for good citizenship in the State, but for his larger and more enduring citizenship—his membership in God's "whole family in heaven and earth." To the blended institutions of marriage, the family, and the home we cannot give too much or too earnest thought, as they together form the divinely appointed shrine and school and stronghold of every virtue and the earthly inspiration of every noble passion. Too much cannot be said of the family as a moral support of social order. The homes of a people mold the national character. But the family is a twin. It is one of two primeval institutions given by the love of heaven, to blend in benign influence and to bring human hearts into filial relations to God and into oneness of affection one to another.

But the all-Father not only "setteth the solitary in families," and not only provides for the moral training and affectional nurture and spiritual instruction of children, through their earthly parents. He has also set apart a "children's hour" in the week, in which all—children of a larger growth as well as the little ones—may become better acquainted with him, their Father in heaven. God intended the Sabbath to be a day when home life should be at its best, because brought into closest touch with heavenly love. Earthly love can only be at its best when most keenly alive to relationships which are spiritual and eternal. The transfiguration of the household—which Christ came to accomplish by his abiding presence in the home, turning "the hearts of the fathers to the children" and of the children to their fathers, causing truly Christian family life to glow with a light of unselfish love unknown to households in heathen lands, and making the truly Christian home to be the holy of holies of the Church of God on earth, as well as the type of heaven—

this blending of the Christ love and the parental love, and the tender response of filial love in the children, is only possible where God's holy day is used as he intended. Having in mind the privileges which the Lord's Day affords, may it not be said that underneath the foundations of household and Church and State lies the Sabbath?

Yet thoughtlessness and consequent indifference have allowed the authority and the sanctity of the Sabbath to be undermined, until at length those who would sweep away its restraints have become emboldened and have set the battle in array. The enemies of the day we love are now determined, wily, and unscrupulous. They hesitate at no extreme of stealth and cunning, on the one hand, or of audacity or insolent aggressiveness on the other. The lawless saloon knows that the desecrated Sabbath is its opportunity and harvest time. Infidelity knows that a day of rest and worship is the stronghold of vital Christianity. Satan knows that the Lord's Day, utilized for its divinely ordained purposes, is the stay of morality and the life of the Church. The enemies of God's Day are "in their generation wiser" than we are. They direct their efforts with desperate earnestness to the secularization of the Sabbath. Some of God's people, on the other hand, have been negative or acquiescent. Some of us have been apathetic and passive for want of intelligent apprehension of the fact that the moral education of our youth and the spiritual vitalization of the Church are dependent upon the improvement we make of the privileges which are God's gift to us in the Sabbath. Albert Barnes has said: "Where there is no Sabbath there can be no Church." And yet the gradual transforming of the holy day into a holiday, which has been going on all about us, has been little heeded except on the one hand by the faithful few among God's children, and on the other by the children of the wicked one, who take encouragement from advantages gained to press the battle more fiercely. Only a few are awake to the facts or realize what they mean. Were the real significance of the situation recognized indifference upon the part of the true-hearted would be impossible. Many of us have been lacking in intelligent and healthy convictions; and some who name the name of Christ have been nerveless to resist, because enfeebled by sympathy with the spirit of the world. If any of us have lapsed in our practical regard for the Lord's Day it is because we have not so lived our loyalty to God and his law as to have that loyalty live and grow in us. Not more true is it that by works is faith "made perfect" than that the reaction of inaction is death. The prevalent apathy with regard to the sanctity and the moral utility of the Sabbath is not a matter that we are at liberty to sigh over and then forget. The only remedy is a retracing of steps—thinking where we have been thoughtless, praying for forgiveness and for eyes to see and hearts to feel, and then, in renewed consecration and faith, bringing forth fruits meet for repentance.

An hour of opportunity has come to us for the rescue of the Sabbath such as was never before presented. Labor is making organized demand

for its day of rest. If we, as Christians, will promptly and efficiently cooperate we can be instruments in God's hands in rescuing the Sabbath from the incoming tide of iniquity that is sweeping it away; and the Sabbath that is saved to labor as a rest day we can give to religion as a day of worship. And, in saving it for both, we can save our homes and our country from moral deterioration and decay; for if, as American citizens, we utilize God's Sabbath for its high purposes of moral education and spiritual vitalization, for the rest of the body, and for the uplift of the soul, we can then maintain the supremacy of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. We shall, as a people, "ride upon the high places of the earth," for "the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." But if we fail to protect, to delight in, to honor, and to utilize God's holy day, the light that is in us will become darkness; and amid that darkness there shall flame upon the walls of the palace of our pride and our revelry the handwriting of God, declaring our country doomed.

Des Moines, Ia. C. F. WILLIAMS.

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

THE Webb-Crowder discussion on this intricate subject ought to close. The more that is said the more unintelligible the subject becomes. This lamentable phenomenon arises, not from a lack of ability in the gentlemen who write, but from the backhanded and awkward way in which they approach and handle their topic. The expression, "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," does not mean anything; it is a mere jargon of words. It is probable that the two writers are aiming at the notion of the influence of the spiritual element upon man's intellect and feelings. St. Paul's "natural man," in 1 Corinthians, chapter ii, possesses intellect and feeling, and in conversion or regeneration spiritual life is imparted to him as an additional life element. Wherein he was dead, he is now quickened. Intellect and feeling *per se* remain unchanged. The question now is, What effect does the ingress of the new vital element exert upon the intellect and upon the feelings of the man? It is absurd to suppose that man has somewhere blundered into "spirituality," and put knowledge and feeling into it. It is easy to understand, when the question is properly stated, that the entrance of spiritual life into the mind of man would be to the intellect a special spiritual light, extending to all parts of the realm of spirituality, and at the same time would give to his emotional nature a mighty moral elevation. It is the province of the spiritual life which the Holy Spirit imparts to the penitent believer to act on him and make of him a new creature in Christ Jesus.

The question whether the intellect or the feelings yield the more readily and fully to the modifying power of the new life is undebatable and of no consequence. The relative power of intellect and feeling, as they existed before regeneration, will probably remain afterward. Two of the most unemotional men we ever knew we place among the

most spiritual and best we ever knew. A man by nature highly emotional may as a Christian become excessively and spasmodically so. In such cases a little weight added to the intellect would enable it the better to balance the feelings. In short, the entire intellect and all the varied emotions of the mind must necessarily experience the modifying power of the presence of spiritual life. We shall fully recognize this fact if we bear in mind that it is this presence which makes man the temple of the Holy Spirit and qualifies him to hold fellowship with God.

Another trouble with these champions is they confound feeling and sensibility, and chaos is the result. It does not change the fact that they walk in the footsteps of psychologists. To see the truth we must be true to nature—yes, true to nature, though it make men fools. What are feelings? Love, hate, desire, aversion, joy, sorrow, hope, fear, delight, madness, remorse, with all their degrees and modifications. What are sensations? Taste, smell, touch, the toothache, hunger, thirst, a burn, cold, headache, neuralgic pains, etc. Feelings are rooted in the mind, and are the stirrings of the conscious self. Sensations are rooted in the life of the body outside of the mind and objective to it. These different phenomena have nothing in common, and to confound them is to utterly pervert them. By grinding together wheat, rye, oats, barley, and corn in the product you can see nothing of either grain. To be seen clearly intellect and feeling must be seen in their own light, distinct from everything else.

Chautauqua, N. Y. H. H. Moore.

"ALPHABETIC WRITING."

The article on the above subject, found in the archæological department of the *Review* for July, represents that "the oldest undisputed specimen of alphabetic writing so far discovered is that in Phœnician characters on a portion of a bronze cup found in the island of Cyprus and dedicated to Baal-Lebanon, perhaps in the time of Hiram I, some ten centuries before Christ." Any proof of a more ancient use of alphabetic writing is not only of value to the archæologist, but even more so to the Old Testament student. Now, I find the following in the well-known work of Mariette Bey, the noted Egyptologist: "Hitherto the Thera inscriptions in the Archipelago, or those on the leg of the Colossus at Abou Simbel have been regarded as the oldest Greek or Græco-Phœnician characters in existence, belonging to the ninth century B. C.; but some linguistic marks made by certain prehistoric settlers, who planted themselves in the Fayoum in the time of Usertesin II, have left at Illahun the rudiments of an alphabet at least a thousand years earlier. These characters are not pictorial, evidently not Egyptian, but are clearly alphabetic. We now know, what we have never known before, that the elements of an alphabetical writing were in existence at least two thousand years B. C."*

Santa Cruz, Cal. C. V. Anthony.

** Monuments of Upper Egypt*, pp. 334, 335.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

REGULAR MINISTERIAL WORK.

THERE are two departments in the work of the ministry. Both are useful, and both have important relations to the salvation of the world. One of these is that which we denominate the regular work of the minister. By that term we understand those services which are provided for in the Discipline of the Church and are regulated by specific laws. There are other departments of work into which ministers enter that, for want of a better name, we may designate as irregular, in that they are not governed by specific laws and, while under the appointment of the Church, are not regarded as in the line of its normal work. In general, it may be said that bishops, presiding elders, pastors, presidents and professors in institutions of learning, editors, and secretaries are engaged in the regular work of the ministry. Then, too, there are frequently ministers appointed for specific purposes in Annual Conferences, such as evangelists and agents empowered to raise funds for necessary and important Church objects. That, however, which may be designated more directly as regular work we would call pastoral, and includes those different departments of Church service which are more immediately related to the pastorate.

The point we have in view is whether the tendency to leave the normal work of the minister—the pastoral office—for any other Church position is not a disadvantage alike to the pastor and to the Church as a whole. If a man is a scholar there is often in his mind the thought that the place for the exercise of his scholarship is in some institution of learning, and not in the pastorate. If he has a capacity for collecting money it is at once assumed that he should be in a secretaryship or agency which demands such abilities. If he is a revivalist of great power it is supposed at once that he should be set apart for that service, and go from church to church in the conduct of evangelistic services. We are not for a moment depreciating these positions of usefulness; but we raise the question whether it would not be wiser for the minister to adhere to his regular work. Is there any place where scholarship, ability to collect money, or power as a revivalist is more potent for good than in the pastoral office? What position demands higher qualities of mind and heart than the preaching of the Gospel, the bringing forth of "things new and old" out of the Scriptures? Then, too, what a field for usefulness in the regular life of the church is the raising of money to carry forward its various enterprises, such as its contributions to the missionary cause and educational work. The evangelist, too, has ample scope for the exercise of his abilities in the home church. We have in mind a pastor who for a quarter of a century preached the Gospel in appoint-

ments situated on the same District, and whose evangelistic labors were so efficient that there are a number of churches whose present membership were mostly converted under his ministry. What a power for good would the ministry of the Church be if such instances were largely increased!

The problem in the minds of many promising young ministers seems to be, not how they can perform the specific form of work which the Church assigns them, but how they can get out of it into what seems to be a more prominent, if not a more useful, sphere. Yet what position can be better, or higher, or nobler than the regular ministry of the Gospel, and what institution of more profound importance than the individual church which he is called upon to serve? The power of association and the influence of example, as well as the direct preaching of the word, all combine to make the regular ministry a position of great usefulness. In the judgment of the writer there is a greater sphere of usefulness in the pastorate, if not a broader one, than can be found in the more general work of the Church of God. We recall a minister of the Presbyterian Church who for forty years was pastor of the same church. An impression was made by him, not only upon the immediate church he served, but on the whole country round about, so that he was practically the bishop of a diocese; and when he passed away he was mourned by all, and his memory will long abide. This length of pastorate is not possible in our Church, but it is possible to serve the same part of the country for many years. We recall another pastor, without extraordinary talents, but a broad, well-rounded man, who resided in the same Conference all his life—it was not a large Conference—and most of the time preached in the same city; and when he passed away it was the verdict of all who had known him that he had lived grandly and accomplished far more than if his career had covered a field more conspicuous in the eyes of the world.

The value of concentration upon one single point, or one single line of work, is not sufficiently appreciated by our preachers and people. This view does not involve a depreciation of the great offices of the Church and of the special service of the minister in particular departments of Christian work. All have their place in the building up of the kingdom of God. They are not only useful positions, but it is essential that they be filled by able and consecrated men. Neither should say to the other, "Our position and service are superior to yours," but should regard the other as servants of God, in whose great vineyard all true workers are equally to be honored. It seems clear that one who is doing well in the pastoral life should hesitate before he is induced to leave it for any position whatever. The Methodist Episcopal Church, whatever the particular reason for the fact may be, does not hold her pastoral office in the high estimation which belongs to it in the mind of Christ and in the practice of some of our sister denominations. Men are filling pastorates in the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, Baptist, and other Churches

who would not for a moment think of resigning their pulpit to accept a secretaryship, an agency, a presidency, or a professorship in an educational institution. The pastorate is the central position of the Church of God. The pastor is called by Christ, is set apart by the Church, and is empowered by the Holy Ghost; and we believe that he who faithfully fills this office holds a position inferior to no position in Christendom.

THE STRUGGLE OF AN AWAKENED SOUL.—ROM. VII, 7–25.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Review* has propounded the inquiry whether the passage above indicated refers to a regenerate or to an unregenerate man. The question is a most important one, both historically and as bearing on Christian experience. Historically, it has been the battle-ground for centuries between Arminian and Calvinistic exegetes. Origen and the Greek fathers generally favor the Arminian view, which regards Paul in this passage as vividly portraying the struggles of an unregenerate man, while the Latin fathers, following the view of Augustine, have regarded Paul as describing the struggles of a regenerate man. A study of the different commentaries will show that any dogmatic answer to the iquiry which is propounded would be unwise, as so much depends on the point of view from which the passage is approached by the investigator.

Our study of a subject is often helped by the assumption of an hypothesis which may be confirmed or modified by the study of the facts that are assumed to constitute its basis. We proceed on the hypothesis that the passage under consideration is the description of an unregenerate man, a man under law, to whom the fullness of the Gospel assurance has not come, but to whom the "law is holy . . . and just, and good." We must not forget, in our study, that this chapter is one of the profoundest psychological discussions in the whole range of literature and, apart from the fact of inspiration, is worthy of most thoughtful consideration. It could only have been written by one who had profoundly studied and experienced the great struggle which is constantly taking place in all noble souls between the higher and the lower self. It is a description of the workings that go on in a human soul, when it is moved upon by the righteous law of God, in the presence of the fundamental truths of Christianity.

The facts which the passage brings to our view point clearly to the conditions of an unregenerate man. The description is that of a person whose soul is rent between two opposing forces contending for the mastery. Whedon calls it the battle of the "I's." The person here described purposes one thing but does another. He hates a given course, yet pursues it. He wishes to do the good, but is met by the evil which dissuades him. His desires for what is right are constantly confronted by a subtle enemy, the result of which is the keeping of his soul in a constant warfare. An enemy has entered the domain of his inner life, and

keeps up a constant conflict. So far as this passage is concerned the individual described is like a sea that is torn by contending waves, and is never at rest.

In this bitter conflict raging within him it does not appear that he wins a single victory. We might imagine that he is describing his times of special weakness, such as have occurred in the case of many good men, but the apostle gives no hint that the description is a partial one. It seems to be a graphic portraiture of a condition in which he finds himself, and not of an intermittent experience, as some would argue. It is clear that it is the normal and the prevailing state, and not an occasional one which he is portraying. The whole force of the passage would be lost if it were necessary to explain it by the view that this is an "intermittent," and not his normal, experience. It is intended undoubtedly to portray the general condition of the person described at the period in his experience to which the reference is made. We cannot fail to note the language of failure pervading this passage: "When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died;" "I am carnal, sold under sin;" "For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I;" "How to perform that which is good I find not. For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do;" "I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me." Indeed, the whole passage is descriptive of a helpless condition, although, as it soon appears, not a hopeless one. We repeat that the conflict which is here described results in defeat rather than in victory.

The apostle further shows that his condition of inability to do the right is not chargeable to the law, for "the law is spiritual." By this the apostle means that the law is spiritual both in its nature and in its origin. It is the gift of the Spirit of God, and cannot therefore be the source of sinfulness and of his inability to perform that which his better self declares to be the good. It must be some force in himself which dominates him, and he declares it to be the sin dwelling in him. "For sin, taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me." It was a foreign force that had entered his soul and in conquering power had caused his overthrow. Such is his consciousness of personal inability to accomplish what he knows to be his duty that, in language which breathes of intense earnestness, he cries out for deliverance, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

Thus far it seems clear that the person here mentioned is in an unregenerate condition. His language is the language of defeat, and well nigh of despair, and such a state is not in harmony with the description of a regenerate man elsewhere given in the writings of Paul. The complexity of the problem, however, appears when we compare the fourteenth with the twenty-second verse. We place them side by side. "We know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin." And

again, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man." These verses in the same paragraph seem to be contradictory, and have been, after all, the crucial point of the discussion. It is claimed, on the one hand, that to be "carnal, sold under sin," cannot be predicated of a regenerate man. This language is expressive of the most complete bondage. It would be impossible to use terms more fully descriptive of subjection to a master than is this utterance. No explanation such as that of a modified bondage can be accepted in the case of writing where the language is so carefully chosen as it is in this epistle of St. Paul. All must admit that, if this record of the apostle is to be explained in its literal force, it cannot describe in any adequate sense a person who has "passed from death unto life."

On the other hand, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man" has been regarded as too high a state to be affirmed of an unregenerate man. It is a strong expression of satisfaction with the origin and claims of God's law "after the inward man." It is clear that the words "I delight" must not be modified, as some would do, into a general complacency with God's law. It is a strong expression of rejoicing in, and satisfaction with, the law of God. If the words "inward man" mean the regenerate man, as some hold, the question would be at once settled; but such is not the case. Sanday (*Commentary on Romans*, vii, 22) says of St. Paul: "Now he contrasts the 'old' with the 'new man' (or, as we should say, the 'old' with the 'new *self*'); here he contrasts the 'outer man,' as the body (ὁ ἔξω ἄνθρωπος, 2 Cor. iv, 16), with the 'inner man,' the conscience or reason (2 Cor. iv, 16; Eph. iii, 16). It is in the latter sense, conscience or reason, that we regard it as employed here."

Before proceeding further we may note that another factor enters into the problem, namely, what is meant by an unregenerate man? By a regenerate man we understand a person whose sins have been forgiven, who has become a new creature in Christ Jesus, and who has received the witness of the Spirit. By an unregenerate man we mean one who has not attained to this state; though it may include one who has been awakened to his condition, has been brought to see the beauty of the law, but who has not yet laid hold on Christ as his deliverer from the power of sin. It is one of whom Paul in his unconverted state may be considered a representative. Of such a person it may be truthfully said that he delights in the law of God with his conscience and reason, though he is helpless to obey its mandates. The commentaries give instances from heathen writers who have recognized the good, while they have found no deliverance from the evil that has enthralled them. Many ministers of the Gospel have found in their congregations men and women whose appreciation of the virtues and high standards of duty put to shame some who have formally confessed Christ. They are those, in other words, who admire and recognize the worth of that which they are unable to grasp in their conscious experience. Many professing

Christians will remember the time when they were still under law, but yet awakened to a sense of sin, and that they did indeed "delight in the law of God after the inward man."

There is another consideration which favors our interpretation of this passage which should not be omitted. It is that the deliverance comes with the mention of Christ and the introduction of the Holy Spirit. In this paragraph Christ is not introduced as a factor until its close, showing that the person described has not yet laid hold by faith on the Saviour of sinners. The cry for deliverance is met by the answer, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Sanday (*Commentary on Romans*, p. 186) says: "Law and love are brought face to face with each other, and there is nothing between them. Not until we come to verse 25 is there a single expression used which belongs to Christianity. And the use of it marks that the conflict is ended." While we may not assume that this is a full description of Paul himself, before his conversion, it must have had some relation to his own experience, and in a measure at least have been molded by it. Sanday in the same connection (p. 186) remarks: "It is not a literal photograph of any one stage of the apostle's career, but it is a constructive picture drawn by him in bold lines, by elements supplied to him by self-introspection. . . . Without putting an exact date to the struggle which follows, we shall probably not be wrong in referring the main features of it especially to the periods before his conversion. It was then that the powerlessness of the law to do anything but aggravate sin was brought home to him. And all his experience, at whatever date, of the struggle of the natural man with temptation is here gathered together and concentrated in a single portraiture." Reasonable is it, therefore, to assume that the experience described by St. Paul had some resemblance to his own before his conversion.

While the purport of this paper agrees in part with the words quoted from Professor Sanday, it is further intended to urge that this passage refers, not to the natural man, untouched by divine influences, but as brought in contact with God's law, which shows him his sinfulness but which is powerless to bring deliverance. Is it not a general picture of every awakened soul, brought up in the midst of sacred influences, who delights in the beauty of God's truth but has not reached the point where he opens his heart to receive Him "of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write?" It is the portrait of an awakened soul struggling heavenward.

It is, however, one of those passages where Christians may well bear with each other. It has sometimes been used as a weapon of attack upon those of unquestioned piety who held the opposite view. Both sides to this long controversy have been represented by men of profound learning and of deep religious experience. We think, however, that the above interpretation is in harmony with sound exegesis and with the experiences of many earnest souls.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

LOGIA IESOU.

THE sands of Egypt have once more yielded up some of their long-buried treasure, so that now we are able to speak of a most important find made by two Oxford scholars among the rubbish heaps of the insignificant hamlet of Behnesa, some one hundred and twenty miles south of Cairo, and not far from the Libyan Desert. History tells us that many centuries ago this place, then known to the Greek-speaking world by the name of Oxyrhynchus, was an important center of the early Christian Church. It was here that Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt discovered several hundred papyri, for the most part written in Greek and belonging to the first eight centuries of the Christian era. A cursory examination of the same shows them to contain documents on a great variety of subjects, some personal, some commercial, others of a literary and religious nature. There is also among this mass of papyri portions of the first chapter of the gospel by St. Matthew. What, however, makes this late discovery of special interest is the fact that one solitary leaf, measuring five and three fourths by three and three fourth inches, and written in Greek uncials, was found along with a large number of papyri of the second and third centuries of our era. This leaf, written on both sides, and containing about forty lines in all, has several passages beginning with the two words, Λέγει Ἰησοῦς, or "Jesus says." Hence the name given to the leaf is *Logia Iesou*, or *Sayings of Jesus*.

Facsimiles of this ancient leaf, and an emended copy of the Greek text, as well as an English translation of the same, have been published by Grenfell and Hunt, the discoverers. The English translation is as follows:

Logion 1. " . . . And then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."

2. "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."

3. "Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart." . . .

4. (Illegible.)

5. "Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I."

6. "Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him."

7. "Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill, and stablished, can neither fall nor be hid."

8. (Illegible.)

As will be seen, Logion 1 is almost the same as Luke vi, 42, and closely resembles Matt. vii, 5. Logion 2 has no parallel in the New Testament, for the duty of fasting or of keeping the Sabbath is nowhere commanded in so many words, either in the gospels or epistles. For that reason this Logion may be traced to an Ebionite source. It is well known that the Ebionite Christians adhered very closely to the Jewish law, and insisted upon many customs and ceremonies not commanded in the New Testament or practiced by the mass of the early Church. It may be that the words to "fast" and to "keep the Sabbath" are used in a spiritual sense. Logion 3 is also different in language from anything found in the canonical gospels. It reminds us of John i, 10, 14, and especially of Christ's lament over Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii, 37, and Luke xiii, 34). Logion 4 is so defaced or faded out as to make its reading impossible. Only one word, πτωχεία, translated "poverty," or "beggary," is legible. This word does not occur in the gospels, and hence the inference that this Logion may have contained something new. The first part of Logion 5 is also quite mutilated, so much so as to render a correct translation very difficult. The most natural emendation is that which makes it a parallel of Matt. xviii, 20, where we read, "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." A less probable meaning is suggested by the editors, "Where all men else are unbelievers, if one alone is (faithful), I am with him." The second part of this Logion is a real puzzle. There is nothing like it in the recorded sayings of our Saviour. Various interpretations have been suggested, but none of them satisfactory or convincing. "Raise the stone" and "cleave the wood" may simply refer to the common vocation of the laborer, and the promise then would mean that Christ is ever present with the believing soul, no matter how humbly he may be employed. If the first half of the Logion refers to the act of worship, so may the second. Professor Bacon's suggestion may not be correct, but in the absence of anything better it is certainly worth repeating. According to him the phrase, "Raise the stone," may be another way of saying "build up an altar;" and "cleave the wood" may mean, "make ready for the sacrifice." The language thus poetically used yields a good sense; and as he says, "We must look to Abraham building the altar of unhewn stone, and cleaving the wood at the holy place of Jehovah-jireh (Gen. xxii, 8, 8, 9), if we would get the sense of this Logion." The tenor of Logion 6 is familiar to New Testament readers, though the exact words are not found elsewhere. This is especially true of the second part, with which, however, we may compare Luke iv, 23, where we read, "Physician, heal thyself." The word δεκτὸς, peculiar to the third gospel, also suggests either an acquaintance with the writings of Luke or that the latter and the author of this Logion had borrowed from a common source. Logion 7 seems at first to

be a conflation of Matt. v, 14, and vii, 24, 25; but, as Grenfell and Hunt remark, this is not really admissible, since there is no reference to "the rock" of the parable. Logion 8, like 4, is so mutilated as to defy any decipherment. All that can be read, with even a moderate degree of certainty, are four words which may be translated, "unto thy face" or "presence."

It is yet too early to speak authoritatively of the value of these Logia. Other leaves of the very book from which this stray leaf has been lost may yet be discovered, which may add materially to our present knowledge and throw great light upon many important but yet unsettled questions. But, as Mr. H. Frowde has said in a recent issue of the *London Times*, "The document is at any rate one which will arouse the highest interest in the religious world, and, whatever may ultimately be found to be its value in theological literature, it is impossible to exaggerate its archæological importance."

The age of the papyrus is fairly settled, and that in various ways. The fact that we have it in a book form, and not a roll, goes to prove that it cannot be earlier than about 140 A. D., while the character of the script corresponds very closely with the writing of the third century. The original authorship of this collection may, however, be much older than the manuscript itself. In any case this leaf is of earlier date than any of the codices of our gospel text. Everything in these Logia suggests the first part of the second century as the date of their composition. "The primitive cast and setting of the sayings, the absence of any consistent tendency in favor of any particular sect, the wide divergences in the familiar sayings from the text of the gospels, the striking character of those which are new, combine to separate the fragments from the 'apocryphal' literature of the middle and later half of the second century, and to refer it back to the period when the canonical gospels had not yet reached their preeminent position." So much we may now say concerning the age of the composition.

The discovery of this document corroborates the view often expressed that the early Christian Church possessed an extensive literature which has not come down to us. Indeed, the words of St. Luke in his preface to his gospel, where he says, "Many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative" concerning the words and deeds of Christ, show clearly that he had abundant material for selection. John also expressly says at the close of his gospel: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." Take again the beautiful gem quoted by St. Paul to the Ephesian elders, from the unrecorded words of the Lord Jesus, "It is more blessed to give than to receive." All this, to say nothing of the various references which are found in the writings of the early fathers, shows beyond contradiction that the ancient Church was in possession of some Christian literature which is now unknown.

Papias, who lived in the first half of the second century, says, on the authority of John, the elder, of Ephesus (100 A. D.), that Matthew wrote the Logia in the Hebrew language, and that everyone translated them as he was best able. This same Papias wrote an exposition of the sayings of the Lord in five books. The Logia of Matthew, as well as the commentary by Papias, are lost, except as they are referred to in other writers. This fact has led some critics to deny the reality of the one and the other. Even as conservative a critic as Lightfoot, in speaking of the Hebrew collection of Logia by Matthew, says that this theory "is encumbered with the most serious difficulties. In the first place, there is no notice or trace elsewhere of any such collection of discourses." Then again, in discussing the meaning of the term "Logia," he says, "No one word in English will exactly express the word 'Logia,' which was used both before and after Papias to mean, not merely 'sayings,' but 'scriptures.'" Had Lightfoot seen this stray papyrus leaf probably he would not have written the above, for as Grenfell and Hunt very properly remark, "We may here have got for the first time a concrete example of what was meant by the Logia which Papias tells us were compiled by St. Matthew, and the *λόγια κυριακά* upon which Papias himself wrote a commentary." The editors, it is true, do not intimate that we have in our possession veritable copies of the two works above mentioned, but, on the other hand, they distinctly say, "It is not, of course, at all likely that our fragment has any actual connection either with the Hebrew Logia of St. Matthew or the *λόγια κυριακά* of Papias." Yet they further add: "It is difficult to imagine a title better suited to a series of sayings, each introduced by the phrase *λέγει Ἰησοῦς*, than 'Logia;' and the discovery strongly supports the view that in speaking of *λόγια* Papias and Eusebius intended some similar collection."

What are these Logia? Are they a part of an original work, which may antedate even our gospels? Have we here a leaf from a collection of sayings, a work not including the deeds of our Lord? Have Matthew and Luke drawn from these or similar collections, or have these been taken from the gospels? May not they be, as was at first supposed, a portion of Papias's commentary? These and similar questions will be asked and studied by the thoughtful student. In the absence of positive answers there can be no real objections to the view that we have here a stray leaf from the collection of some early Christian, such as anyone might gather together either for private or public use. The fact that we have here a small collection of sayings, differing from any of the recorded sayings of Christ in the canonical or apocryphal gospels, favors the supposition that the ancient collectors used considerable liberty in the selection and wording of their material. Indeed, these sayings may have fallen from the lips of early Christian teachers whose identity is now unknown. Be that as it may, the wise thing at present is to wait for further light, for he who now speaks most dogmatically concerning the Logia may soon have abundant reason for changing his opinion.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

OUTSIDE TESTIMONY TO MISSIONS.

MUCH is made from time to time of the adverse criticisms on missions by travelers who pass through missionary lands. A common rejoinder to such criticisms is that these persons have made no individual inspection of missionary processes, and that their spirit of hostility is partly accounted for by their contact with Europeans of morally oblique conduct. Missionaries as a rule are not careful to make any rejoinder to the obnoxious utterances of these critics. It is refreshing, on the contrary, to find an abundance of testimony from the highest and best-furnished secular authorities as to the good intentions of the missionaries and the practical benefits of their work, even from a humanitarian standpoint.

Captain Younghusband, author of a work entitled *The Heart of a Continent*, recently gave appreciative notices of various missions visited in his travels through Manchuria, and dwells upon the benefits to civilization and philanthropy which Christianity bestows. His work closes with a chapter on "The Missionary Question in China," in which he vouches from personal experience for the good effects of the personal presence of the missionaries. He declares that he "can testify to the fact that, living quietly and unostentatiously in the interior of China, there are men who, by their lives of noble self-sacrifice and sterling good, are slowly influencing those about them—men who have so influenced, not only a few, but many thousands of these unenthusiastic Chinese, as to cause them to risk life itself for their religion." He thinks that "the man who devotes his life to the work of imparting to other races the religion from which his own has derived so much benefit; who carefully trains himself for this work; who sympathetically studies the religion, the character, and the peculiarities of the people he wishes to convert; and who practically lives a life which those about him can see to be good, should be admired as the highest type of manhood."

Commodore Charles O'Neil, of the United States Navy, in a letter published in the New York *Herald*, also certifies as follows: "My experience with the American missionaries in the Ottoman empire was most favorable to them, and whenever the occasion presents itself I do not hesitate to commend them and their work. I can always be relied on, and referred to, as a warm friend and ally of our countrymen and women who are laboring in the cause of Christianity and education in Turkey. They have done and are doing a noble work, the far-reaching influences and value of which cannot be overestimated."

Similarly, in a recent volume on *German Southwest Africa*, by a German military officer, we find the statement, as translated in the *Chronicle of* the London Missionary Society, as follows: "What merchant, artisan, and men of science have done for the opening up and civilizing of this

country is as nothing compared with the results of missionary work, and this work means so much the more because all self-regarding motives, such as always inspire the trader, the discoverer, and are to be found even in the soldier, are absent in the missionary. It must be an exalted impulse which leads the missionary to give up comfort, opportunities of advancement, honor, and fame, for the sake of realizing the idea of bringing humanity into the kingdom of God, into sonship to God, and to instill into the soul of a red or a black man the mystery of the love of God. Self-interest is put aside, and the missionary becomes a Nama or a Herero. He gives continually, not only from the inner treasure of his spiritual life and knowledge. In order to be able to do that he must unweariedly play, now the artisan, now the farmer, now the architect; he must always give—presents, teaching, improvements—never take; he must not even expect that his self-sacrifice will be understood. And to do this for years, decades even, truly requires more than human power, and the average mind of the European adventurer, hardened in self-valuation and self-seeking, cannot understand it. I used not to be able to understand it; one must have seen it to be able to understand and admire."

Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, the widely known and unwearying traveler, in May, 1897, also said: "Six weeks ago I came straight from some of the darkest of earth's dark places, from the empires of Korea, China, and Japan. The darkness which broods over these countries is a 'darkness which may be felt.' This Scripture phrase is the only word to describe it. . . . On this journey I visited one hundred and three mission stations. . . . I have no connection with missions and missionary effort, except a most cordial sympathy and the deepest interest. I am a traveler solely, and it is as a traveler that I desire to bear my testimony to the godly and self-denying lives, the zeal and devotion, of nearly all the missionaries of all the Churches that I have everywhere seen. This testimony from a traveler unconnected with missions may, I trust, be of some value, and I am prepared to give it everywhere."

And now comes Julian Hawthorne, writing in the *Cosmopolitan* of missionaries in India: "They are the only persons who know what is actually going on in that land of misery, for they go about quietly everywhere, see everything, cannot be deceived or put off the scent by the native subordinates. It was my great good fortune to be thrown with the missionaries from the start, and I was able to compare their methods and knowledge with those of the government people."

SLAVERY IN AFRICA.

It is impossible that any persons interested in the evangelization of Africa can be indifferent to the progress made in the suppression of slavery, in various parts of the continent and in the outlying islands. There are two special items of importance in this connection just now which are very significant—the declaration of the abolishment of the legal status

of slavery in the vast region coming to be known as Nigeria, West Africa, and a similar edict in Zanzibar by the sultan of that island. The Royal Niger Company has made a great number of compacts with native states in Nigeria, in some cases inducing them to acknowledge the absolute sovereignty of the company in turn for assured protection from the stronger tribes. They have guarded against slave raids from the stronger tribes by treaty with them to the effect that all slave raiding of the territory of the protected tribes must cease. The powerful Nupé tribe entered into treaty with the company not to raid in the protected states, but broke its treaty, and was severely chastised for the same. This must aid to impress the strong races of that region of Africa that wherever there is such a treaty with the British slave raiding in those regions must become a thing of the past. The diamond anniversary of Queen Victoria was marked by many a unique and estimable deed, but none perhaps carried more significance than the decree that, on and after that date, slavery would not be recognized as having legal status in the vast region of Africa included in the territory of the Royal Niger Company.

On the other side of the continent the Sultan of Zanzibar has also declared that the legal status of slavery shall no longer exist. The importance of this is that Zanzibar has been the depot whence slaves have been shipped to other parts of the world, this being a vast rendezvous by reason of the acknowledged legal status of slavery on this island. It is possible that no slaves in Zanzibar now manumitted may claim the privilege which the abolition of slavery by law brings to them, but that will be because they voluntarily prefer to continue relations which are no longer binding at law. Slavery is hereafter to be merely a conventional custom in Zanzibar, dissoluble at any hour at the will of the person who has voluntarily continued in it. The slave population of Zanzibar may be placed at one hundred and forty thousand, to all of whom the permissive right of freedom is now accorded. And yet it is not quite to all of these that this privilege comes fresh, just now. As long ago as 1873 the slave markets of the country were closed against imported slaves ; therefore every slave that has been imported since then has not been a legal slave, though he may have been so treated, *de facto*. A further decree of the sultan in 1889 directed that all slaves should become free by entering the country, and that the next year and thereafter all traffic in slaves, whether by purchase or exchange of any kind, should be illegal. Therefore no slave acquired by purchase or otherwise since August, 1890, has been bound by any civil obligation to recognize the existence of property in himself. The inheritance of slaves was also limited at this time to the lawful children on the death of the owner, and if he left no children the slaves became free; and, finally, this same act provided that all children born to slaves after November 1, 1890, should be free. It is evident, therefore, that a good many of the estimated one hundred and forty thousand slaves of Zanzibar were no slaves at all, in the eye of the law. It is anticipated that the new law totally abolishing slavery will probably be a dead

letter for a long time to come, since the existing conditions and relations of the capitalists and laborers are the best practicable, just now. The total population of Zanzibar and Pemba is put down at two hundred and ten thousand, of whom two thirds are in the relation of slaves, and commercially and economically must remain so for the present. The slaves have nowhere to go, no capital with which to do differently from what they have been doing, and have little grievance with their treatment and remuneration; so that, in general, the slavery conditions will continue, though the status before the law is vitally different.

The most interesting feature of this act by which all slavery is abolished in Zanzibar is that it is the termination for the slaver of the last possible market, off the mainland of the continent of Africa. He cannot find hereafter any recognized over-sea market for his slaves.

RELIGIOUS DISINTEGRATION IN PERSIA.

It is not uncommon to read the suggestion, in one form and another, of the possibilities of a great Mohammedan uprising, throughout the world, against Christian nations. It is usual to count the Mohammedans of Persia as constituting a portion of the great Moslem world which would be in this combination. Apart from the feeble connection of Persia, at the best of times, with the rest of the Mohammedan states, there are several things which ought to be considered before giving much weight to the prophecy of her participation in a general Mohammedan war. The established religion of Persia is the Shiah form of Mohammedanism, which is by the rest of the Moslems of the world regarded as a dangerous heresy. But, while recognizing the great power and influence of the Mullahs and Mujtahids, it must be remembered that for generations many forms of religious beliefs contrary to Islam have prevailed in the country. The Sufi sect are out-and-out pantheists, besides being in a way Puritans, claiming to have the purest Moslem doctrines even antedating Mohammedanism. The poetic literature of Persia is saturated with pantheism of the strictest Vedantic type. It is asserted by those long familiar with the state of society in Persia that Islam has been rapidly losing its hold on Persia. Even the Mullahs in many parts of the country courteously receive the missionaries on their itinerating tours, and in some instances urge the people to buy their books. But the greatest disintegrating element in Persia is seen in the presence and popularity of what is called after its chief advocate, or founder, Babism. Shah Nasr-ud-deen died or rather was assassinated May 1, 1896. Had he lived five days longer he would have completed a reign of fifty lunar years on the throne of Persia. Nothing in his varied career was more marked than his persecution of the sect known as Babi, which may be said to have risen to prominence in the last fifty years. The tenets of this sect have caused them to be likened to the Gnostics of the early ages, and their teachings have been widely accepted by the people of Persia. Half the population of many

towns and villages is composed of Babis, divided in two sects. It is estimated that not less than eight hundred thousand persons in the country now hold Babi doctrines. It is claimed that the best of their doctrines are taken from the Bible, and they declare themselves ready to abandon any tenet of their faith which is shown to be contrary to the Christian Scriptures. El Bab, "the Gate," led the adherents of this faith in a revolt against the corrupt manners of the times, fifty years ago, and the doctrines spread so rapidly that the shah was led to put thousands of these people to death. The Babis almost all through the country are in sympathy with Christians, calling them their brethren, and professing to see but little difference between their faith and that of Christianity.

It is manifest, therefore, that, apart from the disintegrating force of the heresy attributed to the Shiah sect by the rest of the Moslem world, small reliance could be placed on the cohesive force of the population of Persia to aid a general combination of Moslems in any uprising proposed against the Christian powers. In all such calculations looking to any future disturbance of this sort the fact is to be reckoned with that religiously Persia is undergoing a process of rapid disintegration.

FORWARD MOVEMENT IN AFRICA.

THE *Church Missionary Intelligencer* calls attention to what it emphasizes as an epochal event in "Nigeria"—the new term for the possessions of the Royal Niger Company, which embrace various States on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, extending northward up the rich valley of the Niger, that in size and importance, it is declared, ranks with the Nile and the Congo. This western Soudan is the home of the Hausas, a very superior people. Mohammedan bigotry has hitherto been able to exclude all missionary efforts from this part of Africa. But this portion of the great "Dark Continent," with its fifteen millions of the most intelligent people of Africa, has been recently and by a single stroke thrown open for the ingress of missionaries, and the Church of England Missionary Society proposes to take steps at once to follow this opening. The event alluded to is the battle recently fought with these Mohammedan troops at Bida, the capital of that country. The *Intelligencer* says, "What was accomplished for India by Plassey it is believed will be accomplished for Nigeria by the battle of Bida." Everybody knows the importance to subsequent history of the battle of Plassey, fought by Lord Clive in Bengal, one hundred and forty years ago. What with Uganda secured as a strategic point for missionary operations in East Central Africa, and Bida subject to Christian powers in North Central Africa, and the Congo a Christian highway from the West Central, and South Africa under Christian rulers, it looks as if the diplomacy of Providence were growing manifest in the Dark Continent. God has certainly great purposes for Africa.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Ludwig Paul. The study of the life of Jesus continues, attesting both the profoundness of the mystery of his being and the recognition of the greatness of his personality. Paul is wholly given up to the thought of the development of the self-consciousness of Jesus. At first Jesus had only the consciousness of being a prophet. Gradually his consciousness became that expressed by the mysterious title of "the Son of man." But even this did not appear in his consciousness, in its final form, at first. Not until the end of his life did he rise to the full recognition of his complete Messiahship, with the certainty that he was to suffer and die and return again in glory. This last phase of his development resulted from the failure of his temple reform after the great sermon against the Pharisees. As his consciousness of his Messiahship, so also his idea of the kingdom of God was a development. He received from John the Baptist at first the conception of the kingdom as one of peace and happiness, a kingdom of righteousness, which had come near to the Jews, for which they were exhorted to prepare themselves. But he gave to this idea a more profound ethical significance. As his consciousness of his Messianic office developed the idea arose that this kingdom was, at least in part, at hand, although the idea that it was a kingdom to come was still the more prominent. The particularistic conception of the kingdom of God gradually broadened into that of its universality. At the close of his life, under the pressure of suffering, apocalyptic-theocratic ideas were more largely mixed with his former conceptions. His followers took up the parables of the kingdom, and developed them into the concept of a future heavenly kingdom in distinction from a Church on earth. In the gospel according to John this development is found in its completed form. One of the first criticisms we have to make on the foregoing outline of Paul's theories is that he seemed to feel bound to make a connected whole of the supposed development in the consciousness of Jesus. He is unwilling to leave any link unsupplied. This is not scientific reserve, but speculative boldness. It makes necessary the employment of the imagination in the production of facts which appeal to his own particular judgment of what ought to be. He leaves the impression of knowing too much, of having so much more light than anyone else that no one is willing to trust his assertions. Coming to particulars, there is not the slightest foundation for the assertion that at the beginning of his ministry he had only the consciousness of a prophet. There is nothing in the records to suggest, or at least to substantiate, such a theory, though it has always been proposed by those who would deny his real divine commission. Similarly,

there is absolutely no proof of the assertion that Jesus received his idea of the kingdom of God from John the Baptist.

J. Bornemann. It is to be hoped that the German pastors do not often preach to their congregations on the themes which sometimes engage their attention; for, while it is legitimate and even necessary for the pastor to think on many lines totally wanting in popular interest, they contain nothing of the Gospel. Such is one of the themes which Pastor J. Bornemann has chosen for investigation. Usener in his *Researches in the History of Religion* took the position that the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist formed no part of the earliest Christian tradition, but arose in connection with Jewish Christianity, and was lifted into special significance first by the Gnostics. Against all this Bornemann protests in his *Die Taufe Christi durch Johannes in der dogmatischen Beurtheilung der christlichen Theologen der vier ersten Jahrhunderten* (The Baptism of Christ by John, as Judged by the Dogmatic Theologians of the First Four Christian Centuries). Leipzig, Heinrichs, 1896. In opposition to Usener, Bornemann asserts that the tradition of the baptism was repressed very early, even in the *regula fidei*, and that it was obliged to yield the field to orthodox Christology, with which it does not agree. The difficulty, he thinks, begins with the report of the virgin birth, increases with the doctrine of the preexistence, and has no place whatever in the finished doctrines of the Logos-Christology. The baptism presents an element of primitive Christianity which is not without its inherent difficulties, but which, when employed by the Gnostics to represent the descent of one of the higher eons upon man, was easily and quickly discredited. The heathen Christians lost the power to estimate aright the story of the baptism. Hence both Jewish Christians and Gnostics rejected it together. Yet there was a distinct difference in their thought. The Gnostics represented it as the descent of a new divine person to the earth; the Jewish Christians spoke, like the canonical writings, only of the descent of the Spirit of God. The reason why the heathen Christians could not understand the story of the baptism was that they had lost the true comprehension of the Old Testament thought of the Messiah. But Justin Martyr is witness of the fact that this story is most intimately bound up with that Old Testament thought. Says Bornemann, "It is altogether remarkable how in the writings of Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian the story of the baptism appears as a great difficulty for the Logos-Christology, a difficulty which they would rather have escaped." The whole discussion is one so recondite that perhaps few of our readers will be interested in it. Yet it illustrates a tendency in foreign thought, and so has a place here. It must also be said that, though recondite, it has a most practical significance in showing against all comers that the story of the baptism of Christ belongs to the earliest Christian tradition.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Gregor VII, sein Leben und Werken (Gregory VII, his Life and Work). By Wilhelm Martens. 2 vols. Leipzig, Demcker & Humblot, 1894. A character of such historical importance as Gregory VII developed will be sure to find numerous students, some of whom will write concerning him. We should not, therefore, be surprised at this two-volume biography. Martens departs from the fashion by paying no attention to Gregory's times as needful for an understanding of the man. Hauck, in a review of Martens's work, has brought out some most interesting points relative to the supposed learning of Gregory. He says that in his letters Gregory referred about three hundred times to Scripture passages, which at first might seem to prove an intimate acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments. Further examination, however, renders this doubtful. He was acquainted with the psalter, a number of whose passages he had stored in his memory. He also knew the language of the gospels. But his citations from Romans are for the most part portions that were regularly read in public worship; which fact indicates that his knowledge of that great letter was not the result of its direct study. His citations from the major prophets amount to thirty-one, but many of them are repetitions. As a matter of fact, he refers to but seven different places in Isaiah, three in Jeremiah, and four in Ezekiel. Of these he cites Jer. xlviii, 10, nine times; Isa. lviii, 1, six times, and Ezek. iii, 18, three times. In reference to the historical books of the Old Testament the matter stands no better. Twenty-four times he quotes from 1 Samuel. But he only cites four places, and of these 1 Sam. xv, 23, is quoted nineteen times. Hauck concludes that we cannot think of Gregory as a Bible student, and says that he knew the psalter and pericopes of the Church, but that the Bible, as such, he had not studied. The same conclusion as to inadequate learning is reached by an examination of his references to the fathers. In about twenty places he used the utterances of Gregory the Great. Besides this Church father he appears to have known only Ambrose, psuedo-Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom, from all of whom he quotes in his writings but seven times. His use of the canonical laws is more frequent. It appears also that he knew something of the poets, Virgil and Horace. Yet these references to the Bible, the fathers, and the classics are too meager to indicate extensive learning. Gregory may have known more than he cited, but there is no evidence now available to that effect. Sooner or later history assigns every man his true place in the record of the world's genuinely great scholars.

Das Apostolikum ausgelegt (The Apostle's Creed Expounded). By Friedrich Loofs. Halle a. S., Max Numeyer, 1895. It was a courageous act for a man like Loofs, who is a modern of the moderns in theology, to publish an exposition of the Apostolicum. The work is done in such a manner, however, that he is criticisable rather for what he does not say

than for what he says. It is significant that on the very first pages, when he is speaking of the Trinity, he affirms that formulas which are not found in the Scripture cannot be of fundamental importance. Another of his principles is that doctrine which cannot be lodged in the mind of a child or an uneducated person cannot be necessary to salvation. By these propositions Loofs does not so much assault certain, to him, questionable, direct, or inferential teachings of the creed as justify himself in passing them by as mere disputed matters. In the article on God the Father he shows by the history of the formation of the creed that the emphasis is on the fatherhood of God, not on his work as Creator, though he believes in that, of course, and on trust in him for all things under all circumstances. He declares that true faith in God constitutes the sum of Christian faith, if properly understood. It includes the idea of stewardship, of saintliness, of our demerit, and yet of joyful confidence in God, while it is also a mighty, practical impulse. Under the article on Christ he shows that to believe in Christ means to have found in him our Redeemer. Faith is more than a mere acceptance of all that is taught us of the life of Christ. He supports his view by Luther, who makes the article mean, "I believe that Jesus Christ is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned man." A second point in the same article attempts to show that only as redeemed in Christ can we truly confide in the holy God. In this connection Loofs insists on the possession of a real experience as distinguished from a mere acceptance of theological formulas. Under the third article he shows that true Christian faith is a work which is wrought by the Holy Ghost. This he proves by a review of the origin of faith in any soul, which, whatever the way along which we may be led, is always by means of the Church, under the control of a spirit which is distinctly different in quality and degree from the spirit of this world. On this is based, Loofs declares, the security of our personal faith—not on any virtues we have by nature or even by grace, but solely on the sense of a divine power which is at work within us. On the same basis rests our hope for the future world. He who has begun the good work in us will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. The same God who has created us and redeemed us in Christ will sanctify us and carry the work to completion by his Spirit.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

An Evangelical Deaconess Home and Hospital in Freiburg in Breisgau. The German Evangelical Alliance has devoted itself so vigorously to the polemic against Roman aggression that many have thought it open to criticism. But, though this polemic has been conducted with vigor, it has by no means absorbed all the energies of the Alliance. Just now money is being collected, and a building is being erected, as above noted, for purely charitable, unsectarian uses. It is to be the first of this class

of institutions under the control of the Protestant Church of Germany, in the southern portion of the dukedom of Baden. The population there is largely Romanist, but the scattered Protestants are therefore all the more in need of help of this kind from their brethren in the faith. The sum of one hundred and eighty thousand marks had been collected in June of this year, one half from Freiburg itself, and appeals are being made to Protestants of all tendencies to aid in the work of building and furnishing. The Alliance already has under its control a number of trained deaconesses; and it is proposed to provide for the training of others in the home which is to be erected in Freiburg. The result, it is evident, will be doubly beneficial to Protestantism. First, it will save Protestants from Romanizing influences in times of sickness and trouble; and, second, it will prove to the enemies of Protestantism the existence within it of a spirit of true benevolence, even toward those who are not of that faith.

The Troubles of the German Evangelical Social Congress. A writer in *Die Christliche Welt* of June 8 points out several particulars in which this Congress, composed of students and friends of social reform, finds its situation materially changed since its first meeting in 1890. At that time Emperor Wilhelm II was favorable to the movement, and the Congress sent him a message full of expressions of gratitude for his energetic and hearty adoption of the cause of social reform. In those days, whenever the Congress met in Berlin, it was always favored with visits of ministers of State. Now, while the ideas and methods of the Congress are the same as before, there has been such a tremendous change in the attitude of the higher powers toward social questions that it is and must be, contrary to its own wish, considered as opposed to the policy of the government. Again, at the beginning, the only papers which published the original call were conservative organs, though many papers of other tendencies were asked to publish it, and it was signed by five hundred and ninety-four men of the most diverse political opinions. Now, the conservative organs and the conservative party are the most bitter opponents of the Congress; not, as the writer cited says, because the Congress has changed, but because the conservatives have changed. Hence the Congress is put into the awkward position of defending certain liberal ideas which were once generally accepted, but which to-day the conservatives threaten to overthrow. A change has also taken place in the relation of the Church to the Congress. The ecclesiastical authorities were never specially friendly, but they were not inimical. To-day the Congress is under the ban of those who control in the Church. The matter has even gone so far as that the Leipzig churches were refused the Congress for the purpose of holding a religious service. This is one of the sorest afflictions of the Congress, and makes its members feel that it is wrong to forbid a church service to any class of men who desire it. They comfort themselves, however,

with the thought that their work is no less pleasing to God because they are refused the privilege of opening their Congress with a public service. One of the chief sources of their trouble is that they are classed with other social movements and parties with which they feel themselves out of all sympathy. It seems a mortal pity that nothing can be done or attempted on a large scale in Germany without the division of its forces into parties which fight each other to the bitter end, and thus hinder the accomplishment of the object for which they apparently exist and strive. Pride of opinion is one of the chief faults of the German people. They are a militant race.

Remarkable Discovery in Connection with the Remains of Martin Luther. With those in this country who are familiar with the life of the great reformer there probably never has been a doubt that his remains lie buried underneath the Castle Church, Wittenberg, Germany. But as early as 1886 there was reason to question the general belief. When the repairs on the celebrated church were begun one of the first things to be done was the removal of the floor. At that time Melanchthon's grave and coffin were opened and his bones viewed. Upon digging for Luther's coffin at the spot marked as his grave no sign of it was discovered. During the next six years the work of repairing the church went forward, and the floor was relaid, ready for reopening in October, 1892. Meantime it became more and more doubtful to the inhabitants of Wittenberg whether Luther's remains had not been removed in some mysterious way from their original resting place. Anxious to settle the matter, and doubting whether a sufficient search had been made, two men who were engaged about the repairs removed the floor over the spot where Luther was supposed to be buried, and began to dig. After digging a little more than six feet they came upon the remains, which were found in a reasonably good state of preservation. Closing up the opening and relaying the floor, they hid all traces of their work and for a time kept the secret to themselves. Their task was completed on February 14, 1892. Gradually, however, they began to reveal to one and another their discovery, and at length gave Professor Julius Köstlin, the great biographer of Luther, the facts in the case in writing, and he has published them to the world, withholding the names of the parties. Although one of a skeptical turn might still be inclined to doubt, we may safely trust the critical acumen of Köstlin to such a degree as to believe that he has not been deceived. Besides, it would be easy to reopen the spot and ascertain whether the remains are there as described; and when to this we add the consideration—which is a fundamental principle in the field of evidence—that the men could have no motive for deception it seems certain that, though they were differently interred from those of Melanchthon and others, the remains of Luther lie buried where they were originally placed, under the Castle Church, Wittenberg.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE tragedy of the Rebellion is fast receding in the distance, and its warriors rapidly falling from the ranks. With the passing years the descriptions of its struggles are taking their enduring place in national literature with the records of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Especially are such narratives as "Campaigning with Grant," from the pen of General Horace Porter, in recent numbers of the *Century*, valuable for their accuracy and vividness of coloring. In the October issue of this periodical is found the conclusion of the series. It constitutes a war document of unusual importance, with its description of Lee's surrender at Appomattox—General Porter himself being a spectator of that event—of the "dawn of peace," and of the grand review of the returning army at Washington. From the description of the last event a few meager extracts read as follows: "At the head of the column rode Meade, crowned with the laurels of four years of warfare. The plaudits of the multitude followed him along the entire line of march; flowers were strewn in his path, and garlands decked his person and horse. . . . Then came the cavalry, with the gallant Merritt at their head, commanding in the absence of Sheridan. The public were not slow to make recognition of the fame he had won on so many hard-fought fields. Conspicuous among the division commanders was Custer. His long golden locks floating in the wind, his low-cut collar, his crimson necktie, and his buckskin breeches presented a combination which made him look half general and half scout, and gave him a dare-devil appearance which singled him out for general remark and applause. . . . Nothing touched the hearts of the spectators so deeply as the sight of the old war-flags as they were carried by—those precious standards, bullet-riddled, battle-stained, many of them but remnants, often with not enough left of them to show the names of the battles they had seen. Some were decked with ribbons, and some festooned with garlands. Everybody was thrilled by the sight; eyes were dimmed with tears of gladness; and many of the people broke through all restraint, rushed into the street, and pressed their lips upon the folds of the standards. The President was kept busy doffing his hat. He had a way of holding it by the brim with his right hand and moving it from left to right, and occasionally passing his right arm across his breast and resting the hat on his left shoulder. . . . For nearly seven hours the pageant was watched with unabated interest; and when it had faded from view the spectators were eager for the night to pass, so that on the morrow the scene might be renewed in the marching of the mighty Army of the West. The next day the same persons, with a few exceptions, assembled upon the reviewing stand. At nine o'clock Sherman's veterans started. Howard had been relieved of the command

of the Army of the Tennessee to take charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, and instead of leading his old troops he rode with Sherman at the head of the column, his armless right sleeve giving evidence of his heroism in action. . . . Flowers were showered upon the troops in the same profusion as the day before, and there was no abatement in the uncontrollable enthusiasm of the vast assemblage of citizens who witnessed the march. . . . At half past three o'clock the matchless pageant had ceased. For two whole days a nation's heroes had been passing in review. Greeted with bands playing, drums beating, bells ringing, banners flying, kerchiefs waving, and voices cheering, they had made their last march. Even after every veteran had vanished from sight the crowds kept their places for a time, as if still under a spell and unwilling to believe that the marvelous spectacle had actually passed from view. It was not a Roman triumph designed to gratify the vanity of the victors, exhibit their trophies, and parade their enchained captives before the multitude; it was a celebration of the dawn of peace, a declaration of the reëstablishment of the Union." It is to be hoped that these stirring and important reminiscences of General Porter's may be put into permanent book form.

THE *New World* for September opens with an article on "Benjamin Jowett." The writer, J. W. Chadwick, finds in the recently published life of Jowett, by Abbott and Campbell, "a spiritual presence that is full of goodly inspirations, and that will not let us go till it has blessed us with some notable accessions to our store of golden memories of fair and perfect things which never ought to be forgot." From Corpus Christi College, Oxford, F. C. S. Schiller writes on "The Ethical Significance of the Idea of Immortality." The ethical argument for immortality, he holds, is "simply this, that, if death ends all, the moral life cannot be lived out, moral perfection is impossible, and the universe cannot be regarded as at heart ethical." And, secondly, as to the value of this argument for immortality, the author teaches that it "seems logically as sound and metaphysically as legitimate as any argument can well be." In "The Terminology of the New Theology" the writer, W. Kirkus, proposes to "examine some few terms or names" of those he calls the "new theologians," to see "whether there are any real things corresponding to them; and also a few propositions, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they make, not a true, but an intelligible, assertion." The "recovery of the historical Christ," as it is phrased, first occupies his attention. The representatives of the new theology, he holds, have given a "new connotation" to the name "Christ," and, "the more the literature of the new theology is studied, the more obvious it becomes that it presents to us, not a historical Christ recovered, but a purely speculative Christ evolved." From the doctrine of the incarnation it also leaves out the Holy Spirit, and in place of the old doctrine of man it offers a new anthropology whose meaning is to Mr.

Kirkus obscure. "Harnack's Chronology of the New Testament" is next discussed by F. A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School. "Those who have hailed this work," he says, "as a complete abandonment of critical views may judge if its construction of tradition makes a firmer basis for a Johannine theology than the philosophical criticism of Baur." R. M. Wenley, of the University of Michigan, follows with a consideration of "The Movement of Religious Thought in Scotland, 1843–1896." The article concludes: "After all is said, the Scotch still remain in temper very much what Knox made them. Their history really 'contains nothing of world-interest at all but this reformation by Knox.' In the past it has, as Carlyle said, 'produced in the world very notable fruit,' and it is likely to continue similar production in the future. Changed as religious atmosphere and theological skies may be, the former spirit abides, little if at all abated." The next article, on "Henry Drummond and his Books," is by H. M. Simmons. Drummond's writings, says the author, "have softened 'evangelical' prejudices and helped the Church to accept much heresy and science which would have been repulsive to it without his sugar-coating." But Drummond himself was "better than his books. Warm-hearted, generous, practical, ever active in some good work, he seems to have cared less for them and his own fame than to aid others." W. R. Newbold, of the University of Pennsylvania, follows with a discussion of "Demon Possession and Allied Themes," his argument being that "many cases of possession are simply cases of insanity misrepresented." J. H. Crooker considers "The Atheism in Religions," asserting that "there is a deposit of atheism at the heart of all great religions;" and Albert Réville writes from the College de France, Paris, of "Some Aspects of Islam," and maintains its decline.

THE contents of the *London Quarterly* for October are: 1. "Nelson;" 2. "Peter the Great;" 3. "The Mystery of the Incarnation;" 4. "The Treatment of Dissent in English Fiction;" 5. "The Church of the New Testament;" 6. "Mrs. Oliphant—An Appreciation;" 7. "The Fin-de-Siècle Woman;" 8. "The London Quarterly Review;" 9. "The Meaning and Supremacy of the Bible;" 10. "The Growth of London During the Queen's Reign." Mahan's life of Nelson is the basis of the first article. It has, according to the reviewer, "no important rival." In the future "this is the book to which all students of the hero of the Nile, of Copenhagen, and Trafalgar will turn, as his one authoritative, accurate, and adequate biography and psychology." The life of Peter the Great which is noticed is Waliszewski's, translated from the French by Lady Mary Loyd. The book may be "unhesitatingly classed with the signs of the times," and is "quite curiously free from the partisanship of the biographer." Its hero's "least heroic weaknesses are pitilessly set forth, and his most repulsive vices are nowise palliated." The third article reviews Canon Gore's essay on the consciousness of Jesus. The

teaching of this essay is that "in our conception of the earthly Christ limitation of knowledge must be added to the limitation of power always admitted." In other words, the Canon's "final position" is "that form of the modern *kenosis* theory of the incarnation which affirms a double life in Christ, divine and human." But the reviewer finds it "hard to see how the deity of the Christ can be held on this ground. . . . Rationalism and High Anglicanism at this point seem distinctly to shake hands." In the fourth article the portrayal of dissenters by Bunyan, Thackeray, Dickens, George Eliot, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Oliphant, Trollope, Miss Sergeant, and others is recalled. Hort's lectures on "the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia" are reviewed in the fifth article. In the next Mrs. Oliphant's death is termed not only "the loss of a delightful and accomplished writer," but also, "in some sense, the close of an epoch." Peaceful was her end. "'I have no thought,' she said to one who watched her on her deathbed, 'not even of my boys—only of my Saviour waiting to receive me, and of the Father.'" The next article reviews two recent works suggestive of "that remarkable product of the dying nineteenth century, the 'new woman movement.'" The eighth article defines the literary scope of the *London Quarterly*, and its ownership by the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The next article vigorously criticises Dean Farrar's recent work on the Bible, and concludes: "We have not been able to indicate one half the dangerous misrepresentations of this most mischievous book. Nor have we been able to give any idea of the unscholarly inaccuracies which abound in its pages." The concluding article reviews six works bearing on the city of London, and notices the changes and improvements which have taken place during the reign of Victoria. London, in short, is "the Mecca of the Anglo-Saxon race."

In the *Christian Quarterly* for October the Rev. W. Durban, of London, writes of "The Massacre of Ministers," including in his catalogue of agencies in "parson killing," the "plethora of preachers," the "competition of the laity in the pulpit," the "exigencies of pastoral work," the "mania for youth," "popularity," the "passion for amusements," and "financial folly on the part of Churches." J. W. Monser discusses "The Christ of Prophecy, History, and Futurity;" J. W. McGarvey urges a larger study of the English Bible, in his article entitled "Sacred History in the Education of Preachers;" and L. W. Morgan considers "The Relation of Religion and Ethics in the Sermon on the Mount, as Recorded by Matthew." Christ's words, the latter says, "are not merely religious; they are not merely ethical; they are the revelation of life." The concluding articles are "St. Paul, the Traveler and the Roman Citizen," by the Rev. W. J. Lhamon; "The Literature of the Disciples of Christ," by W. W. Hopkins; and "Baptism," by an anonymous writer, "without editorial approval."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Veracity of the Hexateuch. A Defense of the Historic Character of the First Six Books of the Bible. By SAMUEL COLCORD BARTLETT, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of Dartmouth College. 12mo, pp. 404. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

It is easy, says Dr. Bartlett, to deny the authorship of ancient documents. In illustration of this he instances, outside the realm of religious composition, the curious contention of the learned Father Hardouin, who died in 1729, that "the plays of Terence, Virgil's *Æneid*, the *Odes* of Horace, and the histories of Livy and Tacitus were forgeries of the monks of the thirteenth century." Yet, while the verbal and verbose denial of ancient authorship is easy, the establishment of that denial is a severe labor. Mere tradition is reckoned sufficient, in the case of Terence, Virgil, and the rest, to prove the historicity of their records. "Difficult as it would be," says Dr. Bartlett, "to formulate a case in court for them, . . . they are frankly accepted on the basis of the descending traditions, in the absence of conflicting claims or indications, together with the conviction that the monks were incapable of the composition—although this last point could not be proved." But mere tradition, accompanied by a conviction regarding the possibilities of Old Testament authorship, is not the "slender" proof on which Dr. Bartlett seeks to establish his claim for the veracity of the Hexateuch. By so much as Moses is a more conspicuous factor than Terence or Tacitus in human regeneration and the restoration of society to its pristine ideals, to that degree this present defender of the writings of Moses recognizes our possession of "all the evidence of their substantially contemporaneous origin and their authenticity which the nature of the case admits." In more detail his method is a candid and painstaking examination of the many objections to the historic value of the first six books of the Old Testament, followed by the citation of many affirmative arguments therefor, which are impressive in their weight and vigor. Taking the book of Joshua as a "starting point" from which to move backward, Dr. Bartlett urges a ninefold argument, which we may summarize with some minuteness, as indicating the general method of his treatment. The trustworthiness of Joshua, he holds, is indicated by "the baselessness and unreasonableness of the theory that its events were not put in writing till from three to eight centuries after the death of Joshua;" by the "marks of proximity of date to the events and of participation in them;" by the "lifelike minuteness of much of the narrative" as indicating "its original and contemporaneous origin;" by "the commemoration of some of the prominent events by memorial names and landmarks;" by "the minute and well-nigh exhaustive description of the land in the conquest, and more especially in the assign-

ment of the tribes;" by "the consistency and candor of the narrative;" by "the portraiture of Joshua himself;" by the "special confirmation" coming from "recently discovered ancient documents," such as the tablets found at Tell el Hesy and Tell Amarna; by the record of the burial of Joseph; and by the reference in the subsequent books of the Old Testament to "the chief events related in the Book of Joshua" as "unquestionable facts in the history of the times of Joshua." The author's position, in short, seems impregnable. Still proceeding backward in chronological course, the four following chapters examine the periods indicated in the titles, "From the Exodus to the Conquest," "The Residence in Egypt," "The Patriarchal History," and "The Table of the Nations." Devoting a chapter to the Deluge, the author finds its proof in "the widespread traditions of the human race," and quotes Lenormant to the effect that it is the most universal of all the traditions which "concern the history of primitive humanity." Particularly strong is his reasoning that "the characteristics of the Scripture account of the flood are such as of themselves to make the strongest impression of its truthfulness"—among these characteristics being "its exactness of statement," "its sobriety and consistency," "its pure monotheism," and "its marks of personal participation, and description at first hand." In his important chapter on "Antediluvian Life" Dr. Bartlett discusses ancient longevity and marriage, and hurls this challenge in the face of the critics: "The narrative presents no monstrous myth, but a series of events as credible and seemingly historical in their character and consequences as the invasion of England by the Danes." The garden of Eden narrative also finds in Dr. Bartlett a vigorous defender; and the creation story of Genesis is in his conception "neither poetry, saga, nor science, but a popular and truthful narration . . . sustained by the statements of the best modern scientific authorities." The first verse of Genesis "cuts off atheism, polytheism, pantheism, dualism, materialism, and fatalism." Thus far in his argumentation, covering thirteen chapters out of a total of twenty, Dr. Bartlett has thought it best to deal "only with the corroborative or collateral indications of the authenticity of the Hexateuch." Turning next to "the more direct evidence," though it is hard to present "the enormous strength of the case," he gives to the Hebraic documents such a measure of consideration as is possible in the further limits of the volume. From his chapter on "The Analysis" one quotation on phraseology as a proof of authorship must suffice for the whole: "Professor Stanley Leathes compared Milton's three short poems, 'L'Allegro,' 'Il Penseroso,' and 'Lycidas.' The first of them contains about four hundred and fifty different words, the second five hundred and seventy-eight, the third seven hundred and twenty-five; but there are only about sixty-one common to the three. He found in Tennyson's 'Lotos Eaters' about five hundred and ninety words, in his 'Œnone' seven hundred and twenty, but only about two hundred and thirty in common. Almost equally unsafe the somewhat broader test of

style. Almost any trained writer who has been at work at intervals for forty years on different topics and occasions, and in different states of mind, will find that he has produced writings so diverse in style and method that neither his friends nor even himself would recognize all of them for his composition except for positive evidence. Who would recognize the author of the ode on immortality in the poem of 'Peter Bell,' or the author of Webster's Plymouth and Bunker Hill orations in his letters to John Taylor?" We regret our inability to quote more fully from this strong and engaging volume. Dr. Bartlett has set forth the results of his researches in the fields of paleontology and textual study in a work so luminous and easily understood that the ordinary reader may find pleasure in its pages. His book, in fact, seems to meet the description of the ideal volume which he depicts in his Preface—a volume compact, clear, broad in statement, resting on reliable authorities, and "not overweighed with wearisome and repellent details." It is, in short, another triumph for conservative scholarship.

Four Psalms. Interpreted for Practical Use by GEORGE ADAM SMITH. 16mo, pp. 132. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

This is one of a series of little books on religion. The Psalms and subjects are, "Psalm xxiii: God our Shepherd;" "Psalm xxxvi: The Greater Realism;" "Psalm lii: Religion the Open Air of the Soul;" "Psalm cxxi: The Ministry of the Hills and All Great Things." The Cursing Psalms—like the fifth, the tenth, the fourteenth, and the fifty-second—seem to some like angry rant. The chief thing to be felt in them is the power of moral conviction concerning the deserts of the wicked. The translation "exaggerates the violence of the Hebrew at the expense of its insight, its discrimination, and its sometimes delicate satire." A more literal version of the fifty-second psalm runs thus: "*Why glory in evil, big man? The leal love of God is all day long. Thy tongue planneth mischief, like a razor sharp-whetted, thou worker of fraud. Thou lovest evil more than good, lying than speaking the truth. Thou lovest all words of voracity, tongue of deceit. God also shall tear thee down, once for all; cut thee out and pluck thee from the tent, and uproot thee from off the land of the living; that the righteous may see and fear.*" Commenting "on abundance of riches," the author quotes St. Augustine's remark that "it was not his poverty but his piety which sent Lazarus in the parable to heaven, and when he got there he found a rich man's bosom to rest in;" and adds, "Riches are no sin in themselves, but, like all forms of strength, a very great and dangerous temptation." "Trusting in riches—we all do it when we seek to drive away uncomfortable fears and the visitations of conscience by self-indulgence; when instead of . . . seeking the steep and arduous consolations of duty we look into our nearest friends' faces and whine for a sympathy that is often insincere or lie down in some place of comfort that is stolen or unclean." There is danger that pampered prosperity, luxury, and idleness will not only make men indolent, gross, and sensual, but arrogant, insolent, and brutal.

"Materialism and the temper which trusts in wealth or in success does not turn men into fat oxen, but into tigers." On sins of the tongue—lying, backbiting, and the love of swallowing men's reputations whole—is the following: "We are apt to think that sins of speech most fiercely beset weak and puny characters; men that have no weapon but a sharp and nasty tongue. Yet none use their words more recklessly than the strong, who have not been sobered by the rebuffs and uncertainties of life. Power and position often make a man trifle with the truth. A big man's word carries far, and he knows it; the temptation to be dogmatic or satirical, to snub or crush with a word, is as near to him as to a slave-driver is the fourteen-feet thong in his hand, with a line of bare black backs before him." This is about the bitterness and malice which easily breed out of man's natural selfishness: "You have been overreached in some business competition, or disappointed in getting a position, or foiled along some path of public service. You come home with a natural vexation in your heart; sore at being beaten, and anxious about your legitimate interests. It is all right enough. But sit down at the fire for a little and brood over it. Shut God out, as care and anger can. Forget that your Bible is at your elbow. Think only of your loss, which seems to you a wrong, and it is wonderful how soon you may find spite rising, and envy, and even cruel hate." But "the Bible is within reach of you. The luster is as fresh on the promises as the raindrops were under the glints of sun this morning. Walk there with God in his own garden. He is full of gentleness, and his gentleness shall make you great. He will take away the heat and the hardness. '*I will be as the dew unto Israel.*' Or seek with the Master the crowds of men. Keep near him in the dust and crush; watch how he endures the contradiction of sinners, how patient he is with men, how forgiving. Watch most of all how he prays. Bow the knee like him, and he shall lift thee up a sane and a happy man." "*Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest unto your souls.*" Enlarging upon the fact that faith in God is helped by fixing the mind on great things, the author says: "How can the sense that the living God is near to our life, that he is interested in it and willing to help it, survive in us if our life be full of petty things? Absorption in trifles, attention only to the meaner aspects of life, is killing more faith than is killed by aggressive unbelief. For if all a man sees of life be his own interests; if all he sees of home be its comforts; if all he sees of religion be the outlines of his own denomination, the complexion of his preacher's doctrine, the agreeableness and taste of his fellow-worshipers—to such a man God must always seem far away, for in those things there is no call upon either mind or heart to feel God near. But if instead of dwelling upon trifles we resolutely, and with pious obstinacy, lift our eyes to the hills—whether to those great mountain tops of history which the dawn of the new heavens has already touched, periods of faith and action that signal to our more forward but lower ages the promise of his coming; or to the great essentials of human experience that at sunrise, noon,

and evening remain the same through all ages; or to the ideals of truth and justice, to the possibilities of human nature about us, to the stature of the highest characters within our sight, to the bulk and sweep of the people's life, to the destinies of our own nation that still rise above all party dust and strife—then shall we see thresholds prepared for a divine arrival, conditions upon which we can realize God acting. . . . Amid all the cynicism and the belittling of life, strenuously take the highest views of life. Amid all the selfishness and impatience which in our day consider life upon its lowest levels, and there break it up into short and selfish interests, strenuously lift your eyes and sweep with them the main outlines, summits, and issues." That the aim of this small book is practical is evident in all its interpretations and translations. These seem more justifiable than did the new version of Gen. xxxi, 49, the words of Laban to Jacob, "The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another," which one translator, rendering the passage in the light of Jacob's character, changed into "The Lord keep his eye on you when I'm away."

The Creed and the Prayer. By J. WESLEY JOHNSTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 284. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.20.

Fourteen discourses on the Apostles' Creed and seven on the Lord's Prayer, all expository, convincing, stimulative, and practical. They are especially welcome, because they fill an otherwise vacant place in Methodist sermonic literature. The themes are as ancient as they are sublime, but treatment and application are fresh with life and urgent with the interests of to-day. The choosing of such subjects is indicative of the level and the spirit of the author's ministry. The courage to announce and preach and publish a series of sermons on themes so high and solemn is born of a profound faith in the Gospel's everlasting adaptation to the inmost needs of men and its power to command attention and to appease the otherwise insatiable thirst of the soul; and the warm reception given these sermons has demonstrated the preacher's wisdom. In matter and style the sermons comport with the lofty themes they present. A sort of prophetic stress and earnestness mark the manner of the message, an earnestness which speaks out with force and fire, chooses incisive and telling words, and drives straight at the heart of things with every stroke. All the discourses are sufficiently and admirably illuminated with illustrations, but never waste time on needless incidents nor delay for rhetorical dalliance. They do not bid for a sensational popularity by pandering to a desire for the theatric, but command respect and are made nobly impressive by delivering great messages in a positive and effective fashion. Were space available some strong and vivid passages would be transferred to this page. They would come from the sermons on "Jesus Christ, His only Son, Our Lord," "The Holy Ghost," "The Holy Catholic Church," "Suffered under Pontius Pilate," "The Forgiveness of Sins," "The Life Everlasting," "Our Father," "Our Daily Bread." It is especially hard to refrain from quoting the

author's clear explanation and practical illustration of the difference in effect between the baptism of John and the baptism of the Holy Ghost; but it is better to refer our readers to the book itself; the whole of it is better than any part. This second volume of sermons from Dr. Johnston contains in permanent form the most mature, substantial, and sterling utterance of one who is well known to the Church through many and various expressions of his thought.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons. With Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams, 1898. JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo. pp. 309. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

It is not easy to understand how the student of the International course can ask a more complete commentary on the Sunday School Lessons of the day than is found in this volume now before us. Only those who prepare from year to year the successive numbers in a series of volumes know the difficulty in avoiding monotonous uniformity. Yet, while this handbook is much like its predecessors in type and arrangement of contents, it has nevertheless its distinct individuality. Its textual study is concise, yet clear, and scholarly, yet practical. Its illustrations are attractive, and wonderfully vivify and explain the text. The authorities quoted aggregate some two hundred and eighty writers, while the chief workers employed in its arrangement are thus specified, in an extract from its "Prefatory Note:" "Dr. Hurlbut has, as heretofore, prepared the Outlines and the Hints to the Teacher. The Explanatory Notes, Backgrounds of the Lessons, Illustrations for the Use of the Teacher, and Practical Thoughts have been prepared by Dr. Doherty. . . . The editors have had the unusual advantage, in treating of topics used as lessons in former years, of valuable special studies by Dr. James Hope Moulton, Eugene Stock, Professors Marcus D. Buell, Milton S. Terry, Charles R. Horswell, Hilary A. Gobin, and R. J. Cooke, Bishop John H. Vincent, Dr. D. A. Whedon, and Miss Sara G. Stock. . . . New maps, based on the latest surveys, have been provided; and Mr. J. D. Woodward has contributed picturesque pen-and-ink sketches made amid the ruins of Palestine." From this employment of the researches of so many prominent scholars of the Church a most complete commentary on the International Lessons would be expected, and this expectation is fully met. The volume for 1898 is, if possible, superior to its predecessors, and should be most popular among all the Sunday school helps of the day.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Religions of Primitive Peoples. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D., Professor of American Archæology and Linguistics in the University of Pennsylvania. 8vo. pp. 264. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is the second series of "American Lectures on the History of Religions," the first being on the history and literature of Buddhism, by

Rhys-Davids. Dr. Brinton is an anthropologist of note, who has made special studies in prehistoric archæology and comparative mythology. He is a voluminous contributor to scientific periodicals, and two volumes issued—one in 1868, the other in 1876—present some results of his investigations, *The Myths of the New World*, and *The Religious Sentiment*. The present book offers a "study of early religions according to scientific methods;" a study of facts, "absolutely without bias or partisanship." "It seeks to lay bare those eternal foundations on which the sacred edifices of religion have ever been and must ever be erected." The directive forces at work in human progress are reduced to four—to wit, Language, Laws, Arts, and Religion. The methods employed in this reduction are the Historic Method, the Comparative Method, the Psychologic Method. By "primitive peoples" the author means savage or barbarous tribes—men in the uncivilized state from which the most advanced nations of to-day are not far removed in time. "A few hundred years ago the ancestors of the English-speaking nations were as savage as the savagest, without temples to their gods, in perpetual and bloody war, untamed cannibals;" so that we have a direct and not very remote ancestral interest in this study. On the question whether the mental powers of the savage are distinctly inferior the author reports: "This has been answered by taking the children of savages when quite young and bringing them up in civilized surroundings. The verdict is unanimous that they display as much aptitude for the acquisition of knowledge and as much respect for the precepts of morality as the average English or German boy or girl." Dr. Brinton gives this personal testimony: "I have been in close relations to several full-blooded American Indians who had been removed from an aboriginal environment and instructed in this manner, and I could not perceive that they were, in intellect or sympathies, inferior to the usual type of the American gentleman." The Australian Blacks are referred to as being, when first discovered, the most degraded people on the globe, unable to count the fingers on one hand, and evincing "an almost brutal stupidity"—"downright childishness and imbecility." In illustration of the incredibly blunted state of natural feelings and moral perceptions in them is the following incident, which happened at a frontier station: "A white family employed a native girl, named Mattie, about fifteen years old. She had a baby, which one day disappeared. On inquiry she stated that her mother had said she was too young to take care of a baby, and had therefore cooked and eaten it with some of her cronies. Mattie cried in telling this. Because her baby had been killed? O, no! Because her mother had given her none of the tidbits, but only the bones to pick!" Among several of the tribes on that great continental island it was the settled custom "for a mother to kill and eat her first child, as it was believed to strengthen her for later births." Yet these seemingly hopeless brutes had rigid religious laws and ceremonies, and wondered among themselves and had long night talks about things unseen—the past and future

of their race, whence they came and whither they were going. "Atheistic religions" seems a contradiction. The Chicago Parliament of Religions reduced the common essentials of religion to three—a belief in a god or gods, in an immortal soul, and in a divine government of the world; yet Buddhism, which pretends to be a religion, rejects every one of those items, and even on the basis of the call issued for that Parliament had no invitation or footing in its assemblies. Such a "religion" is the most misery-producing of delusions, the basest and least intelligent product of the "innate religiosity of man," which is declared to be established by the fact that "there has not been a single tribe, no matter how rude, known in history or visited by travelers which has been shown to be destitute of religion under some form." "Religion," writes the author, "is something distinctly human, and not shared by even the best developed of the lower animals. It is the only trait in which man is qualitatively separated from them. They, too, communicate knowledge by sounds; they have governments and arts; but never do we see anywhere among them the notion of the divine. This was the spark of Promethean fire which has guided man along the darksome and devious ways of his earthly pilgrimage." Only man is capable of the "beatific vision," an insight into the divine. To the human mind, groping amid brutish toils and pleasures, unconscious of grander aims, came the thought of God, which, "rising to consciousness within the soul, whispered to it of endless progress and divine ideals, in quest of which it has sought and will ever continue seeking with tireless endeavor and constantly increasing reward." Man alone has received or possesses capacity for any knowledge of God. The possibility of religion rests on one irresistible and practically universal human tendency; one and the same postulate underlies all religious thought. That postulate is the recognition that "*conscious volition is the ultimate source of all Force.*" It is the belief, however obtained or caused, that "behind the sensuous, phenomenal world, distinct from it, giving it existence, form, and activity, lies the ultimate, invisible, immeasurable power of Mind, of conscious Will, of Intelligence, analogous in some way to our own: and—mark this essential corollary—*that man is in communication with it.*" Amid endless forms of expression the one thing fundamental, indispensable, universal, is "the unalterable faith in Mind—in the Supersensuous—as the ultimate source of all force, all life, all being." Later on follows this statement: "The teachings of the severest science tell us that Matter is, in its last analysis, Motion; and that Motion is naught else than Mind." Referring the reader for particulars to the results of the physical investigations of Helmholtz and to their logical application to mental science by G. J. Romanes in his *Mind and Motion;* to Professor Paulsen's *Introduction to Philosophy*, and to Professor Dolbear's *Matter, Ether, and Motion*, the author asks who will dare to deny that "our minds may catch some overtones, as it were, from the harmonies of the Universal Intelligence thus demonstrated by inductive research

and vibrate in unison therewith?" The yearning for it is universal. Among all tribes the ethnologist and psychologist find the feeble human soul reaching out toward the divine for knowledge and fellowship. It is observed, near the end of this book, that one dangerous tendency frequently manifests itself in religion—namely, an inclination to despise the ethical, as compared with the mystical, in life; to hold an idea of holiness separable from personal character and life, as did the Anomians and Anabaptists, who were so holy that they could commit no sin, and hence allowed themselves the wildest license. Another type of fanaticism is seen in that Protestant sect of the Reformation who "opposed anyone's learning the alphabet lest he should waste his time on vain human knowledge." "They were called Abecedarians, because they distrusted even the A B C. Some learned scholars actually threw away their books and joined them." Foreign missionaries can confirm the truth of the statement that there is in every people a disposition toward any religion which they newly accept to alter it in accordance with the special constitution of their own minds, and, we may add, to modify it so as to conform more or less to their former faith. Here lies the probability of heresy in mission converts and the unsafeness of leaving a mission wholly in their hands. The spirit and convictions of the author in all his writings may be judged from the statement which closes his other volume, *The Myths of the New World:* "The more carefully we study history the more important in our eyes will become the religious sense. It is almost the only faculty peculiar to man. It concerns him nearer than aught else. It holds the key to his origin and destiny." The third series of lectures on the History of Religions will be delivered in various places in this country during the coming winter by Professor T. K. Cheyne, of Oriel College, Oxford, on "Religious Thought and Life Among the Hebrews in Post-Exilic Days."

The Poet's Poet, and Other Essays. By WILLIAM A. QUAYLE. 12mo, pp. 352. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, gilt top. $1.25.

A fine piece of book-making with contents worthy of their dress; fourteen essays on Browning, King Cromwell, William the Great of England, The Greater English Elegies, Soliloquies of Hamlet and Macbeth, "The Ebb Tide," The Jew in Fiction, Robert Burns, The Psychology of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Shakespeare's Women, "The Deserted Village," George Eliot as Novelist, "The Ring and the Book," Shylock and David as Interpreters of Life. A lover's passion for works and persons of literature and history burns in these pages. The author's themes fill and possess him, and he treats them with the power of a glowing enthusiasm. An impetuous and imaginative style marks the book. Crisp, short, ardent sentences are flung forth quivering with the force of genuine feeling. Delicate discrimination, warm appreciation of the best, and a spirit rapt away to the heights whither the best ideals have power to lift the best men—these are manifest on every page. In eight of these essays a poetic soul writes of poetry and poets. In all of them an earnest and spiritually

minded man speaks straight to human minds and hearts with clear, sharp utterance and the abrupt impetuosity of masculine vigor. Through many miles of travel in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota they gave us a pleasure similar to the comfort one takes in the light and warmth and flaming of living coals of fire. The overcoat pocket which carried the volume seemed to contain something alive; one could almost feel it throb and stir. To choose what to quote is difficult, but it is safe to quote anywhere. The following strikes in upon the time when the England of the commoner and the Puritan superseded the England of the cavalier and the churchman: "Puritanism came like an apparition. It stalked upon the stage of human affairs, and men knew not whence it came nor whither it hastened. It was a strange thing; it was a great thing. What then is Puritanism? This question needs candid answer. More, it demands it. Puritanism is in the main an uncomprehended thing. Men laugh at it, make their common jests at its expense. I had as lief laugh at Niagara or the Matterhorn. Stupendousness is not a fit subject for jest, nor sublimity a theme for the humorist. The greater part of most men's knowledge of Puritanism appertains to its vagaries. It had idiosyncrasies; all greatness has. In our day looking back across that seventeenth century plain crowded with armies, misted with battle smoke, tumultuous with battle din, we behold Puritanism a peak lifting itself so high into the azure that, when all else is hid, it stands sublime, a beacon to the world. Puritanism was no tangle of incongruities. It was wise above its day. It was a revolt against falseness, hollowness, hypocrisy. It was an exodus of men from an Egypt of falsehood and insincerity into a Canaan of truth. . . . Puritanism came; asked no man's leave; stood a strong, heroic thing; championed the cause of purity and devotion to God; believed in the brotherhood and common equality of man; believed in one God and one Book. No better, no nobler tribute can be paid to those whom history names Puritans than to say, 'They were men of one Book.' These men possessed a devotion to duty, as they apprehended it, which was as beautiful as a mother's sacrifice; stern and pitiless toward Romanism and sin in any guise, but tender toward wife, mother, babe, as any heart that ever beat. They were knights in a new and illustrious chivalry. They made battle for purity of thought, lips, and life. My heart, as it beholds the Puritan, cries, 'Hail, all hail!' . . . In Westminster Abbey there is a place for Mary, who lost Calais, stained her hands with martyr's blood; but for Cromwell, no place. He sounded his guns on every shore; lost no principality; shed no martyr's blood; championed freedom of conscience; compelled respect for Anglo-Saxondom; made England illustrious as the dawn. But for him there is no place in the mausoleum where English honor sleeps. There is place for Charles II, who made the English court a brothel, who sold Dunkirk to England's most inveterate foe for money to squander on harlots—for him a place in Westminster! But for him who protected the lowliest citizen against

the world, who made the pope do his bidding, who won Dunkirk with his soldier's hand—for Oliver Cromwell, no place in Westminster Abbey!" Of the chief character in Browning's "The Ring and the Book" Dr. Quayle writes: "Pompilia is the fairest portrait of woman ever put on canvas by any artist to this hour. A bud not yet become a flower, a sunbeam glinting on a stream, no more! when suddenly her life meets scourge and fire like martyr at the stake; passes through flame and comes forth without smell of fire upon it; meets life's fearful problems; lives tragedy out to its bloody goal; struggles with every shape of shame that courts a soul; and comes through all spotless as unflecked clouds that float across the roof of heaven." Dr. Quayle is right. Nothing lovelier than Pompilia has been conceived since men began to write, and "sweeter woman ne'er drew breath" in literature or life. She, holding by her prayer; trusting in the compensating, great God, knowing life is probation and the earth no goal but starting point of man; saying, in death, "Everybody that leaves life sees all softened and bettered; to me at least was never evening yet but seemed far beautifuller than its day;" sending to Caponsacchi out of pure gratitude a cheering message which ends with these words as she ends her life:

> So let him wait God's instant men call years;
> Meantime hold hard by truth and his great soul.
> Do out the duty! Through such souls alone
> God, stooping, shows sufficient of his light
> For us i' the dark to rise by. And I rise—

she is matchless in literature. To have created Pompilia is to have wrought a miracle which distances all the magicians of wonder-working art.

The Social Teaching of Jesus. An Essay in Christian Sociology. By SHALER MATHEWS, A.M., Professor of New Testament History and Interpretation in the University of Chicago. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: The Macmillan Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Appeals to the writings of the New Testament, and particularly to the words of Christ, constitute a favorite method of argument with many of the sociologists of the day. And since men find in the Scripture what their tastes desire, their deductions in some instances seem to lend color to diverse and even conflicting theories as to the constitution of the social organism. Were they all, however, to appeal to the New Testament with such apparent purpose as in the case of Professor Mathews, the science of sociology would easily and deservedly strengthen its claim upon the attention of the public. While "little that can be termed descriptive sociology" is to be discovered in the gospels, and while we cannot think of Jesus as "laboriously gathering material for a treatise upon social phenomena—a measurer of heads and a compiler of statistics," yet his teachings do set forth, in the judgment of Professor Mathews, "his conceptions of what society may become, and the means and process through which its desired consummation may be reached." In tracing these conceptions of Jesus the professor handles the Gospel with sense, vigor, and reverence. According to his interpretation, Christ's doctrine regarding

man ranks him as a "social being," with "a capacity for union"—the line of argument leading the author to pass over with little emphasis the complementary fact that man is also an individual and an egoist. The summary of his third chapter, entitled "Society," includes the following statement: "Jesus, then, thinks that an ideal society is not beyond human attainment, but is the natural possibility for man's social capacities and powers. . . . In his conception of this progressively realized social order we see that two elements are essential—the divine sonship, as seen in the moral regeneration of the individual, and the organic union of good men typified by the family." To the latter union—without giving specific directions as to the rearing of children or the solution of difficult domestic problems—Christ has "applied clearly the supreme social ideals of divine sonship and human fraternity." The fourth chapter, on "The State," closes with this particularly vigorous and pertinent sentiment: "It may well be doubted whether the teachings of Jesus are not more operative in politics than men think; and it may well be hoped, so long as this possibility lasts, that, as the conceptions of man and society and the family have more and more come under the sway of the thought of Jesus, so too politics are approaching, be it never so slowly, that justice and altruism which are to be the world's, when once its kingdoms have become the kingdom of the Lord and his Christ. And one dares hope thus in the face of European diplomacy and American municipalities!" Wealth as such was not denounced by Christ. He was "neither a sycophant nor a demagogue. He neither forbids trusts nor advises them; he is neither a champion nor an opponent of *laissez faire;* he neither forbids trades unions, strikes, and lockouts, nor advises them; he was . . . a friend neither of the workingman nor the rich man as such." Nor in the social life does Jesus rank all men upon the same plane. He "does not claim that men in the world to-day are physiologically equal. There are the lame and halt. Nor are they mentally on an equality. There are men to whom one talent could be intrusted, and those to whom five and ten." Surprising are the forces of human progress, continues the author in a succeeding chapter, upon which Jesus does "not count." Neither to physical force, æsthetics, self-interest, nor "any other hedonist philosophy" does he look for the realization of his ideals, but to man's religious regeneration. In his concluding chapter, on "The Process of Social Regeneration," the author has this to say about the parable of the tares and wheat: "Just what Jesus meant by the striking imagery in which he clothed this thought we cannot clearly see. That it may mean revolution or some other tremendous political change is not yet clear, and yet not to be absolutely denied in the light of his references to the destruction of Jerusalem. But, whatever it may be, it will mark the triumph of the new social order. . . . The world will, by virtue of man's endeavor and God's regenerating power, have been transformed into the kingdom. And the triumph of this new and perfected humanity, this eternal fraternity which he described and insti-

tuted, and for which centuries have travailed—this is the coming of the Lord." This utterance, which is paralleled in at least one other place in the volume, is the one discordant note in an otherwise admirable interpretation of the words and spirit of Jesus. There is little of mystery, we infer, for the general Church in the "striking imagery" of Christ regarding the wheat and tares. Yet, without lingering over this detail in exegesis, we may anticipate with Professor Mathews the triumph of "perfected humanity" which that great day shall usher in, and rejoice in the expectation.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

White Man's Africa. By POULTNEY BIGELOW, author of *History of the German Struggle for Liberty, The Borderland of Czar and Kaiser*, etc. Illustrated by R. CATON WOODVILLE and from photographs. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

This volume conducts the reader on a romantic journey into a region of the world which is as yet unvisited by the ordinary tourist. The part of Africa described is "a very small portion of the great Dark Continent, stretching from the Cape of Good Hope for a thousand miles or so northeastward along the Indian Ocean." In comparison with the entire continent, continues the author, "it reminds one of the thirteen united colonies of America in 1776. Here is the only section of Africa where the white man has established self-governing communities. This is the New England of Africa, whose enterprising sons are doggedly conquering the wilderness step by step, carrying with them Christianity and constitutional government." At Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, Mr. Bigelow met President Kruger, and was impressed with his rugged personality. His bravery, as illustrated by stories of former conflicts with a lion and a wild buffalo, amounts to actual recklessness; his language is the Boer Dutch; his religious affiliations are with the Independent Congregational Church, of which body he is a member. "There is no man of modern times," says the author, "with whom he may be compared. We must go back to mythical days to find his parallel—to the days of the many-minded Ulysses, who could neither read nor write, and yet ruled wisely and fought successfully. Old Field Marshal Blücher was a Kruger in his indifference to grammar, but Blücher was sadly devoid of moral principle. Jahn was blunt and patriotic, but wholly lacked Kruger's spirit of moderation. Cromwell had something of the Paul Kruger, but it soon vanished on the battlefield. The men who framed the American Constitution commanded the respect of their fellow-citizens, but not one of them was a man of the people in the sense that Kruger is a burgher among his fellow-burghers. . . . He is a magnificent anachronism. He alone is equal to the task of holding his singular country together in its present state . . . the patient, courageous, forgiving, loyal, and sagacious Paul Kruger." As to Portuguese progress in South Africa, Mr. Bigelow draws the conclu-

sion that Portugal, "after three hundred years of African rule, not only made no good impression upon that country, but has left behind her everywhere traces of a government scandalous to white men of any age." In a chapter entitled "The President of the Orange Free State" are described the attractive and vigorous characteristics of Marthinus Theunis Steyn, who holds "the balance of power in South Africa to-day." His industry, statesmanship, and sturdy sense impress the reader. When of late, in a friendly gathering, surprise was expressed that one had "married another whose grandfather had been a bricklayer," Steyn observed: "I see nothing strange in that. My own father was a wagon-maker, and I am proud to think that he was a good one and an honest one." The ceremonious opening of the Parliament at Cape Town, with the accompaniment of "scarlet tunics and white helmets," the "showy uniforms representing the consuls of foreign powers," the rich dresses of the wife of Sir Hercules Robinson and the wives of cabinet ministers and other officials, and the court uniform of the governor himself, "much ornamented by gold embroidery," suggest the high civilization that has already established itself in that faraway portion of the globe. Of the customs, dress, and industries of southern Africa Mr. Bigelow writes fully and in a most entertaining vein. Natal especially pleases him, so that he is led to say: "Natal is, of all British colonies, the one in which I would most willingly spend the declining years of my life. It has more honest savagery and more complete civilization than any other part of South Africa." Under the injustice done the Boers at London, in the matter of the Jameson raid, "they are smarting." A "competent tribunal" existed in South Africa. "To drag this local matter to a point six thousand miles away, before the bar of a judgment seat which the Boers could not regard as impartial, was unfortunate;" yet in Africa, holds the writer, the flag of Great Britain represents as no other freedom of thought and freedom of trade. "It is, in short, the only flag which to-day makes possible our dream of a White Man's Africa." The judgment is one for which Mr. Bigelow is responsible. Whatever its value, his attractive book vividly suggests to the reader the great possibilities for Christian civilization in the Dark Continent which the future holds in store.

Autobiography of Charles Force Deems, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Church of the Strangers, New York City, and President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy; and Memoir. By his Sons, Rev. EDWARD M. DEEMS, A.M., Ph.D., and FRANCIS M. DEEMS, M.D., Ph.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 365. New York, Chicago, and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

"I set to work at once to do something." The sentence is typical of Dr. Deems's entire life. He had just graduated from Dickinson College, of which Dr. Durbin was then president, and where Robert Emory and John McClintock were professors and George R. Crooks was his classmate, and had come to New York to begin the real business of life. Here, among other Methodist celebrities of that day, he met the editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, "the Rev. George T. Peck"—the

middle initial being seemingly borrowed by Dr. Deems from the editor's distinguished brother, Bishop Jesse T. Peck; and to the *Review* for 1841, although then barely of age, he contributed two papers on the life and poems of George Crabbe. He early began to preach as occasion offered, and attracted the attention of such men as Nathan Bangs and Laban Clark, the name of the latter appearing on page 68 with a final and unnecessary "e." And in this connection we notice that the present location of the Union Theological Seminary is given on page 215 as 1,200, instead of 700, Park Avenue. In 1840 he was admitted on trial in the New Jersey Conference, but was soon transferred to the North Carolina Conference, having been appointed agent of the American Bible Society for that State; and thenceforward and until 1875, at which time he had been pastor of the Church of the Strangers for nearly ten years, he remained a member of that Conference, going over with it into the Church South, as he afterward went over with the State into the Southern Confederacy. Although not yet twenty-one he spent most of his first summer in North Carolina in preaching at camp meetings. "All young preachers," he says, "upon quitting the college or theological seminary ought to seek a round of camp meetings and preach whenever they can get a chance—at a real, genuine, old-fashioned camp meeting. . . . No man could read a little twenty-minutes' moral essay there; neither men nor angels could endure the ridiculousness of that. He has got to turn himself loose and preach with a swing." From that early start Dr. Deems continued on to the end of his life in an honorable and successful Christian service. As pastor and presiding elder, as university professor and college president, as author and editor, in many a varied field, but particularly at the Church of the Strangers, he was accustomed to "set to work at once to do something." He possessed a prompt decision, a tireless energy. He had a genius for accomplishing things, for finding opportunities for accomplishment. "The fact that he did not break down under labors to which an apparently stronger man would have succumbed was due largely to his talent for sleep and his observance of Saturday as his physical Sabbath." This book is an artless but interesting recital of an active and effective life. Much of it is in Dr. Deems's own words. The first eighty-nine pages are wholly autobiographical, and are written in an easy, conversational style, primarily for his own family only. Passages from his diary offer glimpses of slavery at its best and of life in the South during the civil war. Sincerity is apparent on every page—sincerity and a simple, ingenuous unreserve, impressing the reader with the feeling that the life recorded here had little or nothing to conceal. It is a sunny book throughout. It abounds in reminiscences of men so widely separated in time and temper as John Summerfield and Commodore Vanderbilt. Dr. Howard Crosby once playfully accused Dr. Deems of taking up collections at funerals. One extract from his journal will suggest the extent and quality of his friendships: "Spent the day on an excursion up the Hudson River with the English historian, Mr. Froude,

and the philanthropist, Miss Emily Faithfull. Delightful time. At night was at Dr. John G. Holland's, at a reception given to George Macdonald, the novelist." The funeral sermon by Dr. J. M. Buckley is found in the Appendix.

The Law of Civilization and Decay. An Essay on History. By BROOKS ADAMS. 12mo, pp. 398. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $2.

This volume is valuable to the student, not only for the results that its author reaches, but also because of his preliminary conclusions regarding history and the work of the historian. For instance, he says that "the value of history lies, not in the multitude of facts collected, but in their relation to each other, and in this respect an author can have no larger responsibility than any other scientific observer. If the sequence of events seems to indicate the existence of a law governing social development, such a law may be suggested, but to approve or disapprove of it would be as futile as to discuss the moral bearings of gravitation." Mr. Adams's reading of theology, backward through the schoolmen and the crusades "to the revival of the pilgrimage to Palestine which followed upon the conversion of the Huns," led him to such convictions as these, that religious enthusiasm was "the power which produced the accelerated movement culminating in modern centralization;" that faith, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, spoke through architecture; that an exceedingly small part has been "played by conscious thought in molding the fate of men;" and, most of all, when he finally saw where his studies led, that the intellectual phenomena examined "fell into a series which seemed to correspond, somewhat closely, with the laws which are supposed to regulate the movements of the material universe." History, in other words, is governed by law; and the volume under notice "contains the evidence which suggested the hypothesis," though so vast a subject can necessarily be treated only in suggestion. The titles of the various chapters will show how wide a scope the author has traversed: "The Romans," "The Middle Age," "The First Crusade," "The Second Crusade," "The Fall of Constantinople," "The Suppression of the Temple," "The English Reformation," "The Suppression of the Convents," "The Eviction of the Yeomen," "Spain and India," and "Modern Centralization." All of these chapters bear the marks of the cautious and thorough inquirer, and none the less discover that power of wide generalization which is indispensable in the philosophic study of history. Chapter xii, which is entitled "Conclusion," leads the reader to results that are, to say the least, most serious. While the writer is speaking particularly of Old World civilization, yet the vital principle he announces is one that would seem to have its application to all continents. We may thoughtfully ask, in the light of the author's reasoning, whither the world's civilization is tending. Such sentences as this disclose the spirit of his argument: "Since the capitulation of Paris the soldier has tended to sink more and more into a paid official, receiving his orders from financiers with his salary,

without being allowed a voice even in questions involving peace and war." Or this: "No poetry can bloom in the arid modern soil, the drama has died, and the patrons of art are no longer even conscious of shame at profaning the most sacred of ideals. The ecstatic dream, which some twelfth century monk cut into the stones of the sanctuary hallowed by the presence of his God, is reproduced to bedizen a warehouse; or, the plan of an abbey, which Saint Hugh may have consecrated, is adapted to a railway station." Whether the reader will accept these ultimate conclusions must be left to himself. But he will at least appreciate the skill with which Mr. Adams guides his feet through the bewildering maze of history.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Southern Writers: Sidney Lanier. By WILLIAM MALONE BASKERVILL. 16mo, pp. 162. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, paper, 30 cents.

Properly enough, a triple number is given to Sidney Lanier in Professor Baskervill's series of twelve biographical and critical studies of the most prominent figures in the literary movement of the South since 1870. The previous numbers were studies of Joel Chandler Harris, Maurice Thompson, and Irwin Russell. Southern pride and affection dote upon Lanier. Mrs. Laurence Turnbull, writing of William Watson, expresses the opinion that the English poet has been much influenced by Lanier, and traces some interesting parallels between the two. Of this we have some doubt, but as for Watson, these words concerning him are just: "He loves to muse upon the problems of our time—by the roar of the sea, in the heart of the forest, on the mountain's height—with a modern's comprehension of these present-day problems, with a Greek's calm acceptance of beauty as compensatory, but with a Christian's choice of the beauty which is wholly pure, and with a Christian's faith that all these mighty forces are overruled by the All-Father. In all our noblest artists must be such a fusion of Hellenism with Hebraism." And as for Lanier, our admiration for the poet and the man are not less than Professor Baskervill's.

Chinese Characteristics. By ARTHUR H. SMITH. 8vo, pp. 342. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This work is now in its third edition, and will probably have a still larger sale as its value becomes known. The comments from all sides indicate that the opinion is general that it is the best book now extant on China and the Chinese. Twenty-two years of life as a missionary of the American Board have given the author abundant opportunity to investigate and study China and its people. The peculiar traits of the Chinese are set forth in chapters entitled, "The Disregard of Time and Accuracy," "The Talent for Misunderstanding," "The Talent for Indirection," "The Absence of Nerves," "Physical Vitality," "Patience and Perseverance," "Mutual Responsibility and Respect for Law," "Mutual Suspicion," etc. The nature of, and reasons for, China's strength and weakness are visible

in this portrayal of the national character. It is not a book on missions, but its contents are an aid and a stimulus to missionary interest. It is liberally and finely illustrated with photographs which convey information in a vivid way. It will be interesting and valuable to anyone who takes an interest for any reason in the land or the life of the Chinese.

Champions of Christianity. By SILAS FARMER, author of *History of Detroit and Michigan*, etc. 12mo, pp. 129. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The charge of unbelievers that "the churches are made up of women and children," is here refuted by Mr. Farmer. Christianity, on the other hand, has had its defenders among the greatest men of the centuries, in every walk of life. The successive chapters of the book treat of the champions of the faith in the "governmental world," the "social and business world," the "artistic world," the "literary world," and the "scientific world." The peculiarity and value of the author's treatment are found in the fact that, instead of "a biographer's statement" being given, there are quoted "the very words of the mighty and noble of various nationalities, vocations, and pursuits, verified in each case by reference to volume and page, so that every quotation is like a citation in a legal brief." The faces of Faraday, Farragut, Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton, Scott, and Samuel F. B. Morse look out upon us from the book; the names of many more great men crowd its pages in such profusion that any enumeration is impossible. We cordially commend the work.

From a Cloud of Witnesses. Three Hundred and Nine Tributes to the Bible. By DAVIS WASGATT CLARK. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. 6½x8. Pp. 219. Rubricated initials. Price, $1.

Such is the greatness of the Bible that even the enemies of its vital doctrines are forced at times to praise it. Dr. Clark's *Cloud of Witnesses* includes some men from whom praise was most unexpected. His range of quotation is very wide, and enters every realm of modern literature, including the newspaper. The compilation is exceedingly valuable and suggestive. It shows at a glance how many brilliant thinkers have reflected on the Bible, and gives the substance of their thought in pithy sentences. In these noble tributes, culled from every available source, many will find expression of their profoundest sentiments concerning the word of life.

A Castaway, and Other Addresses. By F. B. MEYER, author of *Light on Life's Duties*, etc. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 30 cents.

For their quaint presentation of the truth, their incisive utterance, and their close adherence to the great themes of the Gospel, these addresses are to be strongly commended. Mr. Meyer is a man who has a burning message to the world, and is straitened to accomplish his mission. Notwithstanding his adherence to the Calvinistic faith, his words here included on the anointing and the fullness of the Holy Ghost, and on soul rest, are such as the generation needs. The addresses were delivered last winter in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, during Mr. Meyer's last brief visit to the American shores.

INDEX.

Advantages of Small Pastoral Charges, Some (Itin. Club), 806.
Africa, Christianity in West (Miss. Rev.), 311.
Africa, Forward Movement in (Miss. Rev.), 988.
Africa, Slavery in (Miss. Rev.), 985.
Age for Conversion, The Normal (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Age Limit (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Alphabetic Writing (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 641.
"Alphabetic Writing" (Arena), 978.
Ancient and Modern Feeling for Nature: *Kuhns*, 930.
Ante-Agamemnona: *Hyde*, 221.
Apologetic Activity, Roman Catholic (For. Out.), 823.
Apology for Higher Education of the Negro: *Bowen*, 723.
Apology of Aristides for the Christians, The Recovered: *Harman*, 277.
Apostles in Art, The: *Schell*, 712.
"Apostolikum ausgelegt, Das" (For. Out.), 991.
Apprenticeship of Preaching: *Watkinson*, 37.
Arbitration—Christ Judging Among the Nations (Notes and Dis.), 288.
Archbishop of Canterbury, Age of (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Aristides, Recovered Apology for the Christians: *Harman*, 277.
Armstrong: Helen Hunt Jackson, 444.
Armstrong: Typical Eras of Skepticism, 763.
Art, The Apostles in: *Schell*, 712.
Atonement, A New Theory of (Arena), 301.
Atonement, The Doctrine of the: *Hermans*, 906.
Awakened Soul, The Struggle of—Rom. vii, 7-25 (Itin. Club.), 976.

Babylonia, Early (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 309.
Babylonian Flood Legend, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 476.
"Babylonischen Gottesvorstellung, Vater, Sohn, und Fürsprecher, in der," etc. (For. Out.), 880.
Baltimore, Woman's College in (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Beginning and Growth in Religion, Study of, (Notes and Dis.), 789.
"Bernard, Vie de St., Abbé de Clairvaux" (For. Out.), 317.
Bethards: The Law of Sacrifice Obeyed by Christ, etc., 861.
Bible and Our Faith, Our: *Van Pelt*, 100.
"Bible and Our Faith, Our" (Arena), 470.
Bible and the Faith, Recent Utterances (For. Out.), 487.
Bible, The Miracles of the: *Stevens*, 65.
Biblical Interpretation, Scientific Speculation and (Itin. Club), 636.
Bigham: The Meaning of Prayer, 356.
Biography of Spirit, The: *Hammell*, 617.
Body, Human, in Light of Christianity: *Hendrix*, 389.
Bombay, The Plague at (Miss. Rev.), 483.
Bornemann, J. (For. Out.), 990.
Bowen: An Apology for the Higher Education of the Negro, 723.
British Wesleyan Conference, The (For. Out.), 894.
Browning, Why Preachers Should Study: *Mudge*, 402.
Buckley, Dr., on *Faith Healing*, etc. (Notes and Dis.), 287.
Buell: Christ in the Twentieth Century, 595.

Canterbury, Age of Archbishop (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Catholic, Apologetic Activity, Roman (For. Out.), 823.
Catholic Missions, Roman (Miss. Rev.), 142.
Charges, Some Advantages of Small Pastoral (Itin. Club), 806.
China, New Development in (Miss. Rev.), 814.
China, Present Outlook for Missions in (Arena), 800.
Chinese Empire, Reform in (Miss. Rev.), 646.
Christ in the Twentieth Century: *Buell*, 595.
Christ Judging Among the Nations—Arbitration (Notes and Dis.), 288.
Christ, Law of Sacrifice Obeyed by: *Bethards*, 861.
Christ of the Gospels, The Dispute Concerning (For. Out.), 821.
Christendom, Unity in (Itin. Club), 637.
Christian Faith, Scientific Testimony to (Notes and Dis.), 622.
Christian Students, The World Movement of (Miss. Rev.), 813.
Christians, Recovered Apology of Aristides for: *Harman*, 277.
Christianity and Natural Science (For. Out.), 318.
Christianity and Philosophy, Kaftan on (For. Out.), 149.
Christianity in England, Social: *Zueblin*, 51.
Christianity in West Africa (Miss. Rev.), 311.
Church in Italy, Planting of Methodist Episcopal: *Vernon*, 604.
Civil Service Reaction, The (Notes and Dis.), 786.
Codes for Ministers, Unconscious (Itin. Club.), 136.
College in Baltimore, The Woman's (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Conference, The British Wesleyan (For. Out.), 894.
Congress, Troubles of German Evangelical (For. Out.), 993.
Contributed Articles, Number of (Notes and Dis.), 287.
Conversion, Normal Age for (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Conversion, On Reform and (Arena), 803.
Council, Missionary Officers in (Miss. Rev.), 313.

Cramer: Growth of Jesus—Physical, Intellectual, and Spiritual, 229.
Creed of Ian Maclaren, Ideal: *Reed*, 345.
Crooks, Dr., etc. (Arena), 468.
Crooks: Evangelical Revival in its Relation to Theology, 177.
Cuban War, Atrocities of, Associated with Mosaic Law (Arena), 802.
Culture, Rapid Increase in Church (Notes and Dis.), 111.

Deaconess Home and Hospital, Evangelical, in Freiburg (For. Out.), 992.
Deaconess in Missionary Work, The (Miss. Rev.), 643.
Deadly Parallel, The (Arena), 467.
Denmark, Religious Life in (For. Out.), 894.
"Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" (Arena,) 126, 298, 464.
Disintegration in Persia, Religious (Miss. Rev.), 987.
Disjointed Episcopacy, Our: *Potts*, 899.
Divine Government, Theories of the (Arena), 469.
Doctrine, Christian, in Mission Countries (Miss. Rev.), 482.
Doctrine, Evangelical, and Recent University Research (Notes and Dis.), 792.
Doctrine of the Atonement, The: *Hermans*, 906.
Doubt, The Function of: *Willey*, 554.
"Doubt, The Function of"—A Critique (Arena), 965.
Drummond, Henry (Notes and Dis.), 452.

Education, Higher, as a Mission Agency (Miss. Rev.), 141.
Education of Moses, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 809.
Education of the Negro, An Apology for the Higher: *Bowen*, 723.
Ehrhardt, E. (For. Out.), 650.
Eliot, George—A Sketch: *Kenyon*, 563.
England, Religious Thought in, Between Puritan and Methodist: *Madison*, 577.
England, Social Christianity in: *Zueblin*, 51.
England, The Whitman Craze in (Notes and Dis.), 952.
English Ramble, Notes of: *North*, 513.
English Theology, Robertson and his Place in (Arena), 631.
Episcopacy, Our Disjointed: *Potts*, 899.
Eras of Skepticism, Typical: *Armstrong*, 763.
Evangelical Doctrine and Recent University Research (Notes and Dis.), 792.
Evangelical Revival in its Relation to Theology: *Crooks*, 177.
Evangelical Social Congress, Troubles of German (For. Out.), 993.
Evolution and Genesis (Arena), 131.
Evolution, Is the Millennium an? *Rawlins*, 925.
Exegesis of Heb. 1, 6 (Itin. Club), 134.
Exodus, The Time of the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 479.
Extra-Canonical Jewish Literature, Relation to New Testament: *Wallace*, 697.

Faith, Function of Will in (Notes and Dis.), 786.
Faith Healing, Dr. Buckley's (Notes and Dis.), 287.
Faith, Our Bible and Our: *Van Pelt*, 100.
"Faith, Our Bible and Our" (Arena), 470.
Faith, Recent Utterances Relative to Bible and (For. Out.), 487.
Faith, Scientific Testimony to Christian (Notes and Dis.), 622.
Faiths, What We Owe Non-Christian: *Oldham*, 27.
Famine in India as a Missionary Opportunity (Miss. Rev.), 481.
Feeling for Nature, Ancient and Modern: *Kuhns*, 920.
"Feeling in Spirituality, Knowledge and" (Arena), 296, 628, 802, 972.
"Ferrare, Renée de France, duchesse de" (For. Out.), 819.
Flood Legend, The Babylonian (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 476.
Foreign Missionary, Paul the Typical (Miss. Rev.), 144.
Foreign Missions, Relation of Protestantism to (For. Out.), 823.
Forward Movement in Africa (Miss. Rev.), 988.
Foundations of Life, The (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Foundations of Social Order, The Moral (Arena), 999.
"France et le grand Schisme d'Occident, La" (For. Out.), 485.
Freiburg, Evangelical Deaconess Home and Hospital in (For. Out.), 992.
French Republic, Dangers for the (Notes and Dis.), 114.
Fricke, G. A. (For. Out.), 484.
Function of Doubt, The: *Willey*, 554.
"Function of Doubt, The"—A Critique (Arena), 965.

Gaelic Church, Did It Revive Presbyterial Ordination: *Starbuck*, 365.
Gamble: Saturdarianism: a Brief Review, 867.
"Gegenreformation, Ignatius von Loyola und die" (For. Out.), 816.
Genesis, Evolution and (Arena), 131.
George Eliot, A Sketch: *Kenyon*, 563.
German Evangelical Social Congress, Troubles of (For. Out.), 993.
German Sapphire, A: *Hoffman*, 781.
"Gesammelte Schriften," etc. (For. Out.), 820.
"Glaubens, Die Lebensfrage der systematischen Theologie die Lebensfrage des christlichen" (For. Out.), 148.
Goodsell: Which Way? 681.
Gospel, Preaching for a Witness: *Steele*, 209.
Gospels, Dispute Concerning the Christ of (For. Out.), 821.
Government, Theories of the Divine (Arena), 469.
"Gregor VII. sein Leben und Werken" (For. Out.), 991.
Growth in Religion, Study of Beginning and (Notes and Dis.), 789.
Growth of Jesus—Physical, Intellectual, and Spiritual: *Cramer*, 229.

Hammell: The Biography of Spirit, 617.
"Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte" (For. Out.), 146.
Harman: Recovered Apology of Aristides for the Christians, 277.
Hatfield: Letter from George Whitefield to Count Zinzendorf, 913.
Haupt, Erich (For. Out.), 818.
Heb. 1. 6, Exegesis of (Itin. Club), 134.
Helen Hunt Jackson: *Armstrong*, 444.
Hendrix: Human Body in Light of Christianity, 389.
Hermans: The Doctrine of the Atonement, 906.
Higginson's Remonstrance on Immigration, Colonel (Notes and Dis.), 620.
Higher Education as a Mission Agency (Miss. Rev.), 141.
Higher Education of the Negro, An Apology for: *Bowen*, 723.

Hittites, The Language of the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 307.
Hoffman: A German Sapphire, 781.
Hoffmann, Richard A. (For. Out.), 817.
Holmes on his Methods of Work (Notes and Dis.), 111.
Homiletics, Permanent and Progressive in: *Stevenson*, 415.
Human Body in Light of Christianity: *Hendrix*, 389.
Humanity of Jesus, The (Arena), 466.
Hunt: Primary Impression of Preaching, 545.
Hunt, Sandford, D.D.: *Sanford*, 9.
Huxley's Inconsistency, Professor: *Lowrey*, 256.
Hyde: Ante-Agamemnona, 221.

Ian Maclaren, Ideal Creed of: *Reed*, 345.
"Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation" (For. Out.), 316.
Illustrations of the Jewish Passion in Literature: *Vinton*, 884.
Immigration, Colonel Higginson's Remonstrance (Notes and Dis.), 620.
Impressionist Preaching: *Watkinson*, 743.
India, Famine as a Missionary Opportunity (Miss. Rev.), 481.
India, Is Another Mutiny Impending in? *Oldham*, 754.
India, Silent Forces at Work in (Miss. Rev.), 645.
Intellectual Vigor of Old Men (Itin. Club), 472.
Interpretation, Scientific Speculation and Biblical (Itin. Club), 636.
Italy, Planting of Methodist Episcopal Church in: *Vernon*, 604.

Jackson, Helen Hunt: *Armstrong*, 444.
Jacobs: A Vital Theology and its Cognates, 937.
Japan, Our Attitude toward, etc. (Arena), 796.
Japanese in Transition (Miss. Rev.), 482.
Jesus, Growth of—Physical, Intellectual, and Spiritual: *Cramer*, 229.
Jesus, The Humanity of (Arena), 466.
Jesus Christ, Legal Aspects of Trial of: *McElroy*, 262.
Jewish Literature, Relation of Extra-Canonical to New Testament: *Wallace*, 697.
Jewish Passion in Literature, Illustrations of the: *Vinton*, 884.
"Journalism, Yellow" (Notes and Dis.), 451.
Judaism, Latin Pagan Side-Lights on: *Post*, 71.

Kaftan on Christianity and Philosophy (For. Out.), 149.
Kenyon: George Eliot—A Sketch, 563.
"Kirchengeschichte, Handbuch der neuesten" (For. Out.), 146.
"Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality" (Arena), 296, 628, 802, 972.
Kolde, Theodor (For. Out.), 145.
"Konkubinat, der römische, nach den Rechtsquellen und den Inschriften" (For. Out.), 486.
Kuhns: Ancient and Modern Feeling for Nature, 920.

Language of the Hittites, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 307.
Latin Pagan Side-Lights on Judaism: *Post*, 71.
Law, How [it] Evolves, etc.: *Russell*, 563.
Law of Parsimony, The (Notes and Dis.), 437.
Law of Sacrifice, The: *Bethards*, 861.
Leaves of *Review*, Cutting (Notes and Dis.), 287, 620.
"Lebensfrage der systematischen Theologie die Lebensfrage des christlichen Glaubens, Die" (For. Out.), 148.
Lee: Should Methodists "Sing Low?" 581.
Legal Aspects of Trial of Jesus Christ: *McElroy*, 262.
Lewis, Reply to Dr. (Arena), 130.
Life, The Foundations of (Notes and Dis.), 296.
Literature, Illustrations of the Jewish Passion in: *Vinton*, 884.
Literature, Relation of Extra-Canonical Jewish to New Testament: *Wallace*, 697.
Logia Iesou (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 980.
Lowrey: Professor Huxley's Inconsistency, 256.
"Loyola, Ignatius von, und die Gegenreformation" (For. Out.), 316.
Luther, Discovery in Connection with Remains of (For. Out.), 994.

Machiavellianism, Modern (For. Out.), 654.
Maclaren, Ideal Creed of Ian: *Reed*, 345.
Madagascar, Protestantism in (Miss. Rev.), 480.
Madison: Religious Thought in England Between Puritan and Methodist, 577.
Man, When of Use (Notes and Dis.), 948.
"Mars' Hill, Did Paul Preach on?" (Arena,) 126, 298, 464.
Matt. xii, 40, 41, Unsound Criticism on (Itin. Club), 474.
McCauley, James A., D.D., LL.D.: *Thomas*, 849.
McElroy: Legal Aspects of Trial of Jesus Christ, 262.
Meaning of Prayer, The: *Bigham*, 356.
Men, Why [they] Differ in Reasoning (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Methodist, Religious Thought in England Between Puritan and: *Madison*, 577.
Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy, Planting of: *Vernon*, 604.
Methodists, Should [they] "Sing Low?" *Lee*, 581.
Millennium, Is [it] an Evolution? *Rawlins*, 925.
Ministerial Training, New Methods of (Itin. Club), 471.
Ministerial Work, Regular (Itin. Club), 974.
Minister's Preparatory Studies, The (Itin. Club), 305.
Minister's Summering, The (Itin. Club), 639.
Ministers, Unconscious Codes for (Itin. Club), 136.
Ministry of Public Prayer, The (Itin. Club), 804.
Miracles of the Bible, The: *Stevens*, 65.
Mission Agency, Higher Education as (Miss. Rev.), 141.
Mission Countries, Statement of Christian Doctrine in (Miss. Rev.), 482.
Missions, History of Relation of Protestantism to (For. Out.), 823.
Missions in China, Present Outlook for (Arena), 800.
Missions, Outside Testimony to (Miss. Rev.), 984.
Missions, Roman Catholic (Miss. Rev.), 142.
Missions, The Tract Agency and (Miss. Rev.), 312.
Missionary Officers in Council (Miss. Rev.), 313.
Missionary Opportunity, Famine in India as a (Miss. Rev.), 481.
Missionary, Paul the Typical Foreign (Miss. Rev.), 144.

Missionary Work, The Deaconess in (Miss. Rev.), 648.
Moody or Paul (Arena), 467.
Moral Foundations of Social Order, The (Arena), 969.
"Mormon Problem, The" (Arena), 129.
Mosaic Law, Atrocities of Cuban War Associated with (Arena), 802.
Moses, The Education of (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 809.
Mudge: Why Preachers Should Study Browning, 402.
Munson: John Henry, Cardinal Newman, etc., 47.
Mutiny in India, Is Another Impending? *Oldham*, 754.

"Nantes, La Révocation de l'Édit," etc. (For. Out.), 650.
Natorp, Paul (For. Out.), 316.
Natural Science, Christianity and (For. Out.), 318.
Nature, Ancient and Modern Feeling for: *Kuhns*, 920.
Negro, An Apology for the Higher Education of the: *Bowen*, 722.
New Testament, Relation of Extra-Canonical Jewish Literature to: *Wallace*, 607.
"New Testament, Socialism and," Dr. Wheeler's (Arena), 127.
Newman, John Henry, Cardinal—Poet and Reformer: *Munson*, 47.
Non-Christian Faiths, What We Owe: *Oldham*, 27.
Non-Resident School of Theology: *Vincent*, 195.
Normal Age for Conversion, The (Notes and Dis.), 943.
North: Notes of an English Ramble, 513.
Notes of an English Ramble: *North*, 513.
Novels and Sermons (Arena), 799.
Nylander, K. U. (For. Out.), 315.

"Occupation, Statesman; Religion, None" (Notes and Dis.), 117.
Officers in Council, Missionary (Miss. Rev.), 313.
Old Men, Intellectual Vigor of (Itin. Club), 472.
Oldham: Is Another Mutiny Impending in India? 754.
Oldham: What We Owe Non-Christian Faiths, 27.
Ordination, Did the Gaelic Church Revive Presbyterial? *Starbuck*, 365.
Our Bible and Our Faith: *Van Pelt*, 100.
"Our Bible and Our Faith" (Arena), 470.
Outside Testimony to Missions (Miss. Rev.), 984.
Oxford University, Atmosphere and Personnel of: *Sitterly*, 429.

Parsimony, The Law of (Notes and Dis.), 455.
Pastoral Charges, Some Advantages of Small (Itin. Club), 806.
Pastorate, Reflection on a Great (Itin. Club), 132.
Paul, Ludwig (For. Out.), 969.
Paul, Moody or (Notes and Dis.), 467.
"Paul on Mars' Hill, Did [he] Preach?" (Arena,) 126, 298, 464.
Paul the Typical Foreign Missionary (Miss. Rev.), 144.
Pentateuch, Composition of the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 137.
Persia, Religious Disintegration in (Miss. Rev.), 987.
Philosophy, Christianity and, Kaftan on (For. Out.), 149.
Philosophy—The Minister's Preparatory Studies (Itin. Club), 305.
Plague at Bombay (Miss. Rev.), 483.
Post: Latin Pagan Side-Lights on Judaism, 71.
Potts: Our Disjointed Episcopacy, 889.
Prayer, The Meaning of: *Bigham*, 356.
Prayer, The Ministry of Public (Itin. Club), 804.
Preachers, Why [they] Should Study Browning: *Mudge*, 402.
Preaching, Apprenticeship of: *Watkinson*, 37.
Preaching, Impressionist: *Watkinson*, 743.
Preaching, Primary Impression of: *Hunt*, 545.
Preaching the Gospel for a Witness: *Stolz*, 209.
Preparatory Studies, The Minister's (Itin. Club), 305.
Presbyterial Ordination, Did the Gaelic Church Revive? *Starbuck*, 365.
Primary Impression of Preaching: *Hunt*, 545.
Professor Huxley's Inconsistency: *Lowrey*, 256.
Protestantism, History of Relation to Foreign Missions (For. Out.), 828.
Protestantism in Madagascar (Miss. Rev.), 490.
Prussian State Church, Ministerial Supply in (For. Out.), 652.
Public Prayer, The Ministry of (Itin. Club), 804.
Puritan and Methodist, Religious Thought in England Between: *Madison*, 577.

Ramble, Notes of an English: *North*, 513.
Rawlins: Is the Millennium an Evolution? 925.
Rawlins: Significance of San Jacinto, 265.
Reaction, The Civil Service (Notes and Dis.), 786.
Reasoning, Why Men Differ in (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Reed: Ideal Creed of Ian Maclaren, 345.
Reflection on a Great Pastorate (Itin. Club), 132.
Reform and Conversion, On (Arena), 86.
Regular Ministerial Work (Itin. Club), 974.
Religion, Study of Beginning and Growth in (Notes and Dis.), 780.
Religious Disintegration in Persia (Miss. Rev.), 987.
Religious Thought in England Between Puritan and Methodist: *Madison*, 577.
"Renée de France, duchesse de Ferrare," etc. (For. Out.), 819.
Reply to Dr. Lewis (Arena), 130.
Review, Cutting Leaves of (Notes and Dis.), 237, 630.
Review, Number of Contributed Articles (Notes and Dis.), 278.
Review, Two Advices to Contributors (Notes and Dis.), 287.
Reviews and Magazines:
Bibliotheca Sacra, 151, 492, 826; Catholic World, 154; Century, 655, 828, 995; Chautauquan, 324; Christian Literature, 154, 658; Christian Quarterly, 334, 493, 496; Edinburgh, 324, 657; Expositor, 322; Gospel in All Lands, 324, 493, 825; Homiletic, 154, 324, 658; London Quarterly, 322, 828, 997; Lutheran Quarterly, 324; Methodist Magazine and Review, 658; Methodist Review, Church South, 153, 331; Missionary Review, 154; New World, 152, 491, 996; Nineteenth Century, 154, 328, 826; North American, 153, 490, 658, 825; Outlook, 828; Preachers'

Magazine, 898; Presbyterian and Reformed, 324, 656; Presbyterian Quarterly, 828; Quarterly Review of United Brethren, 657; Review of Reviews, 324, 496, 656; Yale Review, 154, 658.
Revised Version, The Use of the (Itin. Club), 303.
Revival, Evangelical, in its Relation to Theology: *Crooks*, 177.
"Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Paris, La," etc. (For. Out.), 650.
"Ritschl's Dargestellt, Das System Albrecht, nicht kritisirt" (For. Out.), 147.
Robertson, Frederick W., and his Place in English Theology (Arena), 631.
Roman Catholic Apologetic Activity (For. Out.), 823.
Roman Catholic Missions (Miss. Rev.), 142.
Romans ii, 6–11 (Arena), 633.
Romans vii, 7–25, the Struggle of an Awakened Soul (Itin. Club), 976.
Russell: The Vendetta, etc., 563.

Sabatier, A. (For. Out.), 649.
Sacrifice, The Law of, Obeyed by Christ: *Bethards*, 861.
Sanford: Sandford Hunt, D.D., 9.
San Jacinto, Significance of: *Rawlins*, 246.
Sapphire, A German: *Hoffman*, 781.
Saturdarianism: a Brief Review: *Gamble*, 867.
Saviour's Tomb, The: *Turner*, 95.
Schell: The Apostles in Art, 712.
Schmidt, Wilhelm (For. Out.), 494.
School of Theology, A Non-Resident: *Vincent*, 195.
Science, Christianity and Natural (For. Out.), 318.
Scientific Speculation and Biblical Interpretation (Itin. Club), 636.
Scientific Testimony to Christian Faith (Notes and Dis.), 642.
Sermons, Novels and (Arena), 799.
Should Methodists "Sing Low?" *Lee*, 531.
Side-Lights on Judaism, Latin Pagan: *Post*, 71.
Significance of San Jacinto: *Rawlins*, 246.
Silterly: Atmosphere and Personnel of Oxford University, 429.
Skepticism, Typical Eras of: *Armstrong*, 763.
Slavery in Africa (Miss. Rev.), 985.
Small Pastoral Charges, Some Advantages of (Itin. Club), 806.
Social Christianity in England: *Zueblin*, 51.
Social Congress, Troubles of German Evangelical (For. Out.), 998.
Social Order, The Moral Foundations of (Arena), 969.
Social Questions, The Supremacy of (Notes and Dis.), 453.
"Socialism and the New Testament," Dr. Wheeler's (Arena), 127.
Soul, Struggle of an Awakened—Rom. vii, 7–25 (Itin. Club), 976.
Speculation, Scientific, and Biblical Interpretation (Itin. Club), 636.
Spirit, The Biography of: *Hammell*, 617.
"Spirituality, Knowledge and Feeling in" (Arena), 296, 628, 802, 972.
Stanley, Ideal of Lady (Notes and Dis.), 286.
Starbuck: Did the Gaelic Church Revive Presbyterial Ordination? 365.
Steele: Preaching the Gospel for a Witness, 209.
Stende, E. G. (For. Out.), 145.
Stevens: The Miracles of the Bible, 65.
Stevenson: Permanent and Progressive in Homiletics, 415.
Storrs, Dr., Fiftieth Anniversary of Pastorate of (Itin. Club), 132.
Struggle of an Awakened Soul, The—Rom. vii, 7–25 (Itin. Club), 976.
Students, The World Movement of Christian (Miss. Rev.), 813.
Studies, The Minister's Preparatory (Itin. Club), 305.
Summering, The Minister's (Itin. Club), 639.
"Sündfluth und Völkerwanderungen" (For. Out.), 651.
Supremacy of Social Questions (Notes and Dis.), 453.

Temple, Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, Age of (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Testimony to Christian Faith, Scientific (Notes and Dis.), 642.
Testimony to Missions, Outside (Miss. Rev.), 984.
Theology, A Non-Resident School of: *Vincent*, 195.
Theology, A Vital, and its Cognates: *Jacobs*, 987.
Theology, Evangelical Revival in its Relation to: *Crooks*, 177.
Thomas: James A. McCauley, D.D., LL.D., 849.
Tomb, The Saviour's: *Turner*, 95.
Tract Agency and Missions, The (Miss. Rev.), 312.
Training, New Methods of Ministerial (Itin. Club), 471.
Trial of Jesus Christ, Legal Aspects of: *McElroy*, 262.
Turner: The Saviour's Tomb, 95.
Twentieth Century, Christ in: *Buell*, 595.
Typical Eras of Skepticism: *Armstrong*, 763.

Unconscious Codes for Ministers (Itin. Club.), 136.
Unity in Christendom (Itin. Club), 637.
University Research, Evangelical Doctrine and (Notes and Dis.), 792.

Van Pelt: Our Bible and Our Faith, 100.
"Vater, Sohn, und Fürsprecher in der Babylonischen Gottesvorstellung," etc. (For. Out.), 820.
Vendetta, The, etc.: *Russell*, 563.
Vernon: Planting of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy, 604.
Version, The Use of the Revised (Itin. Club), 303.
"Vie de St. Bernard, Abbé de Clairvaux" (For. Out.), 317.
Vincent: A Non-Resident School of Theology, 195.
Vinton: Illustrations of the Jewish Passion in Literature, 884.
Vital Theology and its Cognates: *Jacobs*, 987.

Wallace: Relation of Extra-Canonical Jewish Literature to the New Testament, 697.
Watkinson: Apprenticeship of Preaching, 37.
Watkinson: Impressionist Preaching, 743.
Wesleyan Conference, The British (For. Out.), 824.
West Africa, Christianity in (Miss. Rev.), 311.
What We Owe Non-Christian Faiths: *Oldham*, 27.
Wheeler's "Socialism and the New Testament," Dr. (Arena), 127.
Which Way: *Goodsell*, 681.
Whitefield, Letter from George, to Count Zinzendorf: *Hatfield*, 913.

Whitman Craze in England, The (Notes and Dis.), 952.
Why Men Differ in Reasoning (Notes and Dis.), 624.
Will, Function of, in Faith (Notes and Dis.), 786.
Willey: The Function of Doubt, 554.
Witness, Preaching the Gospel for a: *Steele*, 209.
Woman's College in Baltimore, The (Notes and Dis.), 112.
Work, All-important (Notes and Dis.), 943.
Work, Holmes on his Methods of (Notes and Dis.), 111.
Work, Lady Stanley on (Notes and Dis.), 288.
Work, Regular Ministerial (Itin. Club), 974.
World Movement of Christian Students, The (Miss. Rev.), 813.
Writing, Alphabetic (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 641.
"Writing, Alphabetic" (Arena), 973.

"Yellow Journalism" (Notes and Dis.), 451.

Zinzendorf, Letter from George Whitefield to Count: *Hatfield*, 913.
Zuebltn: Social Christianity in England, 51.

BOOK NOTICES.

Adams: Law of Civilization and Decay, 1014.
Addresses: *Edwards*, 334.
Africa, White Man's: *Bigelow*, 1011.
Alger: Condition of Women in United States, 161.
Alone in China, etc.: *Ralph*, 171.
America, Beginnings of Wesleyan Movement in: *Atkinson*, 339.
America, Pioneers of Science in: *Youmans*, 173.
American Revolution, The: *Fiske*, 343.
Apologetic, The New: *Terry*, 662.
Armenia, Letters from Scenes of Massacres in: *Harris*, 846.
Arras, Behind the: *Carman*, 669.
As You Like It, Shakespere's: *Wendell* and *Phelps*, 847.
Aspects of Fiction, etc.: *Matthews*, 163.
Atkinson: Beginnings of the Wesleyan Movement in America, 339.

Baker: Shakespere's Midsummer Night's Dream, 847.
Bartlett: The Veracity of the Hexateuch, 999.
Bascom: Evolution and Religion, 659.
Baskervill: Southern Writers—Sidney Lanier, 1015.
Bates: Talks on Writing English, 174.
Behind the Arras: *Carman*, 669.
Behrends: The World for Christ, 156.
Beyond the Horizon: *Kimball*, 831.
Bible, How to Read, etc.: *Smyth*, 848.
Bible, Modern Reader's: *Moulton*, 848.
Bible Lands Illustrated, etc.: *Martin*, 509.
Bigelow: History of German Struggle for Liberty, 169.
Bigelow: Mystery of Sleep, 176.
Bigelow: White Man's Africa, 1011.
Blanc: The Condition of Women in the United States, 161.
Bolton: Famous Givers and Their Gifts, 174.
Book and Heart: *Higginson*, 666.
Bowne: Theory of Thought and Knowledge, 834.
Brinton: Religions of Primitive Peoples, 1004.
Buddha, Gospel of, etc.: *Carus*, 848.
Buehler: Macaulay's Life of Samuel Johnson, 847.
Burroughs: Whitman, 336.
Butler, Studies Subsidiary to Works of: *Gladstone*, 325.
Butler, Works of Bishop: *Gladstone*, 325.

Canoll: The Celestial Summons, 833.
Carman: Behind the Arras, 669.
Carpenter: Longmans' English Classics, 847.
Carus: Gospel of Buddha, etc., 848.
Castaway, and Other Addresses: *Meyer*, 1016.
Celestial Summons, The: *Canoll*, 833.
Champions of Christianity: *Farmer*, 1016.
Chapters from a Life: *Phelps*, 170.
China, Alone in, etc.: *Ralph*, 171.
Chinese Characteristics: *Smith*, 1015.
Christ in the Poets, The Vision of: *Stuart*, 511.
Christ, Legends of Virgin and: *Guerber*, 175.
Christ, The World for: *Behrends*, 156.
Christendom, Torchbearers of: *Doherty*, 511.
Christian Life in Germany: *Williams*, 508.
Christianity, Champions of: *Farmer*, 1016.
Church Work, Modern Methods in: *Mead*, 665.
Civilization and Decay, The Law of: *Adams*, 1014.
Clark: From a Cloud of Witnesses, 1016.
Clark: Katharine's Experiment, 175.
Clayton: Constitutional History of United States, 167.
Clergy, Letters to the, etc.: *Malleson*, 494.
Cloud of Witnesses, From a: *Clark*, 1016.
Cole, J.: *Gellibrand*, 176.
Commons: Proportional Representation, 332.
Condition of Women in the United States, The: *Blanc*, 161.
Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth: *Mason*, 679.
Constitutional History of the United States: *Curtis* and *Clayton*, 167.
Continental Europe, Governments and Parties in: *Lowell*, 673.
Cooke: The Historic Episcopate, 504.
Country of the Pointed Firs: *Jewett*, 337.
Cramer: Ulysses S. Grant, 677.
Creed and the Prayer, The: *Johnston*, 1013.
Cure of Souls, The: *Watson*, 159.
Curtis: Constitutional History of the United States, 167.

Decay, Law of Civilization and: *Adams*, 1014.
Deems: Autobiography of Charles Force Deems, D.D., LL.D., etc., 1012.
Deems, Charles Force, D.D., LL.D., Autobiography of, etc.: *Deems*, 1012.
Democracy and Liberty: *Lecky*, 330.
Dickinson, Poems by Emily: Todd, 343.
Divine Library, The: *Smyth*, 848.
Doherty: Torchbearers of Christendom, 511.
Doherty, etc.: Illustrative Notes, 1004.
Donald: The Expansion of Religion, 336.
Doubt, Gospel for Age of: *Van Dyke*, 154.
Dreams, The House of, 671.

Earth, Condition of Lord's Life on: *Mason*, 679.
Edwards: Addresses, 334.
Ely: The Social Law of Service, 511.
England and Scotland, Days in: *Winter*, 174.
English Classics, Longmans': *Carpenter*, 847.
English Novel, The: *Lanier*, 500.
English Poets, The Life of Spirit in: *Scudder*, 164.
English, Talks on Writing: *Bates*, 174.
Episcopate, The Historic: *Cooke*, 504.

Europe, Governments and Parties in Continental: *Lowell*, 673.
Evil and Evolution, 503.
Evolution and Religion: *Bascom*, 659.
Evolution, Evil and, 503.
Evolution, Moral: *Harris*, 159.
Existence, Guesses at Riddle of: *Smith*, 497.
Expansion of Religion, The: *Donald*, 326.

Famous Givers and Their Gifts: *Bolton*, 174.
Farmer: Champions of Christianity, 1016.
Fiction, Aspects of, etc.: *Matthews*, 162.
Fiske: The American Revolution, 342.
Four Psalms: *Smith*, 1001.
From a Cloud of Witnesses: *Clark*, 1016.

Gellibrand: J. Cole, 176.
German Struggle for Liberty, History of: *Bigelow*, 169.
Germany, Christian Life in: *Williams*, 508.
Givers and Their Gifts, Famous: *Bolton*, 174.
Gladstone: Studies Subsidiary to Works of Bishop Butler, 325.
Gladstone: Works of Bishop Butler, 325.
Gordon: Immortality and the New Theodicy, 500.
Gospel for an Age of Doubt, The: *Van Dyke*, 155.
Governments and Parties in Continental Europe: *Lowell*, 673.
Grant, Ulysses S.: *Cramer*, 677.
Gray Days and Gold in England and Scotland: *Winter*, 174.
Greek Mastery, Modern: *Stedman*, 164.
Guerber: Legends of Virgin and Christ, 175.
Guesses at Riddle of Existence, etc.: *Smith*, 497.
Gummere: Shakespere's Merchant of Venice, 847.

Hale: Milton's Paradise Lost, 847.
Hardy: Return of the Native, 344.
Harris: Letters from Scenes of Massacres in Armenia, 846.
Harris: Moral Evolution, 159.
Haswell: Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York, 172.
Hawels: Travel and Talk, 336.
Heart, Book and: *Higginson*, 666.
Heavenly Camp Fires, A Story of, 176.
Hexateuch, The Veracity of: *Bartlett*, 999.
Higginson: Book and Heart, 666.
Historic Episcopate, The: *Cooke*, 504.
History of Religion, Introduction to: *Jevons*, 839.
History of Our Own Times: *McCarthy*, 842.
History of the German Struggle for Liberty: *Bigelow*, 169.
History of the United States, Constitutional: *Curtis* and *Clayton*, 167.
History, Prophecy, and the Monuments, etc.: *McCurdy*, 165.
Horizon, Beyond the: *Kimball*, 831.
House of Dreams, The, 671.
Howells: Impressions and Experiences, 176.
Hugo, The Letters of Victor: *Meurice*, 168.
Hurlbut, etc.: Illustrative Notes, 1004.
Hutton: Literary Landmarks of Jerusalem, 171.
Hyde: Outlines of Social Theology, 157.

Illustrative Notes: *Hurlbut* and *Doherty*, 1004.
Immortality and the New Theodicy: *Gordon*, 500.
Immortality, The Christian Doctrine of: *Salmond*, 328.
Impressions and Experiences: *Howells*, 176.
In League with Israel: *Johnston*, 511.
Inebriety: *Palmer*, 680.
Israel and the Nations, History, etc.: *McCurdy*, 165.
Israel, In League with: *Johnston*, 511.

J. Cole: *Gellibrand*, 176.
Japan, Notes in: *Parsons*, 344.
Jerusalem, Literary Landmarks of: *Hutton*, 171.
Jesus, Social Teachings of: *Mathews*, 1009.
Jevons: Introduction to History of Religion, 839.
Jewett: Country of the Pointed Firs, 337.
Johnson, Macaulay's Life of Samuel: *Buchler*, 847.
Johnston: In League with Israel, 511.
Johnston: The Creed and the Prayer, 1008.
Jordan: Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, 847.

Katharine's Experiment: *Clark*, 175.
Kelley: The Ship's Company, etc., 171.
Kimball: Beyond the Horizon, 831.
Knowledge, Theory of Thought and: *Bowne*, 834.

Lamar, Lucius Q. C., etc.: *Mayes*, 507.
Lanier, Sidney: *Baskervill*, 1015.
Lanier: The English Novel, 500.
Law of Civilization and Decay, The: *Adams*, 1014.
Lecky: Democracy and Liberty, 330.
Legends of Virgin and Christ: *Guerber*, 175.
Letters to Clergy, etc.: *Malleson*, 494.
Liberty, Democracy and: *Lecky*, 330.
Liberty, History of German Struggle for: *Bigelow*, 169.
Life, Chapter from a: *Phelps*, 170.
Literary Landmarks of Jerusalem: *Hutton*, 171.
Literature, Mere, etc.: *Wilson*, 165.
Longmans' English Classics: *Carpenter*, 847.
Lord's Life on Earth, Conditions of: *Mason*, 679.
Lord's Prayer and Church, Letters on: *Malleson*, 494.
Lothrop: William Henry Seward, 512.
Lowell, Complete Works of James Russell, 840.
Lowell: Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, 673.
Lowell: The Roger de Coverley Papers, 847.

Malleson: Letters to the Clergy, etc., 494.
Manatt, etc.: The Mycenæan Age, 675.
Martin: Bible Lands Illustrated, etc., 509.
Mason: Conditions of Lord's Life on Earth, 679.
Mathews: The Social Teachings of Jesus, 1009.
Matthews: Aspects of Fiction, etc., 162.
Mayes: Lucius Q. C. Lamar, etc., 507.
McCarthy: History of Our Own Times, 842.
McCurdy: History, Prophecy, and Monuments, etc., 165.
Mead: Modern Methods in Church Work, 665.
Merchant of Venice, Shakespere's: *Gummere*, 847.
Mere Literature, etc.: *Wilson*, 165.
Meurice: The Letters of Victor Hugo, 168.
Meyer: Castaway, and Other Addresses, 1016.
Midsummer Night's Dream: Shakespere's: *Baker*, 847.
Miller: Southey's Life of Nelson, 847.
Missions and Pentecostal Church: *Packard*, 329.
Modern Greek Mastery: *Stedman*, 164.
Modern Methods in Church Work: *Mead*, 665.

Moral Evolution: *Harris*, 159.
Moulton: Modern Reader's Bible, 848.
Mycenæan Age, The: *Tsountas* and *Manatt*, 675.
Mystery of Sleep, The: *Bigelow*, 176.
Mystery, The Open: *Whitney*, 680.

Nelson, Southey's Life of: *Miller*, 847.
New Apologetic, The: *Terry*, 662.
New York, Reminiscences of Octogenarian of: *Haswell*, 172.
Novel, The English: *Lanier*, 500.

Open Mystery, The: *Whitney*, 680.
Our Own Times, History of: *McCarthy*, 842.
Outlines of Social Theology: *Hyde*, 157.

Packard: Missions and the Pentecostal Church, 329.
Palmer: Inebriety, 680.
Paradise Lost, Milton's: *Hale*, 847.
Parsons: Notes in Japan, 344.
Pentecostal Church, Missions and: *Packard*, 329.
Phelps: Chapters from a Life, 170.
Phelps, etc.: Shakespere's As You Like It, 847.
Pioneers of Science in America: *Youmans*, 173.
Poems by Emily Dickinson: *Todd*, 343.
Poets, Life of the Spirit in Modern English: *Scudder*, 164.
Poet's Poet, The, etc.: *Quayle*, 1007.
Primitive Peoples, Religions of: *Brinton*, 1004.
Proportional Representation: *Commons*, 332.
Psalms, Four: *Smith*, 1001.

Quayle: The Poet's Poet, etc., 1007.

Ralph: Alone in China, etc., 171.
Religion, Evolution and: *Bascom*, 659.
Religion, Introduction to History of: *Jevons*, 329.
Religion, The Expansion of: *Donald*, 326.
Religions of Primitive Peoples: *Brinton*, 1004.
Reminiscences of Octogenarian of New York: *Haswell*, 172.
Representation, Proportional: *Commons*, 332.
Return of the Native: *Hardy*, 344.
Revolution, The American: *Fiske*, 342.
Riddle of Existence, Guesses at: *Smith*, 497.
Roger de Coverley Papers: *Lowell*, 847.

Salmond: Christian Doctrine of Immortality, 338.
Science in America, Pioneers of: *Youmans*, 173.
Scotland and England, Days in: *Winter*, 174.
Scudder: Life of Spirit in Modern English Poets, 164.
Service, Social Law of: *Ely*, 511.
Seward, William Henry: *Lothrop*, 512.
Ship's Company, The, etc.: *Kelley*, 171.
Sleep, Mystery of: *Bigelow*, 176.
Smith: Chinese Characteristics, 1015.
Smith: Four Psalms, 1001.
Smith: Guesses at Riddle of Existence, etc., 497.
Smyth: The Divine Library, 343.
Social Law of Service: *Ely*, 511.
Social Teachings of Jesus: *Mathews*, 1009.
Social Theology, Outlines of: *Hyde*, 157.
Souls, The Cure of: *Watson*, 159.
Southern Statesmen of Old Régime: *Trent*, 845.
Southern Writers—Sidney Lanier: *Baskerville*, 1015.
Statesmen, Southern, of Old Régime: *Trent*, 845.
Stedman: Modern Greek Mastery, 164.
Stuart: Vision of Christ in the Poets, 511.

Talks on Writing English: *Bates*, 174.
Terry: The New Apologetic, 662.
Theodicy, Immortality and the New: *Gordon*, 500.
Theology, Outlines of Social: *Hyde*, 157.
Thought and Knowledge, Theory of: *Bowne*, 834.
Times, History of Our Own: *McCarthy*, 842.
Todd: Poems by Emily Dickinson, 343.
Torchbearers of Christendom: *Doherty*, 511.
Travel and Talk: *Haweis*, 336.
Trent: Southern Statesmen of Old Régime, 845.
Tsountas, etc.: Mycenæan Age, 675.

United States, Condition of Women in: *Blanc*, 161.
United States, Constitutional History of: *Curtis* and *Clayton*, 167.

Van Dyke: Gospel for Age of Doubt, 155.
Veracity of the Hexateuch: *Bartlett*, 999.
Vicar of Wakefield, Goldsmith's: *Jordan*, 847.
Virgin and Christ, Legends of: *Guerber*, 175.
Vision of Christ in the Poets: *Stuart*, 511.

Watson: Cure of Souls, 159.
Wendell, etc.: Shakespere's As You Like It, 847.
Wesleyan Movement in America, Beginnings of: *Atkinson*, 339.
White Man's Africa: *Bigelow*, 1011.
Whitman: *Burroughs*, 338.
Whitney: The Open Mystery, 680.
Williams: Christian Life in Germany, 508.
Wilson: Mere Literature, etc., 165.
Winter: Gray Days and Gold in England and Scotland, 174.
Without Prejudice: *Zangwill*, 836.
Witnesses, From a Cloud of: *Clark*, 1016.
Women in United States, Condition of: *Blanc*, 161.
Work, Modern Methods in Church: *Mead*, 665.
World for Christ, The: *Behrends*, 156.
Writing English, Talks on: *Bates*, 174.

Youmans: Pioneers of Science in America, 173.

Zangwill: Without Prejudice, 836.

VOL. LXXIX, No. 6. WHOLE No. 428. | NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1897. | FIFTH SERIES, VOL. XIII, No. 6.

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. James A. McCauley, D.D., LL.D. *Rev. T. Snowden Thomas, M.A., Tobyhanna, Pa.* 849

II. The Law of Sacrifice Obeyed by Jesus Christ in His Death upon the Cross. *Rev. J. H. Bethards, Toledo, O.* 861

III. Saturdarianism: A Brief Review. *Rev. S. W. Gamble, Lebo, Kan.* 867

IV. Illustrations of the Jewish Passion in Literature. *Miss Ellen A. Vinton, Washington, D. C.* 884

V. Our Disjointed Episcopacy. *J. H. Potts, D.D., Editor Michigan Christian Advocate, Detroit, Mich.* 899

VI. The Doctrine of the Atonement. *Rev. W. S. H. Hermans, Palmyra, N. Y.* 906

VII. A Letter from George Whitefield to Count Zinzendorf. *Professor J. T. Hatfield, Ph.D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.* 913

VIII. The Ancient and the Modern Feeling for Nature. *Professor L. O. Kuhns, Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.* . . 920

IX. Is the Millennium an Evolution? *B. F. Rawlins, D.D., Rising Sun, Ind.* 925

X. A Vital Theology and its Cognates. *Rev. C. W. Jacobs, Greenfield, Ill.* 937

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 943

The Normal Age for Conversion, 943; The Whitman Craze in England, 952.

The Arena 965

"The Function of Doubt"—A Critique, 965; The Moral Foundations of Social Order, 969; "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 972; "Alphabetic Writing," 973.

The Itinerants' Club 974

Regular Ministerial Work, 974; The Struggle of an Awakened Soul, Rom. vii, 7-25, 976.

Archæology and Biblical Research 980

Logia Iesou, 980.

Missionary Review 984

Outside Testimony to Missions, 984; Slavery in Africa, 985; Religious Disintegration in Persia, 987; Forward Movement in Africa, 988.

Foreign Outlook 989

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines 995

Book Notices 999

Index 1017

NEW YORK:
EATON & MAINS.
CINCINNATI:
CURTS & JENNINGS.

Subscription Price, Postage Included, $2.50.

[Entered at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.]

Descriptive Circulars

C.L.S.C.

Free on Request.

Everybody who is Ambitious

and desires to count for something in his Social Circle or in his Community, and remembers that Knowledge is Power, should join the

CHAUTAUQUA LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC CIRCLE.

The Busy Man's and Woman's College at Home.

REQUIRED LITERATURE, October, 1897-98.

IMPERIAL GERMANY.

By SIDNEY WHITMAN. 12mo, cloth, 330 pp., with nearly one hundred illustrations and colored maps. $1.00.

"I consider the different chapters of this book masterly."—*Prince Bismarck.*

THE SOCIAL SPIRIT IN AMERICA.

By CHARLES R. HENDERSON, Professor of Sociology in The University of Chicago. 12mo, cloth, 350 pp. $1.00.

The aim of this work is to inspire social sentiment; to describe the best methods; to direct practical efforts; to exhibit religion in action; and to suggest in everyday language the teachings of social science in respect to the causes and tendencies at work in the human life of our age and land.

ROMAN LIFE IN PLINY'S TIME.

By MAURICE PELLISON. 12mo, cloth, 340 pp., profusely illustrated. $1.00.

This work describes the family and social life of the ancient Romans, discussing the education of children, the marriage customs, the treatment of slaves, the methods of conducting business, the forms of amusements, and the modes of travel.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL EUROPE.

By Professor OLIVER J. THATCHER, of The University of Chicago. 12mo, cloth, 350 pp., with lining maps printed in colors. $1.00.

"It is one of those books for which the reading business men are grateful—men who want to read to best advantage, and have not time or opportunity to read elaborate historical works."—*Buffalo Commercial.*

ROMAN AND MEDIEVAL ART.

Revised and enlarged. By Professor WILLIAM H. GOODYEAR. 12mo, cloth, 307 pp. nearly two hundred illustrations. $1.00.

"Written with a grasp of its subject that is not common with books of its kind. Mr. Goodyear knows what history and scholarship are; his facts are well selected and well arranged, and his statement of them is trustworthy. . . . The abundant process illustrations are very well chosen and well executed."—*The Nation, New York.*

THE CHAUTAUQUAN.

A monthly illustrated magazine. Twelve numbers, $2.00.

On all orders of five or more sets of books sent to the same address by express (charges unpaid) a discount of ten per cent will be allowed.

EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.
CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.

x x x **On our publications generally there is a discount to Preachers, Schools, Libraries, and on wholesale orders.**

The Greatest of its Class up to Date,

and the subject is treated in such a bright, attractive, and scholarly style that it is doubtful if any future work on the same subject will be comparable to

THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,

By JOHN FLETCHER HURST.

Appreciative Indorsement by High Authority.

The Rev. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, LL.D., the distinguished author of *The Dictionary of Religious Knowledge* and other works, editor with Dr. Schaff, of the *Herzog-Schaff Cyclopedia*, and Professor of Church History in the University of the City of New York: "It gives me great pleasure to express my favorable opinion of Bishop Hurst's *History of the Christian Church*. It covers the first fifteen centuries of Christian history in a very thoughtful and instructive fashion. It is the fruit of long-continued study and the use of the most recent literature. The author's standpoint is conservative. But if he prefers the old it is not because he is ignorant of the new. He shows his independence and his readiness to be taught in his treatment of such topics as Gnosticism, Montanism, and Mohammedanism. A particularly good chapter is upon the catacombs. The volume is very readable. The maps are a helpful feature. The bibliographies point the student to further studies, and are compiled with intelligence and care. In short, the volume can be honestly commended. Those who will use it to refresh their minds, to revive old associations, will learn from it how much real progress has been made in the last twenty years, how much kindlier and saner are the judgments of the orthodox teachers, and how much more insight we have into the early life of the Church; while those who may make their acquaintance by means of it with Church history may rely upon it that they will not have to unlearn what they here acquire.

"(Signed,) SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON."

Dr. GEORGE P. FISHER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University:—"I have examined with satisfaction the first volume of Bishop Hurst's *History of the Christian Church*. It strikes the middle path between the copious treatises and the brief manuals. It is scholarly without being dry. It will interest the student without repelling the ordinary reader. It is very helpful as a guidebook to the literature of the subject. A work which is at once so valuable and so interesting cannot fail of success. (Signed,) GEORGE P. FISHER."

THE CRITIC:—"There is scarcely a subject connected with the history of Christianity, whether in doctrine, polity, philosophy, art, learning, hymnology, the drama, politics, or persecution, which the author does not touch upon, and, touching it, illuminate. It would be hard to discover his own doctrinal affiliations or subjective opinions, for he gives us both sides of each case, and even when he cannot refrain from reproducing some delightful old anecdote, he is sure to remind us that there are those who discredit it. Altogether, this is a work of high order, not only in scholarship, but in the spirit of absolute fairness which breathes on every page. The concluding chapter, on the gain and loss of the Middle Ages, is an example in point. Having lived in oriental lands, where one sees ancient history reënacted before his eyes, the reviewer can heartily commend this portly volume to missionaries especially, as well as to intelligent laymen and clergymen at home."

Volume I just issued. 8vo. Cloth. 949 pages. Unrivaled maps. $5.

EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.
CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.

x x x On our publications generally there is a discount to Preachers, Schools, Libraries, and on wholesale orders.

Asshur and The Land of Nimrod,

BEING

An Account of the Discoveries made in the Ancient Ruins of Nineveh, Asshur, Sepharvaim, Calah, Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah, and Van,

INCLUDING

A Narrative of Different Journeys in Mesopotamia, Assyria, Asia Minor, and Koordistan.

By HORMUZD RASSAM.

A COMPETENT CRITIC'S OPINION.

PROFESSOR ROGERS, of DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, writes: "Among all the earlier explorers and excavators Mr. Hormuzd Rassam stands forth as a man of distinguished service. He first struck the spade into a mound almost unknown. He brought to Europe many a long-lost book. It is well that after a long circle of years he has gathered together all his notes and all his memories to set forth an account of his discoveries and to tell how he made them. This book contains that narrative; but it does not stop there. It tells of long journeys over hills and across deserts in the Semitic Orient. It describes many a conversation with people all too little known. It tells of many an oriental custom, hoary with age, and full of instruction for the modern student of the Bible. I have read the book in manuscript and in proof, and found much of interest and of enlightenment in its story. I commend it for exactly what it is—the record of useful deeds by a capable and patient explorer, and feel sure that many will find light and knowledge in it."

8vo. Cloth. Maps and Illustrations. $3.

The Poet's Poet,

AND OTHER ESSAYS.

By WILLIAM A. QUAYLE.

The Poet's Poet—King Cromwell—William the Great, of England—The Greater English Elegies—Soliloquies of Hamlet and Macbeth—The Ebb Tide—The Jew in Fiction—Robert Burns—The Psychology of Nathaniel Hawthorne—Shakespeare's Women—The Deserted Village—George Eliot as Novelist—The King and the Book—Shylock and David as Interpreters of Life—Poem: An Angel Came.

"To claim a new message to literary folk would be presumptuous. And the author's self-justification for this volume is that of a lover. A lover's passion makes him voluble. The words herein set down are expressions of loves historical and literary. And if these studies shall stimulate affection for the men and works he loves, the author will rest content."—*Preface.*

12mo. Cloth. $1.25.

EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.
CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.

x x x On our publications generally there is a discount to Preachers, Schools, Libraries, and on wholesale orders.

History of the Christian Church.

Vol. 2. The Preparation for Modern Times.

600-1517 A. D.

By GEORGE H. DRYER, D.D.

"This volume is a successful effort on a restricted canvas to portray the Church and life of the Middle Ages. An eminent scholar has said all mediæval history is Church history. Certain it is that there is no understanding of Church history which does not take into account the wonderful conservatism of the Byzantine Empire, the conquest of the Saracens, the work of Charlemagne, feudalism, the heathen invasions, the rise of cities, and the formation and growth of the states of modern Europe. No life can fail to be enriched by companionship with the missionaries, mystics, and saints of these centuries."

12mo. Cloth. Illustrated. $1.50.

The Fifth Gospel;

Or, The Gospel According to Paul. Revised Version.

By CHARLES ROADS, D.D.

"The mass of facts concerning Christ's life which Paul has contributed to the general Gospel will surprise every Bible student who sees it compiled for the first time. This little book is an attempt to isolate Paul's texts, which are historical data about Christ, so as to present a parallel to the four gospels, with no thought of even suggesting that Paul's discourses upon these facts are of any lower or less really divine inspiration, or that this compilation is anything more than a help to richer Bible study."

12mo. Cloth. 50 cents.

Manual of Ecclesiastical Architecture,

Comprising a Study of its Various Styles,

The Chronological Arrangements of its Elements,

and its Relation to Christian Worship.

By PROFESSOR WILLIAM WALLACE MARTIN.

With over 550 illustrations.

"The illustrations in the manual furnish the facts by which the statements in the text may be established in the main. Those illustrations belonging to the mediæval styles were taken from German, French, and English sources. Many of the illustrations belonging to the modern styles were drawn specially for this work, and each illustration has been carefully selected and engraved for it. They are so arranged that a study of them, apart from the text, will give a complete view of the development of ecclesiastical architecture. The index is prepared according to topics and places."

8vo. Cloth. Illustrated. $2.

EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.

CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.

THREE ITEMS ARE ESSENTIAL

in the proper equipment of every Preacher, Bible Class Teacher, or Bible Student who really desires to be successful in his work. These essentials are a helpful edition of the Bible, a Dictionary of the English Language, and a Concordance of the Bible. There is a difference of opinion as to which edition of the Bible is the most desirable, the International, Oxford, and Bagster each having its admirers who claim its supremacy as the best of all for practical use. There is also a candid difference of opinion as to which Dictionary is the best for practical use, Webster's International, the Century, and the Standard each having a following of superior scholars who consider it the best. But the undivided sentiment of the best scholars and the best critics is that there is only one really helpful Concordance, and that is The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible in the Authorized and Revised Versions, by James Strong, S.T.D. Every other Concordance, of whatever name, omits many words and very many passages altogether; this exhibits every word and every passage in which each occurs.

Besides its completeness it has other points of superiority.

It is the Simplest Concordance. The whole Main Concordance is under one straightforward alphabetical list, and in the exact succession of book, chapter, and verse, without intricacy or confusion. Every text in the Bible having any relation to any special Topic will be found under the title of said Topic. All other Concordances vary from this principle, which is essential to convenience and rapidity in use.

It is an accurate Lexicon Concordance of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, which any

(*Continued.*)

Three Items are Essential—Continued.

person may readily use, either with or without a knowledge of the original languages.

It is a Bible Lexicon, containing all the significant Hebrew, Chaldee, and Greek words of the original Scriptures, with pronunciation plainly marked, and giving a complete list of the different words into which they are translated in the Bible.

It is the first Concordance of the entire New Version, and the only Concordance that takes notice of the American Variations, which have never before been exhibited in full in such a comparison.

The Bible, studied with these advantages, will become almost a new book in the hands of preachers, teachers, pupils, and readers. This Concordance is the result of more than thirty years of careful study and minute labor, independently pursued by the author, with more than a hundred assistants at various times and in the several branches.

No one who uses the Book of Books can afford to be without such an aid in its perusal and comprehension.

The entire work is published in a single large quarto volume of more than 1,800 pages, carefully printed from new type on good paper, bindings and prices as follows:

In Fine Cloth, ...	$ 6.00
In Half American Russia, Cloth Sides, .	8.00
In Half Turkey Morocco, extra strong, .	10.00

Special Discount to Preachers and Teachers.
Descriptive Pamphlets sent Free on request.

EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York.
CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.

12 Excellent Church Hymnals

$3.60.

Pastors of even the most moderate charges can now fully supply their congregations with the Methodist Hymnal at a very moderate cost, so that this grandest of all books of its class may be in general use throughout the Church.

INCOMPARABLY LOW PRICES. . . . .

. . . . THEY CHALLENGE COMPARISON.

FULL 12mo HYMNAL WITH TUNES.
Special edition. Boards, with skytogene cover, $30 per hundred, net.

No. 371. 12mo HYMNAL WITH TUNES.
Regular edition. Cloth binding, $50 per hundred, net.

So that the smallest churches may reap the advantage of these special rates, we will fill orders for not less than 12 copies of either of the above books at the hundred rate. A special discount of ten per cent will be allowed from the prices named when cash positively accompanies an order.

No. 491. 8vo HYMNAL WITH TUNES.
Regular edition. Cloth Binding, $70 per hundred, net.

Orders for not less than 12 copies will be filled at the hundred rate. No special cash discount on this book.

These are the only styles of the Hymnal on which special prices have been made, and these were made so astonishingly low, at about cost, to meet the desire of the General Conference for a cheap edition of the Hymnal, so that it might be placed in the hands of every worshiper in every Methodist congregation, believing that the result would be a marked improvement in the tone of our congregational singing. A descriptive list of the full line of the Methodist Hymnal mailed on request.

EATON & MAINS, Publishers, 150 Fifth Ave., New York.
CURTS & JENNINGS, Cincinnati, O.